

Middle Kingdom Tomb Architecture at Lisht

BY

DIETER ARNOLD



THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION

PUBLICATIONS OF
THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
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VOLUME XXVIII



Painted sarcophagus niche of the Senwosretankh crypt (detail).

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With an Appendix by James P. Allen

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JACKET FRONT:

Reconstruction of exterior of Senwosretankh mastaba

JACKET BACK:

Mastaba of Imhotep (foreground); pyramid of Senwosret I (background)

FRONTISPIECE:

Painted sarcophagus niche of the Senwosretankh crypt (detail), tempera copy by Mrs. Ambrose
Lansing, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Ambrose Lansing, 1934 (34.10)

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DIRECTOR'S FOREWORD

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, shares with other American and European museums the long-standing practice of archaeological fieldwork in Egypt. Just over one hundred years ago, in 1906, the Museum sent its first expedition to Egypt, which concluded its work in 1934. This tradition was revived in 1984 and continues to the present day. Besides numerous specialized articles, field reports, and exhibition catalogues, the Museum has published the results of its fieldwork in a series of scholarly volumes.

The present volume, the twenty-eighth in the series, has as its subject the architecture and decoration of the Middle Kingdom private tombs at the royal cemeteries of Lisht. The findings represent both phases (1906–34 and 1984–1991) of the Museum's work at the site. The physical remains of these tombs are unfortunately scanty, and present-day visitors to the site may be frustrated by the effects of deliberate destruction. However, careful excavation and study of the remains of foundations, architectural elements, and fragments of the relief decoration enabled the archaeologists to reconstruct to a certain degree the form and appearance of the buildings. The study of these funerary monuments also permitted the attribution of

numerous works of art excavated at Lisht that had been allocated to the Museum by the Egyptian Antiquities Organization. These pieces laid the foundation for our Middle Kingdom galleries: the statues of Senwosretankh (33.1.2) and Sehetepibreankh (24.1.45), private tomb reliefs (09.180.111, 15.3.1164), and the burial of the lady Senebtisi.

A subsequent volume in this series will focus on the private Middle Kingdom tombs at Dahshur excavated by the Museum, and will include an analysis of the monuments at both Lisht and Dahshur.

A venture on the scale of the Metropolitan's Egyptian Expedition would not be possible without generous financial backing. We are indebted both for their support of the Museum's fieldwork and for the publication of this volume to The Adelaide Milton de Groot Fund, in memory of the de Groot and Hawley families. Further funding was provided by Mrs. Henry A. Grunwald and William K. Simpson.

PHILIPPE DE MONTEBELLO
DIRECTOR, THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS TO
THIS EXPEDITION AND PUBLICATION

The Adelaide Milton de Groot Fund,
in memory of the de Groot and Hawley families

Mrs. Henry A. Grunwald

William K. Simpson

TO PHILIPPE DE MONTEBELLO

in gratitude for crucial support and inspiration

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Notes to the Reader

ARABIC TERMS

<i>gebel</i>	Bedrock or solid ground underlying the surface soil or sand
<i>khôr</i>	Narrow, gorgelike valley (in contrast to the broader riverbed-like <i>wadi</i>)
<i>serdab</i>	Totally or partly inaccessible room in a tomb
<i>tafl</i>	Geological stratum of laminated shale, often used to make pottery and bricks
<i>wadi</i>	Wide, dry valley in the desert shaped by rain-falls

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS AND TERMS

AM	Archival material of the Egyptian Department of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, consisting of catalogued plans and drawings from the Egyptian Expedition of the years 1906–34, numbered in 1980 (see Arnold, <i>Senwosret I</i> , p. 16)
ca.	Circa
CG	Catalogue Général of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo
cm	Centimeter(s)
cubit	Ancient Egyptian measurement equaling 52.5 cm
Diam.	Diameter
Expedition	Egyptian Expedition of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, in the years 1906–34 and 1984–91, at Lisht
finger	Ancient Egyptian measurement equaling 1.875 cm
H.	Height
JdE	Journal d'Entrée of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo
L or LN+ number	Negatives of the Egyptian Expedition at Lisht. Photographs from the original Expedition are glass plate negatives (see Arnold, <i>Senwosret I</i> , p. 16)
L.	Length
Lisht Diary	Pocket calendars with sporadic notes recording some of the day-to-day activities of the excavators in 1906–34
Lisht Journal	Handwritten or typed field notes from the 1906–34 Expedition, which were subsequently numbered and bound. These notes are often unsystematic and sketchy. It is certain that not

	all the original notes were preserved (see Arnold, <i>Senwosret I</i> , p. 16).
m	Meter(s)
MMA	The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Numbers that follow this abbreviation are the accession numbers of objects in the Museum. All objects from the Lisht excavation have the credit line “Rogers Fund,” excepting those in the 14.3.—series, the 22.1.—series, and the 24.1.—series, which have the credit line “Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift.” Bracketed numbers refer to deaccessioned objects no longer in the collections.
palm	Ancient Egyptian measurement equaling 7.5 cm
TC	Tomb cards. They derive from a variety of sources: a primary record by Arthur Mace and Ambrose Lansing of each tomb and its contents made at the time of excavation; drawings made by them of individual objects; drawings and notes made much later by William Hayes of objects in the storeroom of the Expedition house at Lisht; drawings made by Eric Young of objects in The Metropolitan Museum of Art before they were deaccessioned; a list of the photographs and plans for each tomb made by Ray Slater. These sources together with secondary ones, such as excerpts from the Bulletin of the Egyptian Expedition and from correspondence, were numbered in 1980, an N prefix being used to distinguish those from the North Pyramid and its cemetery.
Th.	Thickness
W.	Width

KEY TO THE INITIALS

D.A.	Dieter Arnold
A.B.	Andreas Brodbeck
W.B.	William Barrette
J.J.	Julia Jarrett
A.O.	Adela Oppenheim
W.S.	William P. Schenck
B.J.S.	Bruce Joseph Schwarz
R.V.	Richard Velleu

Bibliographic Abbreviations

In addition to the abbreviations listed in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes* 30 (1974), the following are used:

Allen, "High Officials"

James P. Allen. "The High Officials of the Early Middle Kingdom." In *Theban Necropolis, Past, Present and Future*, ed. Nigel Strudwick and John H. Taylor, pp. 14–29. London, 2003.

Arnold, Amenemhet III

Dieter Arnold. *Der Pyramidenbezirk des Königs Amenemhet III. in Dahschur*. Vol. 1, *Die Pyramide*. Mainz, 1987.

Arnold, Building

Dieter Arnold. *Building in Egypt: Pharaonic Stone Masonry*. New York, 1991.

Arnold, Senwosret I, vol. 1

Dieter Arnold. *The South Cemeteries of Lisht*. Vol. 1, *The Pyramid of Senwosret I*. With contributions by Dorothea Arnold and an appendix by Peter F. Dorman. Publications of The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, vol. 22. New York, 1988.

Arnold, Senwosret I, vol. 3

Dieter Arnold. *The South Cemeteries of Lisht*. Vol. 3, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I*. With contributions by Dorothea Arnold and Felix Arnold and an appendix by Cheryl Haldane. Publications of The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, vol. 25. New York, 1992.

Arnold, Senwosret III

Dieter Arnold. *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur: Architectural Studies*. With contributions and an appendix by Adela Oppenheim and contributions by James P. Allen. Publications of The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, vol. 26. New York, 2002.

BMA

Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

De Morgan, Dahchour I

Jacques De Morgan. *Fouilles à Dahchour Mars–Juin 1894*. Vienna, 1895.

De Morgan, Dahchour II

Jacques De Morgan. *Fouilles à Dahchour en 1894–1895*. Vienna, 1903.

Donadoni, Sarcophagi Egizi

Anna Maria Donadoni Roveri. *I sarcophagi Egizi dalle origini alla fine dell'Antico Regno*. Rome, 1969.

Franke, Personendaten

Detlef Franke. *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich (20.–16. Jahrhundert v. Chr.)*. Wiesbaden, 1984.

Gautier, Licht

Joseph-Étienne Gautier and Gustave Jéquier. *Mémoire sur les fouilles de Licht*. Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, no. 6. Cairo, 1902.

Grajetzki, Beamte

Wolfram Grajetzki. *Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung zur Zeit des Mittleren Reiches*. Berlin, 2000.

Hayes, Scepter I

William C. Hayes. *The Scepter of Egypt*. Vol. 1, *From the Earliest Times to the End of the Middle Kingdom*. New York, 1953.

Hayes, Texts

William C. Hayes. *The Texts in the Mastabeh of Senwosret-ankh at Lisht*. Publications of The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, vol. 12. New York, 1937.

Obsomer, Sesostris I^{er}

Claude Obsomer. *Sesostris I^{er}: Étude chronologique et historique du règne*. Brussels, 1995.

Petrie, Lahun II

W. M. Flinders Petrie, Guy Brunton, and M. A. Murray. *Lahun II*. British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account, Twenty-sixth Year, 1920. London, 1923.

PM III2

Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss. *Memphis: Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. 2nd ed. Vol. 3. Oxford, 1981.

Reisner, Canopics

George Andrew Reisner. *Canopics*. Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Cairo, 1967.

INTRODUCTION

Several expeditions have explored the Middle Kingdom cemeteries of Lisht. Gaston Maspero opened the entrances to the pyramids of Amenemhat I and Senwosret I in 1882, though without paying attention to the surrounding tombs. The French Institute of Oriental Archaeology in Cairo worked in Lisht under Joseph-Étienne Gautier in the years 1894–95, which was followed from 1906 to 1934 by the Egyptian Expedition of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, under A. M. Lythgoe, A. C. Mace, Ambrose Lansing, and William C. Hayes. Work in the cemeteries of Lisht was continued by the latter institution during six seasons from 1984 to 1991. In addition, the Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities has carried out some excavations in the area in more recent years.

Since the current expedition of The Metropolitan Museum is also working intensively in the Middle Kingdom cemeteries of Dahshur, the present publication will soon be followed by a corresponding volume with the title *Middle Kingdom Tomb Architecture at Dahshur*. That publication, besides reevaluating the results of the excavations of Jacques De Morgan in 1894 and 1895, will mainly describe our own work from 1990 to the present. This second volume will contain a comparative analysis of the architecture and the historical development of the tombs at both Lisht and Dahshur. The private tombs in the royal cemeteries of Amenemhat I, Senwosret I, and Senwosret III were excavated by our own expeditions. However, our knowledge of the tombs in the cemeteries of Amenemhat II at Dahshur and Senwosret II at Illahun as well as of Amenemhat III at Hawara is not based on firsthand fieldwork but only on earlier publications.

The publication of the records of such vast excavations rarely follows the originally devised plan. After the promising inauguration of a publication series on the private tombs at Lisht by Arthur C. Mace and Herbert E. Winlock in 1916 and William C. Hayes in 1937,¹ new attempts to publish the records of the Metropolitan Museum's Egyptian Expedition were undertaken (following the initiative of Christine Lilyquist) by Ray A. Slater and our old friends Janine Bourriau and Christian Hölzl, supported by the artist William P. Schenck. The original intention, to publish a comprehensive account of all aspects of the cemeteries, proved not to be feasible due to the enormous mass of material, which included coffins and surface burials, remains of sculpture and decoration, funerary objects, inscriptions, seals, pottery, and human and animal bones, spanning a time period from the Middle Kingdom to the Roman era. Instead it seemed more desirable to focus on specific topics. The present publication represents one such theme, namely, the architecture. Since the aim of this study is to re-create a picture of the private tombs as they stood completed, it was deemed useful to include not only the sarcophagi and canopic chests but also the wall reliefs and wall inscriptions insofar as they were indispensable parts of the tombs.

Dorothea Arnold is preparing a volume on the art, archaeology, and chronology of the cemetery of Lisht-South. Janine Bourriau is finishing a study of the burial customs in the Lisht-North cemetery using the example of some significant burials. Geoffrey Martin has completed his analysis of the seals

and seal impressions from the south and north cemeteries of Lisht. James P. Allen has completed a manuscript on the religious texts from Lisht based on the considerable number of inscriptions the Egyptian Expedition brought to light. A study of historical inscriptions will follow.

All archaeologists know the shortcomings of old excavation records. Usually inscriptions and objects of high artistic value are well documented along with tomb shafts, but architecture—even today—is often neglected, reflecting the absence of field architects and probably the great disparity between the large number of excavation workers and a few recording archaeologists. Our reexcavation of some of these architectural remains at Lisht sought to supplement the missing architectural survey; in many cases, however, natural decay or human activities after the original excavation had ruined the site. Collating sketchy pencil drawings (registered under AM-numbers) with the excavators' notes on the tomb cards (TC) and the photographic records occasionally helped to reassess the situation, especially since the Metropolitan Museum's Expedition photos were numerous and of excellent quality. In addition, two volumes with notes on the excavation of the tombs of Senwosretankh and Senwosret are preserved ("Lisht Journal II–III").

In the task of preparing this volume I received the valuable assistance of many colleagues. First and foremost I would like to thank my wife, Dorothea Arnold, for her essential help in the excavation, for frequent and always stimulating discussions and comments, and for her continuous concern for the well-being of our expedition. A special debt of gratitude is owed to Philippe de Montebello, Director of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and to Doralynn Pines, Associate Director for Administration, who in unique ways encouraged and supported our archaeological fieldwork and allocated a wide range of Museum resources to the project. I wish to thank Adela Oppenheim, Associate Curator, Department of Egyptian Art, for her dedicated contribution to the success of our expedition in Egypt and valuable discussions of the material presented here.

Thanks are also due to Lawrence Becker, head of the Objects Conservation Department, and to his predecessor, Tony Frantz, as well as Lisa Pilosi for their contributions to the preservation of the tomb of Senwosretankh at Lisht. I especially appreciate the help of William Barrette, Tanya Achkar, and Julia Jarrett, who scanned and edited most of the illustrations. I also mention with gratitude the contribution of photographer Dieter Johannes (at the time of our expedition working at the German Archaeological Institute, Cairo) and of artists William P. Schenck and Richard Velleu, whose work brilliantly enhances the illustrations of this book.² I would also like to thank Peter Antony for his advice in printing matters and Barbara Bridgers for her support in photographic work. Editor Elizabeth Powers ably assisted me in preparing the

¹ Arthur C. Mace and Herbert E. Winlock, *The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht*, Publications of The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, vol. 1 (New York, 1916); and Hayes, *Texts*.

² Since most of the older drawings had to be reworked for publication, the authorship of the final drawing is not always definitive.

manuscript for publication, and David Johnson again has my deep gratitude for his beautiful computer reconstructions and the tireless effort he put into preparing the illustrations and plate section for printing.

Our particular thanks go to our longstanding friends Professor Dr. Zahi Hawass, Secretary General of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, and Magdy el-Ghandour, Director of the Department of Foreign and Egyptian Missions of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, whose sanction and constant support were vital for our work at Lisht. It remains to thank the directors of the Saqqara and Dahshur inspectorates and, last but not least, our hardworking and reliable workmen from Qurna, under the skillful guidance of our two foremen, Mohamed Ali Ahmed and Ali Aoud.

Finally, gratitude is due to our team members on whose dedicated work much of this volume is based. Christian Hölzl's contribution toward the documentation and study of several of the monuments was particularly substantial. Here is a complete list of all participants:

James P. Allen, philologist, 1988–89
 Susan Allen, ceramologist, 1989
 Dorothea Arnold, Egyptologist, 1986–89
 Felix Arnold, student, 1986–87
 Lawrence Becker, conservator, 1992
 Regina Breitfellner, Egyptologist, 1988–89
 Gunther Heindl, archaeologist, 1987
 Bryan T. Hess, draftsperson, 1989
 Christian Hölzl, Egyptologist, 1986–89
 Peter János, Egyptologist, 1986
 Lisa Majerus, draftsperson, 1987
 Adela Oppenheim, Egyptologist, 1989
 Lisa Pilosi, conservator, 1992
 William P. Schenck, draftsperson, 1988–89
 Angela Schwab, Egyptologist, 1986
 Richard Velleu, draftsperson, 1989

PART ONE

MIDDLE KINGDOM TOMBS

OF LISHT-SOUTH

(pl. 1)

From the Old Kingdom onward, royal pyramid sites were surrounded by the tombs of officials and royal family members. This proximity brought prestige, protection, and the prospect of veneration and continuous funerary service. Another—and more convenient—reason was the nearness of the residence city in which these individuals had lived. We therefore often assume that the private tombs surrounding the royal tomb are more or less contemporary with the royal tomb. An analysis of the cemeteries shows that the reality was more complicated.

One consideration is that no tombs could be built as long as the pyramid area was covered by construction ramps, workshops, stone yards, and debris dumps. Therefore, most of the space, often occupied by tomb builders who belonged to the generation serving the succeeding king, became available only after the completion of the pyramid and the burial of the king. This situation occurred at the site of the pyramid complex of Senwosret I, where construction work initially blocked the areas east, southeast, and south of the pyramid (pl. 1).³ Coregencies also created complications. For instance, two royal pyramid enclosures, that of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III at Dahshur-North and South, respectively, were built practically at the same time. One can observe that approximately fifty officials built their tombs at the pyramid of Senwosret III, but no one at the site of Amenemhat III. A cemetery undisturbed by building activities was available only north of the pyramid of Senwosret III;⁴ the vicinity of the pyramid of Amenemhat III was avoided during the construction period and also afterward when the pyramid was abandoned because of structural failure. At that point, quite a number of officials followed their king to the new pyramid site at Hawara.

Such considerations suggest that the cemetery of Lisht-North was occupied only from the later part of the reign of Amenemhat I onward, which was coterminous with the ten-year coregency with his son Senwosret I. Some tombs were even added later by officials living in the nearby city of Itjtawy. The cemetery of Lisht-South, one mile distant (about 1.5 km), was used from the end of the reign of Senwosret I into the reign of his son Amenemhat II.

Before entering into the detailed discussion of the “tombs,” we have to remind the reader that this publication presents, in terms of numbers, only a relatively small group of important tombs that included a superstructure, either a mastaba or funerary chapel, and significant underground apartments. Not included here are the hundreds of large and small shaft tombs, burial pits, and surface burials that were excavated and recorded by the original and present Expedition. Their publication will follow in additional volumes and include objects and statuary.

Tomb of Senwosretankh

(frontispiece, pls. 2–7, 9–25)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *BMMA* 28, pt. 2 (Nov. 1933): 9–26; Hayes, *Texts*

SOURCES: The records of the excavation by William C. Hayes are completely preserved.

Architecture: Lisht Journal II, pp. 102a–108; TC 1588–1623 (surveyors’ notes); AM 2762–64; L32–33: 23–30, 49–50, 63–69, 82, 90, 103, 107–9, 113, 124–35, 157–60, 208–9, 328–29, 335, 345–46; L33–34: 174–75, 282–84

Mastaba decoration: Lisht Journal III, pp. 1–69; AM 2765–67; L33–34: 120–23

Chapel decoration: L32–33: 138–39; L33–34: 125, 130, 137

Lintel: TC 1669–72; L32–33: 24, 29–30

Granite blocks: Lisht Journal II, pp. 136–47; L32–33: 133–35

Crypt: AM 2768–70, 2772–73; L32–33: 270–72, 312, 325–27

Crypt decoration: AM 2774–90; L32–33: 270–86, 291–311, 313–24; MMA 34.10 (facsimile of wall decoration)

Sarcophagus lid: L32–33: 230–32, 249

EXCAVATION

In December 1932 the Expedition discovered the remains of the huge, monumental tomb complex of Senwosretankh at the edge of the plateau north of the causeway of King Senwosret I. It was probably in the Hyksos Period that tomb robbers tunneled into the burial crypt and completely destroyed the contents, while leaving the architecture and decoration of the crypt—except for the sarcophagus—practically undamaged. When the crypt was discovered in 1932, the Pyramid Texts that covered the walls and the colorful decoration of the sarcophagus niche were perfectly preserved. The texts were—as usual—carefully recorded and published. In 1991 the paint in the burial chamber was stabilized by Lawrence Becker and Lisa Pilosi of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. When the author entered the tomb chamber in November 2003 and again in 2005, the high humidity that had endangered the tomb had dissipated, and the walls were in much better shape than they had been thirteen years earlier.

³ The large empty spaces between tomb groups in the south as well as southeast and north of the royal pyramid, visible on plate 1, represent unexcavated areas. The desert surface suggests the existence of many more tombs.

⁴ The area south of the pyramid was occupied by an Old Kingdom mastaba field; see De Morgan, *Dahchour* I, pp. 8–14.

Though the superstructure of this unique monument was sadly demolished by ancient stone robbers, considerable remains of the stonework were still to be seen in 1932–33. The architectural survey was carried out so superficially, however, that basic questions concerning the reconstruction of the aboveground buildings can no longer be answered. Christian Hölzl, in a painstaking reexamination in 1985, tried to improve our understanding of the situation, but all aboveground remains preserved in 1932–33 had disappeared. The hasty and insufficient recording was due to the excavation in the same season (by W. C. Hayes and A. Lansing) not only of the actual tomb complex of Senwosretankh but also of over sixty Coptic surface burials and forty-nine (!) intrusive shafts located inside the complex, in addition to the work on the north side of the pyramid of Senwosret I with its entrance and north chapel.

TOMB OWNER

Senwosretankh held the usual important titles of a high official, but conspicuously absent is any indication that he took part in the royal administration. Several titles hint at a highly educated person in charge of building and artistic activities, in addition to religious functions.

Since Senwosretankh carried the titles of a “master of the artisans of the Double House and priest of Ptah,”⁵ royal carpenter and builder, and manager of building the palace” and since his tomb complex reveals the tomb builder to have been an extraordinary architect, one might assume that Senwosretankh himself was responsible not only for the design of his own tomb but also for the royal pyramid complex. He may have been the designer of Senwosret I’s unusual enclosure wall with the Horus panels.

Following the compilation in Lisht Journal II, pp. 140–41, these were the titles of Senwosretankh:

1. *hrj-p^ct* “member of the elite”
2. *h3tj-^c* “high official”
3. *wr hrp hmwt m prwj hm-ntr Pth* “master of the artisans of the Double House and priest of Ptah”
4. *hm-ntr Skr* “priest of Sokar”
5. *sm* “sem-priest”
6. *hm-ntr /// swt* “priest of the . . . thrones [places?]”
7. *hrj-tp Nhb* “chief [in the temple?] of Nekheh”
8. *hrj-h3bt hrj-tp* “superior lector priest”
9. *sš md3t-ntr* “scribe of the divine books”
10. *hrj-tp sš md3wt-ntr* “master[?] of scribes of divine books”
11. *hrj-sšt3 /// t hrj-sšt3 Shmt hrj sšt3 ///* “master of secrets of [Isis?], Sekhmet and . . .”
12. *hrj-wdb hwt-^cnh* “master of largesse of the House of Life”
13. *nb-sšt3 ///* “possessor of the secret of . . .”
14. *mdh qdw nsu* “royal carpenter and builder”
15. *hrp qdt hwt^c 3t* “manager of building the palace”
16. *t3-jb* “craftsman of . . . [?]”
17. *jmj-r wpt* “overseer of the inventories”
18. *jmj-r ht nbt nfrt* “overseer of every good affair”
19. *hrp mnjw 3pd jhw* “controller of the keepers of fowl and cattle”
20. *jmj-r tnwt mrw nsu* “overseer of the account of royal pasture land”
21. *3 Dw3w (wn-^c)* “oculist [ophthalmologist]”

22. *jmj-r wd^c-mdw* “overseer of judgment hall”
23. *[hrj h3?]t šmsw* “first of the retainers”
24. *jmj-^cjs* “councilor”
25. *///m3^c* “true . . .”

DATE

One naturally assumes that Senwosretankh belonged to the generation of King Senwosret I, and such a date is confirmed by three fragments from the funerary chapel with parts of the Senwosret cartouche and one piece of the Horus name of the king (L33–34: 137). The form of Senwosretankh’s name—“Senwosret is alive”—seems to presuppose that he was born and named only after Senwosret I had become king, suggesting that the date of Senwosretankh’s life and career extended into the reign of Amenemhat II. One might suggest that the Senwosretankh complex was built in the last decade of the reign of Senwosret I and perhaps completed in the first years of Amenemhat II.

Franke has collected material on other officials with the name Senwosretankh,⁶ including a group statue representing a Senwosretankh with his wife and daughter found at Ras Shamra (North Syria),⁷ but none of these individuals seems to be identical with the Senwosretankh from Lisht. An individual named Senwosretankh is depicted on a relief from Lisht-North, which describes him as “son of the king’s body” (see p. 87, pl. 170). If this Senwosretankh were identical with the Lisht-South mastaba owner, then he would have been the son of King Senwosret I. Since the name Senwosretankh is common during this period, there is no way to confirm that the Lisht-South tomb and the Lisht-North relief are connected to the same individual.

THE BRICK OUTER ENCLOSURE WALL

(pls. 3, 5a, 17b)

The building complex of Senwosretankh was the largest and most magnificent Middle Kingdom private tomb complex at either Lisht or Dahshur and certainly one of the most important private tomb monuments of the period in the whole country. The design of the aboveground buildings and of the underground apartments is so special that one senses the intellectual input of an unusual architect. The complex was built on the slightly sloping desert plateau northeast of the pyramid of Senwosret I, very close to the steep descent into the Nile valley. A causeway or staircase similar to that of Mentuhotep (p. 39) should have ascended the plateau, but no remains were found during a cursory search in 1985, although on old excavation photos more structures of uncertain date are visible to the east.

The funerary complex was surrounded by two brick outer enclosure walls and a stone inner wall. The outermost wall (50.5 x 92.3 m) was about 95 cm thick and may have been 2

⁵ Probably “high priest.” See D. Wildung, “Hoherpriester von Memphis,” in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 2 (1977), cols. 1256–59; Grajetzki, *Beamte*, pp. 110–11.

⁶ Franke, *Personendaten*, dossier nos. 499–502. See also the lower part of a small figure of a Senwosret in Sotheby’s, New York, The Charles Pankow Collection of Egyptian Art, December 2004, no. 10.

⁷ *The Illustrated London News*, March 3, 1934.

to 2.5 m high. There were no indications of an opening in the center of the outer east wall, but an access of some sort must have existed there. The brick outer and the inner walls were separated by a narrow space of about 2.5 m, except at the west end, where the space expands into a court 20 m wide and about 48 m long (40 x 91 cubits). This area was not only used later for intrusive burials, but it may also have been originally planned as a burial ground for the family of Senwosretankh. No other aboveground structures were found inside this court. This relatively insubstantial brick wall may have served more as a marker for the space claimed by Senwosretankh rather than having a protective function. The absence of domestic brick buildings (priests' houses, etc.) in the complex is conspicuous and differentiates the Senwosretankh precinct from its neighbors.

THE BRICK INNER ENCLOSURE WALL

(pls. 3, 5a, 17b)

The brick inner enclosure wall is totally destroyed, but a foundation trench over 3 m wide remains. The foundation seems to have been of brick, but some stone blocks were also found (in situ?) in the trench. The actual wall would have been at least 2.625 m thick (5 cubits) and 6.5 m high, an imposing wall indeed! Since an unarticulated wall of such dimensions would have been rather unusual for a private tomb, the wall may have been structured with projections and recesses. The recesses would have reduced the thickness of the actual wall considerably and lowered the height to more manageable dimensions. Of course, no traces of niching are left at the site, but we know that the similarly large tomb of Senwosret at Lisht-North had a paneled brick enclosure wall (see pls. 147, 152a). These observations have prompted the reconstruction of a niched wall as shown in the computer reconstruction on plate 5.

“PYLON”

(pls. 5a, 17a)

The east end of the mighty brick inner enclosure wall included an entrance that was articulated by a huge pylon-like brick bulwark that was 42.95 m wide and 7.2 m thick. Stone foundations in the center of the “pylon” suggest a wide (9.5 m) stone gate construction, the precise nature of which remains uncertain because of the destruction of the building down to the foundation and the inadequate recording of the meager remains. Certain observations can nevertheless be made.

First, a drain stone protrudes from the west wall of the pylon's south tower. The stone channel was not placed under the wall but in front of it, and was apparently fed by water running down a vertical (stone?) groove inserted into the west wall of the pylon. This arrangement suggests that the pylon had a flat roof surrounded by a parapet.

Second, the interior of the pylon contained narrow, passage-like spaces, accessed from inside the court, which were probably the beginning of staircases leading to the roof.

An important clue is offered by the stone foundation for the gate in the center of the pylon. The stone foundation has a T shape with an extended, slightly projecting east front and a narrow continuation to the west. This arrangement shows

that the building was not a New Kingdom-type pylon, but it would have perfectly accommodated a gate inserted into a niched enclosure wall.⁸ The foundation would have supported from the east a door into a passageway flanked by projecting towers built in stone. The passageway would have been cased and roofed with stone.

STONE WALKWAY

(pls. 3, 5a, 17a)

The east court (38 x 57.5 m wide) was dominated by the mastaba farther to the west. From the entrance a paved road made of twelve limestone slabs, each 2.5 m wide, led to an inner court. The plan of the original Expedition suggests flanking walls on both sides of the walkway or even a covered passage. This assumption is unconfirmed; a less elaborate, open approach is suggested, with this eastern entrance into the inner court perhaps marked by a gate of which no traces are left. The large area between the brick inner enclosure wall and the stone inner enclosure wall was later used as a burial ground, probably for members of Senwosretankh's family. Similar stone walkways were also found at the mastaba tombs of Nebit (NM 18), Hor-kherty (NM 31), and NM 34 north of the Senwosret III complex at Dahshur, leading from the gate in the enclosure wall to the mastaba.

THE STONE INNER ENCLOSURE

(pls. 5, 9, 18, 19a–b, d)

The walkway opened into an inner complex completely built of stone, which was surrounded by a third enclosure wall of limestone. The subfoundation of the wall was composed of roughly dressed, irregular blocks or slabs 2–2.5 m wide laid in a mosaic-like pattern. It carried the foundation slabs, which were each over 2 m long and arranged as headers at a right angle to the direction of the wall. Visible above ground they were smoothly dressed with sloping edges. On a slab south of the mastaba the width of the enclosure wall was marked as 95 cm, from which it can be concluded that the wall could have been about 4 cubits (2.10 m) high. The thickness of the foundation would have permitted a paneled wall, of which, however, we have no evidence.

The stone inner wall enclosed a rectangular, eastern forecourt (18 x 22 m) and a wider western section occupied by the freestanding mastaba. Remaining pavement slabs at the southeast corner of the court and north and east of the mastaba suggest that the east court and the ambulatory around the mastaba were paved with stone. As in the court of pyramid temples, a portico might be expected along the north, east, and south walls; no traces of columns were found, however.

Hayes assumed that the court was actually occupied by a chapel abutting the east face of the mastaba, so that the westernmost chamber of the chapel would have merged with the body of the mastaba. This reconstruction is highly improbable. Attaching a temple to a paneled mastaba (see below) would have precluded decorating the mastaba's east side with panels and would have made the decoration of the remaining three

⁸ The gateway of a pylon would have left square-shaped foundations.

sides appear incongruous. An open court in front of a mastaba or cult chapel, located at the west end of a complex, is the standard plan of monumental tombs at Lisht, for instance, those of Mentuhotep, Senwosret(?), and no. 758 (Senwosret).

MASTABA

(pls. 5–6, 9–11, 17, 18a, 19c–d)

At the time of the discovery of the tomb, Ambrose Lansing could still state: “The mastabah [sic] proper, its core being built of local stone instead of fine white limestone, has not suffered so much, and its original dimensions, with the exception of its height, can be determined with a fair degree of certainty.”⁹ Nearly all of this stonework was quarried by locals before our excavation in 1988.

The stone subfoundation of the mastaba platform (measuring roughly 12 x 22.7 m) was well preserved and carried the remains of the core masonry of rough fieldstones. In addition, the northwest corner block and a few pavement blocks on the east side were found in position. Marks on the top surface of the blocks¹⁰ suggest that the mastaba had an east-west width of 10.3 m. The north-south length can only be estimated to have been about 40 cubits (21 m). The foundation blocks projected about 65 cm beyond the foot of the mastaba. The rear part of the blocks carried the casing blocks of the mastaba, which were about one meter thick. A large, stone-cased deposit pit was found at the south end of the east side in front of the mastaba. Although still covered by a limestone slab (L32–33: 108–9), the pit seems to have been empty.

A clearly visible cavity in the core masonry at the south end of the east side indicates the existence of a cult niche or interior chapel that must have been accessible through an opening in the façade (see below). The niche was about 4 m deep (from the mastaba front) and 7.3 m wide. The niche’s wall casing would have reduced the interior space of the chapel to about 2 x 5.5 m (for details, see below). This space could have housed a single funerary chapel or been divided by an interior wall. A round hole in front of the false door at the west side of the chapel probably contained an offering. Interior rooms within the core of true mastaba tombs have so far not been found at Lisht or Dahshur.

Two east-west-oriented trench-like depressions were found behind the west wall of the niche. They were lined along the north and south sides with slabs set on an inward slope. Each trench measures roughly 1.5 x 3 m (L32–33: 103, 130; L33–34: 282–84). One might conclude that the trenches once enclosed boats that were buried within the core masonry of the mastaba. There is, however, no indication in the surrounding core masonry of walls or vaults to shelter boats in a kind of *serdab*. The depressions are probably not manmade, but are the result of the masonry sagging when the fill of the crypt’s construction settled.

Directly west of the mastaba of Senwosretankh a coffin-shaped mud container was found, together with ninety-six crudely modeled mud figures. They were inscribed in hieratic and invoked magical spells against enemies who could potentially harm the mastaba (MMA 33.1.66–147; JdE 60249–58; photos L32–33: 196–204).¹¹ Similar magic “defense lines” are known from other cemeteries as well.¹²

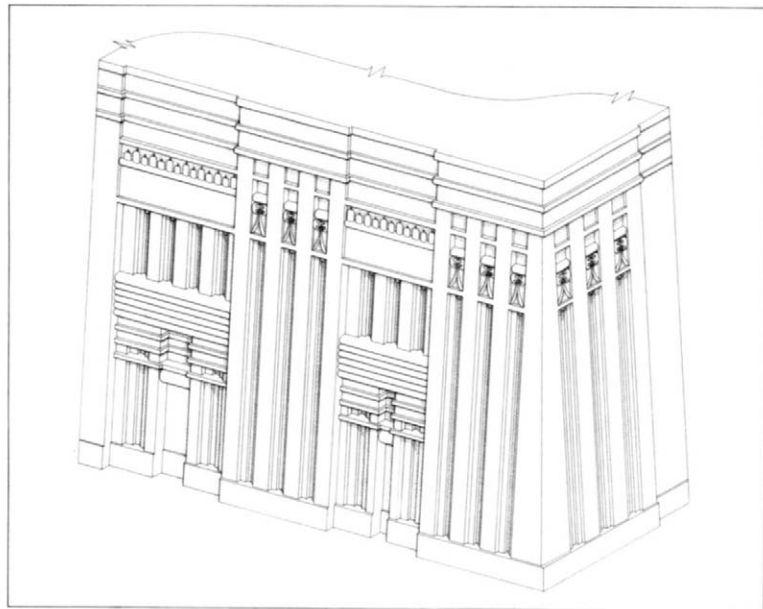


Fig. 1. Reconstruction (AM 2765) of the Senwosretankh mastaba northeast corner. Draw. R.V.

Surface Articulation

(pls. 2, 5b, 6, 11)

The mastaba was not cased with unadorned inclined slabs but with a meter-thick layer of elaborately decorated blocks. About one hundred fragments of architectural elements found around all sides of the mastaba suggest that the decoration consisted of a sequence of projections and recesses with false doors. Because no stone was found in situ and all the fragments have disappeared since the 1932–33 excavation, our reconstruction depends on the following sources:

(a) Four photos (L33–34: 120–23) show about thirty fragments, most of them parts of papyrus bundle elements (see below). A few other interesting pieces are not clearly visible on the photos.

(b) Lisht Journal III, pp. 18–59, preserves plans of over one hundred fragments, not all of which are identical with those on the photos. Unfortunately the recorder drew the ground sections (plans) of the fragments, but not the elevations. For that reason, the list does not support the reconstruction of the building’s elevation.

(c) AM 2765 is a reconstruction drawing of a projection flanked by two recesses with false doors of different size. In spite of its shortcomings (see below), this drawing is an important source because it documents the opinion of the original excavators (fig. 1). The drawing was based on ground plan AM 2767 with a reconstruction of some of the fragments recorded in Lisht Journal III.

⁹ *BMMA* 28, pt. 2 (Nov. 1933): 21.

¹⁰ The marks were scratched for the positioning of the roughly cut casing blocks and do not show the outlines for the projections and recesses because these details were carved in the standing wall.

¹¹ *BMMA* 28, pt. 2 (Nov. 1933): 23–25, fig. 32; Hayes, *Scepter* I, p. 329, fig. 217. A manuscript (“Figurines en argile”) on the find by Georges Posener in the Egyptian Department of the Metropolitan Museum will be published shortly.

¹² Georges Posener, *Princes et pays d’Asie et de Nubie* (Brussels, 1940).

General Design

(pl. 6)

The four faces of the 10.3 x 21 m mastaba were articulated by an alternating pattern of projections and recesses. The projections were 1.47 m wide ($19\frac{1}{2}$ palms = 1.46 m). The exterior faces were noticeably battered ($86.5\text{--}87.5^\circ$), an inclination that was sufficient to create the usual corner problem.¹³ Since we have no means of studying the effects of this problem on the design of the mastaba corners, we can only deduce that the projecting corner bastions were slightly wider. Assuming that the corner projections were 42.5–45.5 cm wider than the other projections (1.895–1.925 m), one can reconstruct four projections with three false doors on the short sides and eight projections with seven false doors on the long sides. We do not know how the entrance into the chapel was integrated into this system, but one can calculate that it was inserted into the second or third recess counting from the south.

Some recessed false doors had a width of 1.19 m. One fragment, however, shows that one or more false doors had a wider entrance slot in the center. We do not know whether the wider (1.62 m) false door occurred once only—perhaps at the entrance to the chapel—or whether smaller and wider niches alternated. The system can be tentatively reconstructed as follows:

P = Projection, SR = Small Recess, WR = Wide Recess¹⁴

1. The short north and south sides:

P - SR - P - WR - P - SR - P, amounting to 9.45 m. In order to attain the estimated east-west width of 10.3 m, each corner projection would have to be enlarged .425 m.

2. The long east and west sides:

P - SR - P - WR - P - SR - P - WR - P - SR - P - WR - P - SR - P, amounting to 20.09 m. Assuming that the wall was 21 m long, the corner projections would each have to be enlarged .455 m.

The height of the mastaba can only be roughly estimated. Since the wider false doors were the same width as those of the 4.2 m-high Khnumhotep mastaba at Dahshur, one might conclude that the false doors represented a sort of module that could be endlessly repeated without altering the height of the building. If that was the case, the Senwosretankh mastaba would have been at least 4.2 m high, perhaps slightly higher.

PROJECTIONS

(pl. 2)

For the reconstruction of the walls, one would like to be able to rely on the elevation drawing (AM 2765) produced by a draftsman (probably Walter Hauser, here fig. 1) who directly observed the few and relatively small fragments and the remains of the mastaba. However, our study of the similarly designed Khnumhotep mastaba at Dahshur suggests that some important alterations are necessary. The projections at Lisht-South were decorated vertically from bottom to top with three different elements: (1) three triple grooves, (2) three papyrus windows, and (3) two rows of three plain windows.

1. Triple Grooves

The projections were articulated by three well-documented triple grooves (or simplified false doors) each 20.5 cm wide, separated by ledges 21–22 cm wide. The height of the grooves is unknown. Each triple groove was topped with a torus molding.

2. Papyrus Bundle Element (fig. 2)

Several fragments confirm the existence of the well-known motif of two bound papyrus plants. The plants were set in “windows” about 42 cm high, 21 cm wide, and 2.3 cm deep. The arrangement of three fragments (photo L33–34: 122) shows that at least three papyrus windows were aligned in a horizontal row, corresponding to the three triple grooves below. The same photo also shows that the papyrus window was separated from the window above not by a plain ledge but by a miniature “door drum,” which seems to follow the Old Kingdom practice.¹⁵ However, this photo also shows that, for reasons unknown, the last papyrus window to the right did not have a drum, but rather a plain ledge.

3. Window Elements

As is to be expected, above the papyrus elements were two rows of three windows 3 cm deep. We cannot determine whether the upper window row was shaded by the protruding ledge below the entablature (as shown on the drawing) or separated from the entablature by a frame.

ENTABLATURE

The building was topped by an entablature of rounded vertical elements that probably rested on an architrave with a protruding ledge above and below. The reconstruction of an architrave with ledges is based on Old Kingdom parallels and not on actual finds from the Senwosretankh mastaba. The original Expedition wrongly placed the vertical elements in horizontal positions directly above the false doors. The evidence found at the Khnumhotep mastaba requires this element to be turned upright and placed at the top of the mastaba. The Khnumhotep reconstruction also shows that the top entablature was continuous; had it been incorporated into the hierarchy of projections and recesses, it would have produced serious problems for both the protruding ledges and the vertical rounded elements.

RECESSES

(pl. 2)

1. False Doors

The false doors followed the well-documented pattern of a deep central niche flanked on each side by two vertical pilasters with a shallow groove between. There seems to have been a certain pattern of narrower (1.19 m) and wider (1.62 m) false doors (see above). Whether or not the false doors were inscribed like those of Khnumhotep at Dahshur remains unknown.

2. Horizontal Beams

The discovery of a few ledge-like fragments seems to have led the 1932–33 Expedition, following Fourth Dynasty prototypes, to reconstruct three horizontal beams above the false door. This theory may be correct, but we have eliminated the recess-like inside step in the three beams, which would have considerably complicated the sculptor's work.

3. Triple Grooves

The earlier expedition reconstructed three vertical triple

¹³ See Arnold, *Senwosret III*, p. 21, fig. 1.

¹⁴ The computer reconstructions (pls. 5–6) do not include alternations.

¹⁵ For example, see Auguste Mariette, *Les mastabas de l'ancien empire: fragment [de son] dernier ouvrage* (Paris, 1889), p. 147.

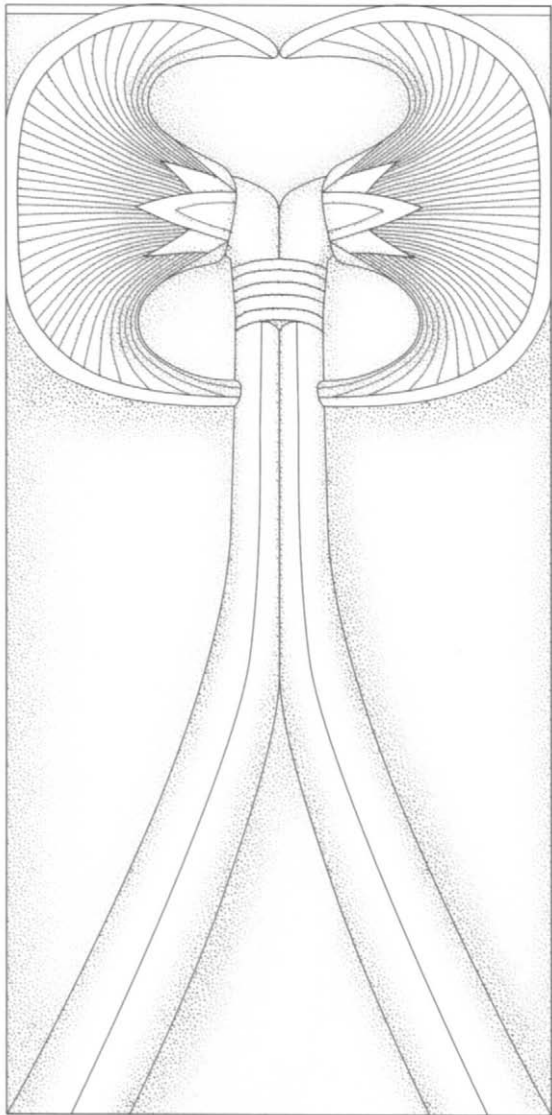


Fig. 2. Reconstruction of papyrus bundle motif from mastaba of Senwosretankh. Scale 1:4. Draw. David Johnson.

grooves above the smaller and four vertical triple grooves above the wider false doors, an arrangement that is well attested from the First Dynasty on.¹⁶

4. “Chessboard” Elements

Two small but distinct fragments that appear on photo L33–34: 123 confirm the existence of the chessboard elements, which—according to Old Kingdom parallels—should be placed high above the false doors. The motif appears regularly from the Early Dynastic period to the Twelfth Dynasty on representations of the *serekh*, or palace façade.

CHAPEL

(pl. 9)

Since the interior cult chapel was completely quarried away, its existence was indicated only by a recess in the mastaba core and by the discovery of relief fragments that would be difficult to place as part of an exterior wall. From the dimensions of the recess one can estimate that the available space for the chapel was about 4 m east–west and 7.3 m north–south. If we subtract from that total the thickness needed for the wall casing, a chapel of 2 x 5.5 m could be accommodated. One can suggest an entrance room with a main cult chamber behind it and a

false door against the west wall. The entrance room might have contained a separate *serdab* for statues.

The sketches in Lisht Journal III (pp. 58–59) record five fragments with hieroglyphs and torus-like molding that do not seem to fit into our picture of the paneled mastaba type. They may have belonged to an inscription placed inside the chapel, perhaps on the false door.

Lintel

(pls. 2, 11, 24c)

The entrance to the chapel was surmounted by a beautifully worked black granite lintel, which was found in 1932–33 somewhat east of the “pylon” of Senwosretankh. The lintel is an impressive example of the perfection achieved by Twelfth Dynasty sculptors working in hard stone. It was described as follows by Hayes:¹⁷

The block combines the two elements of the Egyptian door lintel, the “roll,” derived perhaps from a log of wood or from the tied-up curtain of an early type of house, and the lintel proper, a flat narrow member which actually bore the weight of the wall above the doorway. The roll bears two priestly titles of the owner and his name twice repeated in the usual symmetrical arrangement. The name, Se’n-Wosret-^cankh, is of the fairly common type in which the name of the ruling king is compounded with the verb ^cankh, “to live.” On the upper part of the lintel the same symmetry is observed. The inscription reads outward from the center, beginning with a title followed by the name and the texts. On the left half (the southern half, since the door faced east) we read: “O *Sem*-priest Se’n-Wosret-^cankh, mayest thou go in by the southern gate and stand therein like a god!” Opposed to this is the text “O ‘*Imy*’-is-priest Se’n-Wosret-^cankh, mayest thou come out by the northern gate and sit therein like an elder!”

The hieroglyphs were painted green. Only the front of the upper band, the front and underside of the roll, and a narrow area on the underside of the upper section are smoothly dressed and polished. The unexposed surfaces of the lintel are all roughly dressed and still bear the remains of plaster mortar. The front of the block is noticeably battered, and the back of the lintel vertical. The small size, 60 cm, suggests that the block belonged to the narrow entrance of the cult chapel and not to the large gate of the “pylon.”

Dimensions: L. 120.5 cm; maximum H. 36.9 cm; maximum depth 46.5 cm. Each door frame was 30 cm wide.

Wall Relief

(pl. 16)

About 175 fragments of fine Tura limestone relief decoration were found, the largest measuring 17 x 35 cm.¹⁸ The relief was executed with care and sophistication in the best style of the Twelfth Dynasty, great attention being given to even the smallest details. A corner piece was found, with incised block

¹⁶ L. Borchardt, “Das Grab des Menes,” *ZÄS* 36 (1898): 87–93.

¹⁷ *BMMA* 28, pt. 2 (Nov. 1933): 10, figs. 11–12. It is now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JdE 60267).

¹⁸ See Lisht Journal III, pp. 9–16, 58; photos L33–34: 125, 138–39. The present location of the pieces is unknown.

borders 3.5 cm wide on both surfaces. The excavators categorized the following subjects, typical for a funerary chapel:

(a) Large seated figures of the deceased, facing both left and right.

(b) Registers of smaller figures of walking offering bearers, who bring geese, ducks, and trays of vessels. These face both directions. The registers are separated by black lines, .75 cm wide.

(c) Piled offerings of various kinds. A horizontal block border along the top of one fragment suggests that the offering scene was, as to be expected, the top register of the decoration. There appear to have been more than one register.

(d) Four fragments of an offering list (Lisht Journal III, p. 11).

The following fragments may have originated from the entrance area:

(e) Twelve fragments of a large vertical inscription with hieroglyphs 10.6 cm high in low relief, listing titles of Senwosretankh (Lisht Journal III, pp. 12–13).

(f) Fourteen tiny fragments of smaller inscriptions in columns 6.5 cm wide in both directions. The selection of words seems to suggest an autobiographical text. One would assume that such a text—similar to the arrangement at the Khnumhotep mastaba at Dahshur—was written on the false door panels of the mastaba front. However, the signs and their background were painted and framed by a block border, which points to an interior inscription. This group also included one fragment with the Horus name of Senwosret I (pl. 16; Lisht Journal III, pp. 14–16).

GRANITE BLOCKS

(pl. 25)

Numerous fragments of red granite were found at the bottom of pit 8 (south of the mastaba; see below).¹⁹ Parts of at least six blocks were recovered, three of which were inscribed; they were 29 cm high, at least 55–62 cm long, and 18 cm (?) thick. Two restored blocks (1 and 2 below; now in the MMA) show an incised figure of Senwosretankh dressed in a short kilt and seated on a chair with lions' legs. Another block (3; also MMA) shows Senwosretankh facing an offering list read to him by a lector priest. Numerous fragments of uninscribed blocks were also mentioned in Lisht Journal II (p. 137).

The front and top surfaces of the blocks, which are smooth, must have been visible, while the back, end, and bottom surfaces were roughly dressed and carried traces of pinkish mortar, suggesting that they joined other casing blocks. No cramp sockets or other devices were recorded.

The blocks must have been part of an unidentified object or monument, such as a lintel, door frame, panel, or freestanding altar, though blocks 1, 2, and 3, with smooth upper surfaces, could not have belonged to a door frame. Perhaps they lined a wall niche somewhat above ground, either within the cult chapel or somewhere outside. If so, blocks 1 and 2 with the polished top surface would have formed the front of the bottom course with back-to-back images of the seated Senwosretankh.

1, 2. Granite blocks

MMA 33.1.13 and 33.1.14

Two fragmentary blocks restored in plaster (L32–33: 134–35). The decoration on each block shows Senwosretankh

dressed in a short kilt seated on a chair with lions' legs. On one (1), the figure faces left; on the other (2) right; before each figure are the name Senwosretankh and apparently five columns of titles.

Dimensions: H. 29 cm; Th. 17 (+ x) cm

3. Granite fragments

MMA unaccessioned

A collection of ten fragments that depict an offering list with the head of a lector priest, at the left end, facing right (L32–33: 133).

Dimensions: Th. 18 cm

4. Granite fragment

Fragment with a projecting element. "All existing surfaces smooth dressed. . . . Clearly a projecting element (jamb?)." Drawing unclear. Location unknown, probably left at Lisht.

Dimensions: Th. 18 cm

5. Granite fragment

Fragment with two smooth surfaces: "Front and right side (in drawing) surfaces dressed smooth." Drawing unclear. Location unknown; probably left at Lisht.

Dimensions: W. 18 cm

6. Granite block

Rectangular block with all surfaces left rough. Location unknown; probably left at Lisht.

Dimensions: 18 x 22 (+ x) x 49 cm

7. Granite fragment

Fragment with a slightly projecting ledge 2.5 cm wide. Front surface smoothly dressed, others are left rough. Location unknown; probably left at Lisht.

Dimensions: W. (in drawing) 18 cm

8. Granite fragment

Fragment with a slightly projecting ledge 2.7 cm wide. Front and top surfaces (in drawing) left rough; surface on left side smoothly dressed. Location unknown; probably left at Lisht.

Dimensions: were not recorded.

SCULPTURE

The tomb robbers reached the burial of Senwosretankh through the roughly cut pit 8 (see below) between the mastaba and the south wall. In addition to the red granite fragments, this pit contained fragments of several statues mixed with broken stones from the mastaba. The chapel or an attached *serdab* must therefore have housed quite a number of statues, which would not be surprising in a tomb belonging to a "royal sculptor and builder"! The following large pieces were recovered:²⁰

1. Seated limestone figure of Senwosretankh (?)

MMA 33.1.2

Bibliography: Hayes, *Scepter I*, pp. 206–7; Dietrich Wildung, ed., *Ägypten 2000 v. Chr.: Die Geburt des Individuums* (Munich, 2000), p. 89 [27]

Sources: L32–33: 166–68

¹⁹ *BMMA* 28, pt. 1 (Nov. 1933): 11. See also Lisht Journal II, pp. 136–41.

²⁰ The excavation of the Senwosret complex and surrounding tomb shafts brought to light additional sculptural remains. All the sculpture will be published by Dorothea Arnold.

Upper part of a life-size seated limestone figure with a broad wig and a short kilt. The two hands, which had been broken off, were found among the limestone chip. The face of the figure is slightly damaged, but the torso is finely rendered.

2. Female statuettes

MMA 33.1.5–6

Bibliography: Hayes, *Scepter I*, p. 207; Vandier, *Manuel III*, pp. 243–44, 257–58, 265–66, 608, pl. 90 [3–4]; Dietrich Wildung, ed., *Ägypten 2000 v. Chr.: Die Geburt des Individuums* (Munich, 2000), pp. 144–45 [68–69]

Sources: L32–33: 136, 148–49, 154–55

Two female statuettes in yellow quartzite that had been part of a group statue. The original arrangement could have consisted of a large male figure seated on a rectangular throne or cube. The female figures, possibly wife and daughter of the statue owner, were placed on either side of his legs against the front of the seat. The body of the left statuette was found some distance away, in pit 23 at the southeast corner of the inner enclosure, together with the body of a companion statuette (L32–33: 148–49, 154–55). Three more quartzite fragments of a larger figure are shown on L32–33: 136.

3. Arm

MMA 33.1.7

Sources: L32–33: 143

A powerfully modeled arm and part of the wig of a life-size red granite standing male statue. Because of its size, the fragment may have been a displaced piece that originated from a statue of the king.

4. Arm and other pieces

Sources: L32–33: 144, 150

The right arm, noticeably bent, part of the wig with the right ear, and three more pieces of a black stone statue (probably diorite or granodiorite).

5. Granite statue

Sources: L84–85: 3.1–2

The lower part of a second dark grey granodiorite statue, probably a companion piece to the other figure of this material (4), was found in a pit south of the enclosure. The statue is stored at the Expedition house at Lisht.

6. Granite statue

Sources: L32–33: 336–37

The lower part of a life-size seated statue of dark grey granodiorite. The uninscribed statue was found in pit 3 south of the enclosure wall and is now stored in the Expedition house at Lisht. It was delivered to us in 1998 after its discovery at the guardhouse near the Senwosretankh mastaba.

PIT 8

SOURCES: L32–33: 47–49, 80–81

Pit 8, the robbers' entrance into the crypt of Senwsoretankh, contained the important finds enumerated above. The pit is described in the report of the 1932–33 Expedition as follows:²¹

Between the two walls were numerous burial shafts which had been most thoroughly plundered and were

producing practically nothing. It was not until, on December 20, the workmen began to clear a curious pit just south of the mastabah, between it and the limestone wall, that things began to look up again. The burial shafts of the period are always rectangular, but this pit was roughly circular and oddly small (A in the plans, figs. 13, 19).

The mouth of the pit was filled with broken stone as the result of the destruction of the mastabah casing, and not far down in this accidental fill lay part of a life-sized limestone statue [= MMA 33.1.2]. It had been a seated figure wearing the broad wig and the short kilt, or apron, customary for cult statues in this period. Only the part from the waist up was found, the rectangular block of the base with the legs having presumably been carried away for building stone at the time of quarrying. The two hands had been knocked off and lay among the limestone chip surrounding the statue. The face of this figure is unfortunately somewhat battered, but the modeling of the torso is admirable (fig. 14). It is in all probability a statue of Se'n-Wosret-^cankh which had once stood in the mastaba chapel.

The clearing of the pit proceeded for about a meter and then was interrupted, this time by the burial of a child. The pottery with it was of a type of which we have found little in this cemetery, for it belongs to the very end of the Twelfth Dynasty or is possibly even later. At a depth of about six meters came the bottom of the pit. Here lay the fragments of three or four inscribed blocks of pink granite . . . [= MMA 33.1.13–14; see above].

From this report we may draw the following conclusions about the history of the pit:

1. The pit was dug by tomb robbers, probably in the late Twelfth Dynasty.
2. Granite fragments from nearby monuments were thrown into the empty pit.
3. Sand accumulated within a few years.
4. A child was buried in the pit during the Second Intermediate Period.
5. The shaft was refilled with debris containing pieces of a statue, possibly of Senwosretankh, and other discarded material.

UNDERGROUND APARTMENTS OF SENWOSRETANKH

(figs. 3–5, pls. 4, 12–15, 20–24a–b)

The underground apartments of the mastaba of Senwosretankh are an extraordinary example of Lower Egyptian Middle Kingdom tomb architecture. As one of the most elaborate, best-preserved inscribed private tombs of the period, it represents a simplified, small-scale copy of the burial system of an Old Kingdom royal pyramid. The crypt's pristine condition, its harmonious proportions, and the walls covered with Pyramid Texts, arranged as if a papyrus scroll was unfurled on the walls, made a great impression on the first excavators. Unfortunately, the crypt has now lost some of its magnificence due to the rising groundwater level and resulting humidity, which have discolored the limestone and destroyed much of the paint.

²¹ BMMA 28, pt. 2 (Nov. 1933): 11.

Mouth of the Passage

(figs. 3–4, pls. 4, 7, 10, 18a, 19d, 20a)

All underground rooms were constructed in an open pit 7.5 m deep that was dug into the *tafl*. The entrance into the underground apartments was situated on the north side of the mastaba under the north face of the stone inner enclosure wall. Two deposit pits were found in the north court. They held either foundation offerings or magic objects for the protection of the tomb. Opposite these pits is a stone-cased passage that slopes down into the tomb. The mouth of the sloping passage has been altered by the modern entrance, but the ancient situation can be reconstructed with the help of old excavation photos and Christian Hölzl's exact measurements.

The curious shape of the mouth of the entrance resulted from the builders' inability to produce scaled construction drawings or models. As usual, a sloping construction ramp led into the open trench for the burial apartments. After the construction of the burial chamber and horizontal corridor, the blocks for the sloping passage were lowered, beginning at the bottom of the passage and moving upward.²² At the surface, the builders realized that the passage was so steep (37°)²³ that its mouth would have been positioned halfway up the front face of the enclosure wall, clearly visible to any potential tomb robber (fig. 3). To avoid this exposure, the slope of the uppermost three meters of the passage was reduced to about 21° , creating a noticeable bend in the passage. This correction brought the mouth of the corridor into the foundation of the enclosure wall and below the court surface. Remarkably, the builders of the pyramid of Amenemhat III at Dahshur had the same problem and resorted to the same alteration.²⁴ The curiously shaped profile of the passage ceiling in the Senwosretankh tomb was required in order to dip the sarcophagus into the steeper part of the passage. As soon as the front half of the coffin entered this steep section, the rear end would rise, requiring more ceiling space. In 1932, the excavators found the mouth of the passage still blocked with four horizontally laid and carefully cemented blocks. Whether this was the original blocking or a later repair—perhaps after a robbery attempt—remains unknown.

The tomb robbers realized that removing the blocks would require exhausting work and tried instead to break through the relatively thin ceiling slabs of the passage. The attempt to reach the lower end of the sloping passage from the north failed, however. According to the old Expedition report: Because “the sloping part of the passage had been tightly packed with large rough blocks of stone, chips and sand,” the Expedition workers spent “several days of arduous labor in removing what had effectually halted the plunderers.” The observation that the thieves started inside the court and not from the core of the mastaba shows that the robbery occurred when the mastaba was still intact. Since other robbers successfully reached the crypt through pit 8 from the south side (see p. 23), all attempts from the north could be halted.

Sloping Passage

(figs. 3–5, pls. 4, 7, 20b–d)

The 1.02 m high and 90 cm wide passage was built with floor slabs, one course of wall blocks, and ceiling beams about 75 cm thick.

At a depth of 7.75 m, the passage becomes horizontal (fig. 4), though the sloping floor does not run without interrup-

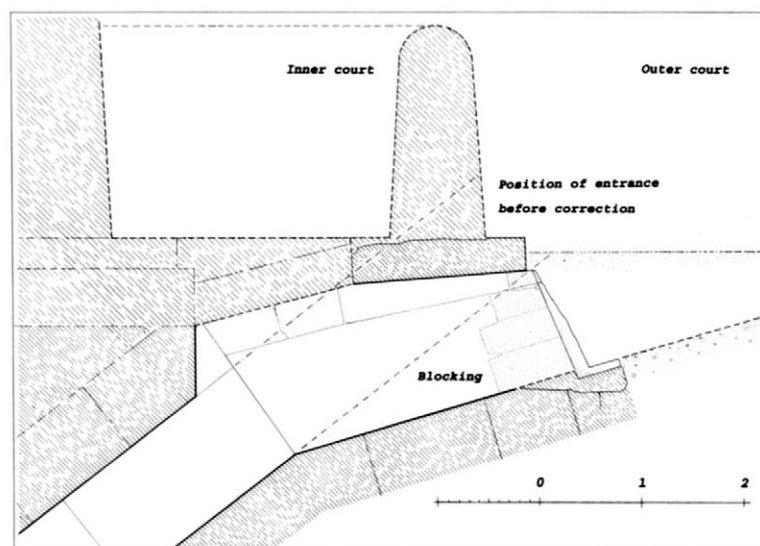


Fig. 3. South-north section of the upper end of the passage to the tomb of Senwosretankh. Draw. D. A.

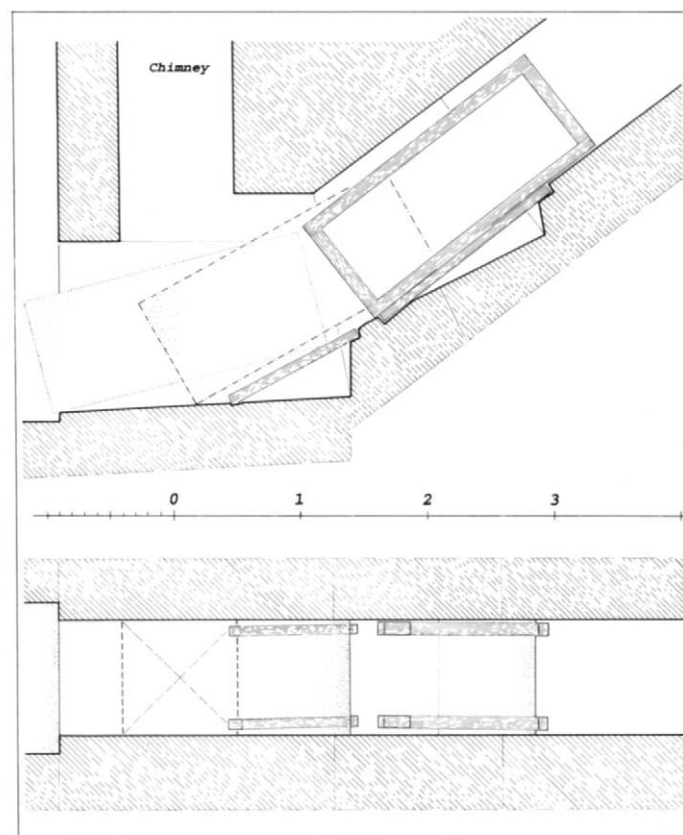


Fig. 4. Section and plan of the lower end of the passage into the Senwosretankh tomb, with movement of wood coffin on skid poles. Draw. D. A.

tion to the bottom but ends with two large steps, an arrangement necessary to change the coffin's direction from an incline to the horizontal. In addition, four pairs of sockets were cut into the floor and into the riser of the intermediate step for stabilizing two pairs of skid poles. The upper pair would have consisted of poles 1.65 m long and 10 cm thick; the smaller, lower pair would have been 1.12 m long and 7.5 cm thick. This system indicates that exceptional care was taken by the builders, though, again, there was a flaw, with the skid

²² For a similar procedure in a pyramid, see Audran Labrousse, *L'architecture des pyramides à texts: Saqqara nord*, Bibliothèque d'étude 114 (Cairo, 1996), I/2, figs. 72–74.

²³ Corresponding to a proportion of 3:4, or three palms rising to four palms horizontal.

²⁴ Arnold, *Amenemhet III*, pp. 21, 38, pls. 43, 48.

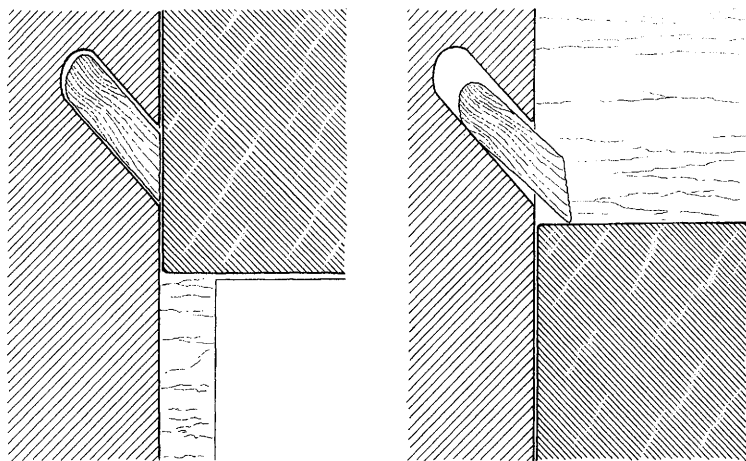


Fig. 5. Locking device of portcullis in the Senwosretankh tomb. Scale 1:10. Draw. W. S.

poles nullifying the effect of the steps and actually recreating the original condition of a stepless sloping corridor. The problem remained theoretical, however, since a 90 cm high wood coffin (see p. 23) could have passed on a stone slope or on skid poles, though certainly not on steps without poles. In such a scenario, the length of the coffin could not exceed 1.80–2.10 m.

“Chimney”

(pl. 7)

At the beginning of the horizontal section of the passage, the ceiling opens to reveal a narrow shaft with sloping sidewalls extending about 8 m up into the core of the masonry. This “chimney,” which begins 2.16 m above the floor of the horizontal passage, did not reach the open sky, but ended within the mastaba core, in order to avoid creating easy access for tomb robbers. The purpose of the shaft is unknown, and Hayes’s idea, that it was filled with sand to bury tomb robbers, must be wrong.²⁵ There is certainly a functional or symbolic connection with the similarly shaped chimney in the northern pyramid of Snofru at Dahshur,²⁶ a feature that also remains unexplained.²⁷ One is also reminded of the well-known airshafts of the Khufu pyramid.

Portcullises

(pls. 4, 7, 20c–d)

The horizontal passage was blocked by four limestone portcullises, each 28 cm thick, which were lowered from corresponding openings in the ceiling and set into deep niches in the side walls and the floor.²⁸ The edges, when the portcullis was lowered, would have been hidden, preventing the use of levers to lift it. In addition, the first portcullis was slightly thicker than the rest and had an ingenious locking device that prevented tomb robbers from pushing the slab upward (fig. 5). The underside of each portcullis was hollowed out by a pair of U-shaped grooves or channels for attaching ropes.²⁹ It is difficult, however, to imagine how ropes attached to the undersides could have helped to lower the blocks. One must rather assume that, before being lowered, the portcullises were propped up with wood supports or stone blocks that had to be pulled out. The impact of the falling stone may have been cushioned with sandbags. Robbers made a 2.8 m long test tunnel in the east wall of the passage, between the second and third portcullis, looking for hidden chambers. The four

portcullises were opened by the robbers in the following order, from the inside (south) working outward (north):

1. The innermost portcullis was only half raised by the robbers.

2. The following portcullis was raised by the robbers and propped up on precariously balanced fieldstones.

3. The next portcullis was also lifted by the thieves. Traces of the attempt by robbers to lift the block were found in the floor south of the portcullis.

4. The outermost portcullis was smashed, apparently because the weight of the fill in the chimney prevented lifting it. Traces in the floor show that the thieves first attacked the block from the inner (south) side.

Chamber

(frontispiece, pls. 4, 7, 14, 15, 21–23)

The rectangular chamber (2.64 x 5.46 m) is oriented east–west and is 1.90 m high. The walls are constructed of three courses of huge, carefully dressed and fitted limestone blocks that rest on at least one additional foundation course, which is visible in the pit along the south wall. The wall foundation is separate from that of the large (47 cm thick) floor slabs, which seem to sit on a heavy packing of rough fieldstones that apparently fill the bottom of the pit into which the tomb was built. The wall casing consists of 55–70 cm thick blocks laid in thin plaster mortar and connected with wood cramps.

At the western end of the chamber is a 1.5 m wide niche divided from the area to the east by a low wall behind which the floor is sunk to a depth of one meter. This recessed depression contained the sarcophagus (see below). The niche is decorated with seven shallowly carved, beautifully painted *serekh*-palace façades, two on each short side and three on the rear (west) wall. The colors, brilliantly preserved in 1932 (see frontispiece), have sadly suffered because of the effects of humidity. The ceiling of the chamber is flat and constructed of over 3 m long limestone slabs that are covered with large blue stars on a white or gray background.

The canopic niche is in the center of the south wall. Hidden below the floor level of the chamber, it was originally also lined with quartzite blocks, most of them ripped out by tomb robbers. The pit was 90 x 90 cm before the lining was put in place, leaving room for a chest of only 60 x 60 cm.

At the east end of the south wall, opposite the entrance, is a side chamber (95 x 161 cm) lined with limestone blocks. Its purpose is unknown, but side chambers for offerings and other grave goods appear in Twelfth Dynasty tombs.³⁰ The walls were damaged in two places by thieves who cut test holes.

Pyramid Texts

(pls. 21–22, 23a–b)

The walls of the south end of the horizontal passage and the

²⁵ *BMMA* 28, pt. 2 (Nov. 1933): 16.

²⁶ Vito Maragioglio and Celeste Ambrogio Rinaldi, *L’architettura delle piramidi menefite* (Rapallo, 1964), vol. 3, pl. 9, fig. 3, and pl. 11, fig. 1.

²⁷ Rainer Stadelmann points out that the top of the Snofru pyramid chimney extends precisely to the desert surface, which was of course deeply buried under the pyramid core (*Die ägyptischen Pyramiden* [Mainz, 1985], p. 92).

²⁸ Even royal pyramids of the Old Kingdom have only three portcullises.

²⁹ For similar handles, see Arnold, *Amenemhet III*, fig. on p. 38.

³⁰ Arnold, *Senwosret III*, p. 120, pls. 88, 92, 96, 100.

crypt are covered from floor to ceiling with 536 columns of Pyramid Texts rendered in sunk, blue-painted hieroglyphs.³¹ According to Hayes, the texts do not contribute much to the understanding of Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts but are important for the history of the transmission of the texts over the centuries. The Senwosretankh version corresponds very closely to the texts of the Unas pyramid.³² The arrangement of the burial chamber of Senwosretankh also closely follows the scheme adopted in the Unas pyramid,³³ but there are differences. The Unas pyramid has a separation wall between the antechamber and the burial chamber, while in the Senwosretankh tomb both rooms were combined and the so-called *serdab* found in the pyramids was reduced to a small offering chamber. Another difference is the form of the roof. Whereas the pyramids had saddle roofs, the Senwosretankh crypt has a flat ceiling. As a consequence, the triangular spaces formed by a saddle roof at the top of the east and west (short) sides are missing, and the texts inscribed in these spaces in the Unas pyramid have been moved to the main wall surfaces.

Hayes assumed that the Senwosretankh texts were not copied directly from either the Unas pyramid or another royal Old Kingdom tomb but that, more likely, the texts had survived in manuscripts from a group of originals composed in the late Old Kingdom. He argued that the Senwosretankh texts “are not to be found all together in any one, or even in any two, of the Sakkareh pyramids. Finally while the variants in the Sen-Wosret-ankh texts may not on the whole be useful in solving the translations of difficult passages in the pyramid versions, they are far too numerous, too distinctive, and, in many cases, too independently and intelligently conceived ever to have occurred in texts copied directly from these versions.” The texts therefore “constitute an actual continuation of Old Kingdom forms and practices and [are] in no sense the results of archaistic copying of particular ancient buildings, objects, and texts.”³⁴

Sarcophagus

(pls. 12–13, 21b, 22b, 23c, 24a–b)

Senwosretankh was not buried in a traditional monolithic stone sarcophagus but in a unique chapel-like construction, which was sunk into the floor of the western part of the burial chamber. This pit was lined on all four sides with 13 cm thick sandstone or quartzite blocks to the level of the dividing wall, probably five to six courses high. Most of these blocks—being a precious building material—were stolen. Unless we consider these block walls to have formed the sarcophagus, Senwosretankh did not possess a true stone sarcophagus.

The huge dimensions of the pit (1.15 m wide, 2.38 m long, and 1.38 m high measured between the lining) were unnecessary for an ordinary wood coffin and make sense only if a huge wood coffin had to be accommodated. The cross section of the sloping passage (90 cm wide, 1.02 m high), however, limited the dimensions of the coffin to a maximum width of ca. 80 cm and a height of 90 cm.³⁵

The sarcophagus pit did have an unusual stone lid (2.63 m long, 1.42 m wide, 27 cm high), which consisted, in contrast to the quartzite lining of the pit, of four separate slabs of hard white limestone(?).³⁶ The top of the lid was rounded, and the ends were raised, while the underside was hollowed out and carved in a unique manner in low relief. The effect was of a gabled ceiling lined with rush matting secured with rope in a

manner that suggests 2 x 3 separate mats (see pl. 13). The lid would have rested on the rim of the quartzite lining. One wonders whether the lid was cut into four separate pieces because it was not ready when the chamber roof was closed, thus avoiding the problem of dragging a large object through the corridor.

Whereas it was quite common to sink a sarcophagus below floor level, the sarcophagus of Senwosretankh, with its lid, rose visibly above the floor. This feature and the unusual lid and wall lining are unique and show that Senwosretankh and his builders intended to create something uncommon, probably imitating an archaic prototype. The mat pattern on the underside of the lid recalls the reed palace of early kings, a motif that appeared in the blue faience “matting” tiles in the underground chambers of the Djoser complex.³⁷ The housing of a wood coffin in a shrine (surrounded by diorite slabs!) is also known from the tomb of King Mentuhotep Nebhepetra at Deir el-Bahari.³⁸

Robbery

It is of interest that the thieves did not enter the tomb through the most natural access, its entrance, but instead broke in through a hole in the wall (pl. 23a, b). Once inside, they cleared the tomb and its entrance passage. Lansing observed that the robbing of the tomb involved two operations:

1. Breaking into the roof of the passage through the paved inner court north of the mastaba. This operation was abandoned because of the sturdy blocking of the passage (see p. 21).

2. Digging of a pit (8) and tunnel south of the mastaba and breaking into the burial chamber through its south wall.

Lansing suggested that the robbers were not satisfied with what they found in the burial chamber:

They, or perhaps later parties, made a more painstaking search, testing all likely quarters throughout the tomb. The sounding through the north wall of the burial chamber and the ripping out of the lining in the sarcophagus recess and the canopic niche have been spoken of. In addition two soundings were made in the walls of the small offering chamber. The three portcullises nearest the burial chamber were raised in the course of the thieves' exploration of the passage. A break was made through the east wall of this passage and a tunnel nearly three meters long cut in the bedrock. A hole was cut through the floor of the passage and a burrow made for some distance under the slabs which formed it.³⁹

These observations indicate a complete breakdown of guardianship in the cemetery. The thieves did not work in haste but had enough time and resources to carry out a thor-

³¹ Hayes, *Texts*.

³² For these texts, see Alexandre Piankoff, *The Pyramid of Unas*, vol. 5 (Princeton, 1968).

³³ For the burial chamber of Unas, see Labrousse, *L'architecture des pyramides à texts*, I/1, pp. 35–38; I/2, figs. 12–21.

³⁴ Hayes, *Texts*, p. 11.

³⁵ Even less if the coffin was lowered on a sledge.

³⁶ The lid is in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JdE 60272).

³⁷ See Jean-Philippe Lauer, *La pyramide à degrés: L'architecture* (Cairo, 1936), pp. 36–38, pls. 34–36. See also Herbert Ricke, *Das Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Userkaf* (Cairo, 1965), vol. 1, pp. 20–24.

³⁸ Dieter Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahari: Architektur und Deutung* (Mainz, 1974), pp. 48–49, pls. 21–22, 38–40.

³⁹ BMMA 28, pt. 2 (Nov. 1933): 18.

ough plundering project. The date of the robbery could have been the Hyksos Period. Robbers' pottery from the crypt used as lamps suggests a date in the late Twelfth to Thirteenth Dynasty, but Hyksos Period thieves could have picked up older pottery in the area.

The piles of rough stone visible in the photos taken at the time of the opening of the chamber (pl. 21) cannot have been part of the architecture of the crypt and the sarcophagus pit. Was part of the entrance passage blocked with these stones?

Finds

The burial of Senwosretankh was so thoroughly plundered that the debris of the chamber contained only the remains of objects dropped by the thieves that confirmed the earlier presence of a rich Twelfth Dynasty burial: eye inlays from a rectangular coffin, fifty-two metal ring beads and a quantity of carnelian pendant beads, tubular beads, pieces of blue inlay and green faience, and tiny bits of gold leaf. Half a dozen human bones were found on the pile of debris of the burial chamber and are thought to belong to the body of Senwosretankh.

About fourteen more or less intact vessels, all charred black in spots by fire, were brought in by the thieves as lamps. According to Dorothea Arnold, they date to the late Twelfth or Thirteenth Dynasty.

TOMB OF WOSRET, NO. 48

MMA 33.1.173

SOURCES: L32-33: 207, 210-15; MMA photos 157549-53

A secondary tomb outside the southern enclosure wall was one of several there and contained a small, stone-lined underground chamber. Floor, walls, and ceiling were cased with thin limestone slabs. The chamber was just wide enough to accommodate a wood coffin. A square cavity in the center of the tiny chamber's floor may have contained a canopic burial. The walls were inscribed in black ink with two horizontal bands of Pyramid Texts.⁴⁰ The burial chamber is of no architectural value, but, because of the interest of the texts, the nine wall and ceiling slabs were dismantled and reassembled in the Metropolitan Museum (33.1.173).

Tomb of Senwosret(?) (pls. 26-31)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *BMAA* 29, pt. 2 (Nov. 1934): 27-40

SOURCES:

Lisht Journal III, pp. 70-215

TC: 1678-1788 (surface burials and burial of Hepy only)

AM 2791 (plan and section), 2792-94 (pits 2 and 3), 2797 (pit 4)

L33-34: 267, 285-86, 295-310, 315-17, 326, 373-75, 437

EXCAVATION

Immediately west of the mastaba of Senwosretankh stood a much smaller tomb enclosure, but still of considerable dimen-

sions. The tomb, which was, however, thoroughly destroyed, was excavated in the Metropolitan Museum's 1934 season. The main discovery was the interesting finds in the (secondary) burial of the lady Hepy, who may have been the wife of the tomb owner Senwosret(?).

TOMB OWNER

The name of the tomb owner can be deduced with some certainty from one of the relief fragments from the cult chamber that mentions a [Sen-]wosret (L33-34: 437; pl. 31b). This Senwosret seems to have been the original owner of a coffin that was usurped for the burial of a lady Hepy. Her name appears on top of the lid of the inner coffin, painted over an older text (L33-34: 309). The names inside the completely inscribed and decorated inner coffin were not touched and still retained—painted in better quality—the name of a steward (*jmj-r pr*) Senwosret (L33-34: 310, 326). One may assume, therefore, that Hepy was Senwosret's wife or daughter, who died unexpectedly during the construction period and had to be buried in the hastily redecorated coffin already prepared for Senwosret. The burial of the tomb owner Senwosret in the main crypt would therefore be slightly later.

One might think of associating this Senwosret with the contemporary vizier Senwosret, who has been tentatively identified with the owner of tomb 758 at Lisht-North (see p. 77). There are no indications, however, that the latter was ever a steward. Detlef Franke lists another fifteen officials with the same name, but none can be convincingly identified with Senwosret at Lisht-South.⁴¹

DATE

The material found in the Hepy burial dates to the later part of the reign of Senwosret I or to the early part of the reign of Amenemhat II. The stone vessels found in the main burial also suggest a burial date in the reign of Amenemhat II.

RAMP

(pl. 26)

Photo L33-34: 375 shows in the far distance two huge parallel brick walls approaching the complex of Senwosret from the east. These walls were not recorded by the original Expedition. The photo suggests that the two walls, which extended a short distance into the court of the complex, were built over by the eastern enclosure wall. The walls most probably represent a construction ramp for the Senwosret tomb comparable to the ramp leading to the tomb of Nakht (pl. 137).

BRICK ENCLOSURE WALL

(pls. 26, 29)

The complex consisted of a 29.7 x 36.3 m enclosure formed

⁴⁰ The religious texts are to be published by James Allen.

⁴¹ Franke, *Personendaten*, dossier nos. 483-98.

by a brick wall 1.8–2.2 m thick. There is no explanation for why the walls differ in thickness. No traces of the actual gate were found, but an entrance has to be expected in the center of the east wall. Immediately inside the gate was a passage that opened onto a court after passing between brick structures, which must have been the usual priests' houses and storerooms. The walls of two of the houses were preserved up to five courses high. The later addition of intrusive burial shafts damaged and changed the original buildings. The excavation records do not allow us to disentangle the walls from different building periods.

The less disturbed northern building had a 5.5 x 8.5 m main room accessible from the entrance passage and was later divided in half by a wall. If the room was originally covered (which is probable), the roof would have required dividing walls or columns as a support. Three chambers on the north side of the dividing wall were reached from the court side by a separate entrance, which suggests that they were better protected storerooms. A semicircular structure, perhaps a granary, was later built against the outside west wall of the north building. The southern building was also accessed by a door from the entrance passage, but its interior organization may have differed. Probably twice in its history the original walls were replaced by thinner ones, the last time perhaps in connection with the construction of a portico.

Originally the entrance passage opened onto a 22.5 x 26 m court that was dominated on the west side by the main funeral building of stone. The west end of the entrance passage was later altered by the addition of a room or portico with two slim columns.

The enclosure contained at least twelve burial shafts and seven surface burials. Most of these respected the original structure and occupied the empty space of the court, with the surface burials clearly arranged behind the west and south sides of the cult building. Five of the shafts, however, were dug into the floor of the above-mentioned brick buildings on the east side of the enclosure. They were certainly dug after the abandonment of the brick buildings.

CULT BUILDING

(pls. 26, 28–30a–c, 31b)

In the rear part of the enclosed court stood a mastaba-like structure ca. 10.5 x 14 m (L33–34: 373–75). Although the building was aligned with the axis of the entrance to the enclosure, for unknown reasons the space between the building and the north wall is considerably wider than between it and the south wall.

The chapel had a core of irregular fieldstones and rubble, retained by a stone casing. Only a small portion of the core and a few foundation slabs of the casing were preserved in 1934. No casing fragments were found that might have suggested the kind of structure or the decoration of the exterior of the chapel. The existence of an entrance portico (see below) most likely excluded a paneled façade.

Two round column bases were found near the center of the east side of the chapel. An upper diameter of 78 cm and a lower diameter of 81 cm suggest a column diameter of ca. 65 cm. The bases could not have been found in situ because they would only have left a passage of half a meter. One must assume that they originally stood *in antis* on either side of the axis of the tomb in a front portico of the chapel. The portico

was apparently 2.10 m (4 cubits) deep, but the north-south extension remains unknown. Therefore we cannot decide whether the portico contained four columns, as suggested on the original and on Christian Hölzl's drawings (pls. 28–29), or only two (pl. 26). The existence of two bases and the relatively small size of the building support the latter.

The sparse remains of the chapel core offer little indication of the shape and size of the cult chamber behind the portico. That the chamber was lined with limestone and decorated can be concluded from a few fragments of fine raised relief, one showing two officials (L33–34: 437; [MMA 34.1.180], now Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, 958.49.4). One of these fragments contains the above-mentioned part of the name [Sen-]wosret, one of the few hints to the possible owner of the tomb.

UNDERGROUND APARTMENTS

(pls. 26–27, 29)

The burial chamber of Senwosret was accessed by two shafts (nos. 2 and 3). The 1.9 x 1.9 m construction shaft (no. 3), which descends 16.7 m, was half covered by the cult chapel. This strange placement suggests that it was dug before the chapel was built, probably at a stage when the exact position of the aboveground buildings was not yet established. The builders probably expected that the chapel would stand considerably farther to the east so that the mouth of the construction shaft would have been completely hidden by the mastaba. When finally built, the chapel was so far to the west that it no longer covered the underground chambers.

The mouth of shaft no. 3 was originally sealed with pairs of limestone slabs set so as to form a slightly sloping gable roof, a construction certainly required to relieve the pressure of the chapel core on the fill of the shaft. Since the lower end of the construction shaft was later blocked by the horizontal passage of burial shaft no. 2, shaft no. 3 could not have been used for the burial.

The actual burial shaft (no. 2) was positioned under the bricks of the northern enclosure wall and was untouched when excavated in 1934. This location was certainly meant to hide the mouth of the shaft, but it required that a gap in the wall be kept open until the interment of Senwosret. At a depth of 8.3 m, the vertical shaft turned into a steep slope for an additional 10 m. A horizontal passage followed, its walls and ceiling lined with limestone slabs, which enabled a safe access beneath the fill of the construction shaft and into the chamber.

The corridor sloped steeply into the crypt of Senwosret. The 3.8–4 x 4.3 x 3.2 m chamber was cut from the rock and was meant to be cased with blocks that would have been arranged in two courses. A ledge surrounded a 2.3 m deep pit containing the sarcophagus. The pit was composed of 40 cm thick slabs of limestone and was covered by about five slabs that had once formed the pavement of the room. The canopic chest was placed in a niche in the center of the east side of the sarcophagus pit as a kind of side chamber and also had its own roofing slab. The chamber-like interior of the sarcophagus pit is astonishingly large, 1.45 x 3.05 x 1.8 m, more than enough to house a huge sarcophagus. Since the narrow dimensions of the construction shaft would not permit the insertion of such a large object, one has to assume that the stone pit contained a wood coffin of ordinary dimensions.

No remains of the burial were mentioned in the excavation

record; the chamber was apparently found robbed except for some stone vessels left in the sarcophagus pit. The ceiling of the crypt has collapsed, creating a huge cavity. The floor level of the sarcophagus is 19.35 m below the desert surface.

Eight blocks of the lining of the pit and four of the canopic niche were inscribed with assembly marks in red paint. The marks indicated the position of the stones, suggesting an accurate planning and dressing of the lining above ground (Lisht Journal III, pp. 211–13). The signs were recorded in the excavation record, but not their location on the blocks!

The lowering of the sarcophagus under the floor of the crypt follows other examples at Lisht-South, such as the tomb of Senwosretankh, the two chambers of the Imhotep mastaba, and the mastaba of Mentuhotep. Similar tombs from the Middle Kingdom have been found at Dahshur.

BURIAL OF HEPY

(pls. 27, 30d, 31a)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *BMMA* 29, pt. 2 (Nov. 1934): 38–40, figs. 37–39; Hayes, *Scepter I*, p. 232, fig. 148

The tomb contained another burial system, that of Hepy, which the Metropolitan Museum excavators found untouched. Twelve meters down the construction shaft (no. 3) was a subsidiary burial chamber that branched off to the east, its entrance sealed with a brick wall hiding a 3 x 4 m chamber with a pit 1.8 x 3.05 x 2.2 m in the center. The room contained a big (cypress?) coffin, constructed of very long and heavy planking. This outer coffin enclosed an interior coffin originally inscribed with the name of steward Senwosret but repainted with the name of a lady Hepy. Her body was adorned with a mask and beautiful jewelry.⁴² On the ledge around the pit were found remains of two wood statuettes and a boat. The excavators noted clear traces of a strong earthquake (Lisht Journal III, p. 114), which may have been the same one that damaged the mastaba tombs of Nebit, Sitwerut, and Khnumhotep and the enclosure wall of the pyramid complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur.⁴³

Deposited in front of the brick wall sealing the chamber (not inside the tomb!) were the ivory figures of dancing dwarfs (JdE 63858; MMA 34.1.130), faience dolls (JdE 63861–63; MMA 34.1.125), an ivory handle (JdE 63860), and other objects. The question is whether they were deliberately placed there after the burial of Hepy or stored there by the thieves who plundered Senwosret's tomb below.

The tomb of Hepy must have been used and closed before the cult chapel core was built over shaft no. 3, that is, during the chapel's construction, suggesting that Hepy was a close relative of the tomb owner, probably his wife.

Grand North Mastaba of Intef(?)

(pls. 32–37)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gautier, *Licht*, 63–73; *BMMA* 28, pt. 2 (Nov. 1933): 25–26; E. Fiore Marochetti, “Un frammento di iscrizione proveniente dalla grande ‘Mastaba du Nord’ a El-Lisht,” *Vicino Oriente* 11 (1998): 121–32

SOURCES (abbreviated “GMN” in the records of the Expedition):

Lisht Journal I, p. 201a (biographical text)

TC 1169–1254, 1165–68 (notes on the crypt)

AM 249, 2751–56 (plans and sections), 2757 (pits), 2758–61 (reliefs)

L7–8: 375, 473–77, 484–85; L32–33: 136; 137 and 140–41 (biographical text); L87: 73–79; L89: 70–73, 78, 79, 135–41, 150–53

EXCAVATION

In 1894–95, a large and important but hopelessly destroyed funerary complex, listed as LXII by Richard Lepsius, was excavated by the French expedition north of the pyramid of Senwosret I.⁴⁴ Gautier discovered there a large fragment of an important but incomplete biographical inscription. In 1908 the Egyptian Expedition received permission to remove the entire crypt with the sarcophagus and canopic chest for a reconstruction in The Metropolitan Museum of Art.⁴⁵ On that occasion a few more notes and sketches were made, including a rather meticulous and detailed section of the tomb (AM 249) drawn by an individual schooled in nineteenth-century drafting tradition. The perfection of the drawing and several discrepancies between photos and the drawing indicate, however, that the latter is not an accurate record but an idealized reconstruction of limited reliability.⁴⁶ The Egyptian Expedition carried out additional work in the 1913–14 season, but it remained unrecorded. In its 1932–33 season, the Expedition cleaned and surveyed parts of the area and discovered more fragments of the biographical text. In 1987 and 1989 the Expedition returned for a more detailed study of the architecture, a project carried out by Christian Hölzl and Regina Breitfellner. A few more fragments of the biographical text were discovered, but not the name of the tomb owner.

Natural decay and human activity after the earlier excavations have almost completely destroyed the architectural remains of the complex, so that our recent excavation was able to verify only a few features recorded on the older plans. The incorporation of our own documentation with existing records proved to be difficult because of discrepancies in measurements of up to half a meter. The resulting plan (pl. 32) should therefore be used with caution.

TOMB OWNER

As mentioned above, the tomb owner's name unfortunately remains unknown, but the unusual proportions and the regal

⁴² Including MMA 34.1.142, 154, and 156. The rest is in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JdE 63897–98).

⁴³ Arnold, *Senwosret III*, pp. 16, 19 n.23, 89 n.289, 99.

⁴⁴ Arnold, *Senwosret I*, vol. 1, p. 15.

⁴⁵ In spite of the enormous transport effort, the chamber was never reconstructed at the Museum and the stones have been deaccessioned. The sarcophagus and the canopic chest are now on display in the Metropolitan Museum. See below.

⁴⁶ The photos suggest that the blocking stones of the corridor were never pulled out. If this is the case, how could the floor and side walls of the passage have been seen and drawn? Despite the presence on the drawing of the casing of the upper end of the corridor, the photo also shows that it was completely missing in 1906. Nevertheless, since not much else was available, I used AM 249 in rendering plate 35.

appearance of the tomb point to a high-ranking personality. Tantalizing fragments of an autobiographical inscription suggest that his name ended with the letter “f.” If reconstructed as the traditional Theban name “Intef,” it would fit the remark in the autobiographical text that he was the “son of a noble of the country of the south.” Speculating further, one could identify this Intef with the royal chief steward Intef, a high official of Senwosret I who is known from a statue and a group of stelae from Abydos, dated to years 24 and 25 of that king.⁴⁷ His tomb has not yet been located. Intef probably followed Nakht, the owner of mastaba 493 at Lisht-North (pp. 72–73), in the office of royal chief steward, but the titles given below are not listed by Allen among those of the royal chief steward Intef. There is also the vizier Intef from the middle of the reign of Senwosret I who could be connected with the mastaba tomb at Lisht-South.⁴⁸

The few titles accidentally preserved from the tomb inscription were certainly not the highest ones the tomb owner held. They are connected with royal construction or maintenance projects, such as temples and walls:⁴⁹

1. *hrj-tp hrj-hbt nsu* “chief royal lector priest”
2. *wr hb* “great one of the catch,” i.e., “great hunter”
3. *hrj-tpj n bjt* “chief of the *bjt*-boat”
4. *jmy-r š* “overseer of the quarry work”

DATE

The autobiography contained the sequence of Horus names of three kings, only the first (or last) of whom could be read as that of Amenemhat I. The identity of the two other kings has met with different responses. Hayes and Simpson, assuming the names followed a chronological sequence, from the last two kings of the Eleventh Dynasty to Amenemhat I, thought that the tomb owner’s life span covered the reign of these three kings and that he died under Amenemhat I. Marochetti reversed the sequence, suggesting that the tomb owner lived under Amenemhat I and Senwosret I and died under Amenemhat II. Another possibility cannot be excluded: that the names are those of kings whose monuments the tomb owner was tending, which would not necessarily mean that he lived during their reigns.

Considering the development of the Lisht cemetery, Marochetti’s later date is far more convincing: namely, a construction of the tomb in the later half of the reign of Senwosret I, while the death of the tomb owner in the reign of Amenemhat II is probably correct. This date is also suggested by the sarcophagus type in the tomb,⁵⁰ which is a form typical for the reign of Senwosret I. According to Dorothea Arnold, the pottery collected in 1989 can be dated as late as to the time of Amenemhat II to Senwosret II. The analysis of the textual evidence by James P. Allen (p. 93), on the other hand, suggests a life span from the reign of Mentuhotep III to that of Senwosret I.

BRICK ENCLOSURE WALL

(pl. 32)

The complex consisted of a mastaba surrounded by a north-south-oriented 1.57 m thick brick enclosure wall. The entrance could not be located because of the poor condition

of the wall, but one would expect it in the center or nearer to the south end of the east wall. The latter option is shown on the plan. A broadening of the foundation trench south of the center might suggest the foundation for a stone gate. The enclosure measured 27.65 x 38.33 m (outside), translating to exactly $52\frac{2}{3}$ x 73 cubits. The purpose of the irregular $\frac{2}{3}$ cubits is not clear.

The court east of the mastaba was 6 m deep and even narrower on the west, north, and south sides, leaving no room for priests’ houses or other brick structures. The tomb type of a plain mastaba within an enclosure wall does not normally include such structures.

The enclosed area was certainly pitted with secondary burials. Gautier mentions one shaft; the original Expedition found half a dozen more. The enclosure was surrounded by seven small square pits, apparently following a certain pattern, two each in the east and west and three in the north. The pits in the north were 1.10 x 1.10 m. The first pit was empty, while the second and third still contained undisturbed canopic burials. Their wood chests had decayed, but the two sets of four canopic jars were still preserved. One set consisted of limestone, the other one of fine clay jars. No inscriptions revealed the names of the owners, and no tombs with the burial of their owners were found. Their present location is unknown.

MASTABA

(pls. 32–35)

The interior of the court was dominated by the 15.45 x 25.85 m mastaba, leaving only a relatively narrow passage along its sides. A steep inclination of the casing of 81° could be measured from fragments of the façade inscription, representing unusually strongly battered wall surfaces. The height of the building is unknown. Stephan Seidlmayer has suggested a formula for calculating the height of an Old Kingdom mastaba from its length.⁵¹ According to this formula, the height would have been one-sixth of the length, or 4.31 m.

The mastaba core was built of irregularly shaped fieldstones, retained by a limestone casing. On the 1934 plan, large parts of the foundation slabs and possibly two casing blocks appear in the north and along the northern part of the east side. In 1987 they were mostly gone.⁵² The foundation platform protruded about 25 cm beyond the foot of the mastaba walls. The core masonry of the mastaba had disappeared except for remains of eight 65 cm thick interior dividing walls

⁴⁷ Allen, “High Officials,” p. 18; Felix Arnold, “The High Stewards of the Early Middle Kingdom,” *GM* 122 (1991): 11.

⁴⁸ Allen, “High Officials,” p. 24.

⁴⁹ Hayes (*Scepter I*, p. 183) later came to the conclusion that the mastaba “was built by a high-ranking official who served under four kings, including Amun-em-het I, and who may have been the old vizier In-yotef-okre [Antefiker].” This assumption is not really convincing: Antefiker had already built a rock tomb at Thebes and another tomb at Lisht-North. See Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Antefoker, Vizier of Sesostri I, and His Wife, Senet* (No. 60), The Theban Tombs Series, 2nd Memoir (London, 1920).

⁵⁰ See the forthcoming volume on Middle Kingdom tomb architecture at Dahshur.

⁵¹ Based on Nicole Alexanian, *Dahshur II, Das Grab des Prinzen Netjer-aperf. Die Mastaba II/1 in Dahshur* (Mainz, 1999), pp. 32–33.

⁵² As mentioned above, plate 35 is based on a beautiful old drawing (AM 249) that suggests a building much better preserved than the ruin we found in 1987. We cannot determine whether the drawing documents the real situation or represents an idealized reconstruction.

of rough fieldstones running east-west. These walls stood over two meters high in 1894–95 and were still clearly visible in 1934, but have since been flattened. They seem to have structured the core of the mastaba in nine 2 m wide compartments or cells, thereby strengthening the fill of the core. No recessed fragments of a paneled exterior were found, and the steep slope of the building excludes such a reconstruction.

Decoration

There is some evidence that two cult niches were part of the east side of the mastaba, the main one and a secondary one. The northern one is indicated on the French plan as “*Stèle*” (Gautier, *Licht*, fig. 76), located slightly north of the center of the east side. The plan of the Expedition also shows a shallow recess in the center of the east wall casing, probably indicating the original location of the autobiographical text discussed below. On the south end there is no cavity or other indication of the location or shape of a niche, although a deep niche or small cult chapel would have been required to accommodate a few insignificant relief fragments found in the 1989 season:⁵³

89/34: Fragment with parts of two hieroglyphs in raised relief from a vertical inscription(?). Found in debris above the so-called French Tomb (see pp. 31–32) near the northwest corner of the Grand North Mastaba. Both signs are painted black.

Dimensions: H. 8 cm; W. 7 cm

89/35: Fragment with parts of two hieroglyphs in raised relief from a vertical inscription(?). Found in debris above the French Tomb near the northwest corner of the Grand North Mastaba.

Dimensions: H. 31 cm; W. 7 cm

89/36: Fragment with parts of two hieroglyphs in raised relief, perhaps the number “2.” Found in debris above the French Tomb near the northwest corner of the Grand North Mastaba.

Dimensions: H. 14 cm; W. 11 cm

89/40: Fragment of the wig of a man facing left in raised relief; probably life-size. Found in the crypt of the French Tomb.

Dimensions: H. 10 cm

89/41: Fragment of a vertical border line in raised relief with traces of a hieroglyph to the side. Found in the crypt of the French Tomb. The piece was a corner block with two masonry edges.

Dimensions: H. 13.7 cm; W. 17 cm

89/44: Fragment of an unidentified feature in raised relief painted black. A masonry edge along one side. Found in the crypt of the French Tomb.

Dimensions: H. 14.5 cm

89/70: Fragment with a vertical border line and remains of a scene to the right(?). A masonry edge along the opposite side. Found in the debris north of the Grand North Mastaba.

Dimensions: H. 19 cm; W. 8 cm

Façade Inscription

(pls. 33–34)

The exterior of the mastaba carried a long biographical inscription (see Appendix by James P. Allen, pp. 89–93) that has intrigued Egyptology since its discovery in 1894 but that has never been satisfactorily studied. The batter of the fragments (81°) shows that the text appeared on the façade of the

building, most likely on the central recess of the east side. As mentioned above, Gautier indicated a stela perhaps set into a niche on his mastaba plan (*Licht*, fig. 76). The Expedition’s plan is more precise, showing a 10 cm deep and 1.50 m wide recess 6.25 meters from the northeast corner. A panel there would have offered space for twenty columns of text, each 7 cm wide.

Two larger and about twenty-one smaller fragments have been recovered. The text was rendered in sunk hieroglyphs painted green. The text columns were ca. 7 cm wide. The fragments suggest a text of at least twenty columns, for a width of ca. 1.50 m. One small fragment of two large and detailed hieroglyphs indicates the existence of a different text, a larger one, probably originating from the door frame of the cult chapel (or from the entrance gate into the enclosure?).

The first fragments were found by Gautier in 1894–95; about seventeen additional pieces came to light during the 1913–14 reexcavation of the site by the Egyptian Expedition; and in 1989 Christian Hölzl found five fragments in a dump south of the French Tomb. The majority of the fragments of the Egyptian Expedition was found in the southern half of the east side.

1. A large fragment group found in 1894 (Gautier, *Licht*, p. 63, fig. 75) was recovered by the Egyptian Expedition in 1913–14 and came to the Metropolitan Museum (MMA 14.3.1; pl. 33, upper). The block has remains of nine columns of text. Gautier mentions “quelques fragments,” but he only depicts the largest one.

Dimensions: H. 70 cm; W. 79 cm

2. A second large group (pl. 33, lower) found in 1932–33 (*BMMA* 28, pt. 2 [Nov. 1933]: 26, fig. 38; photo L32–33: 137) went to the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JdE 60270). The fragment is composed of several pieces with remains of nine columns of text containing the Horus name of Amenemhat I and indications for the Horus name of other kings.

Dimensions: H. 84 cm; W. 0.62 cm

3. Seventeen smaller fragments found by the Metropolitan Museum Expedition (photos L32–33: 140–41) went to the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

The following fragments were found in 1989 by the present Metropolitan Museum Expedition (pl. 34):

89/26: Fragment with remains of three columns of text in sunk relief. The central column contains $////^c r hpr////$. The inscribed surface has an inclination of 81°. Found in debris above the French Tomb near the southwest corner of the Grand North Mastaba, perhaps the dump of the original Expedition. Signs show traces of green paint.

Dimensions: H. 16.5 cm; W. 19 cm

89/27: Remains of two columns in sunk relief with three jackals and three signs for a dragoman in the left column. Found in debris above the French Tomb near the southwest corner of the Grand North Mastaba. Signs show traces of green paint.

Dimensions: H. 26 cm; W. 11.6 cm

89/28: Small fragment with remains of two columns in sunk relief, left *mdw*, right *m nn*. Found in debris above the French Tomb near the southwest corner of the Grand North Mastaba. Signs show traces of green paint.

Dimensions: H. 6.5 cm; W. 10 cm

⁵³ Since half of the fragments were found in the French Tomb (pp. 31–32), there is a small possibility that this tomb had a separate cult building above ground. For the text of the inscriptions, see the appendix by James P. Allen.

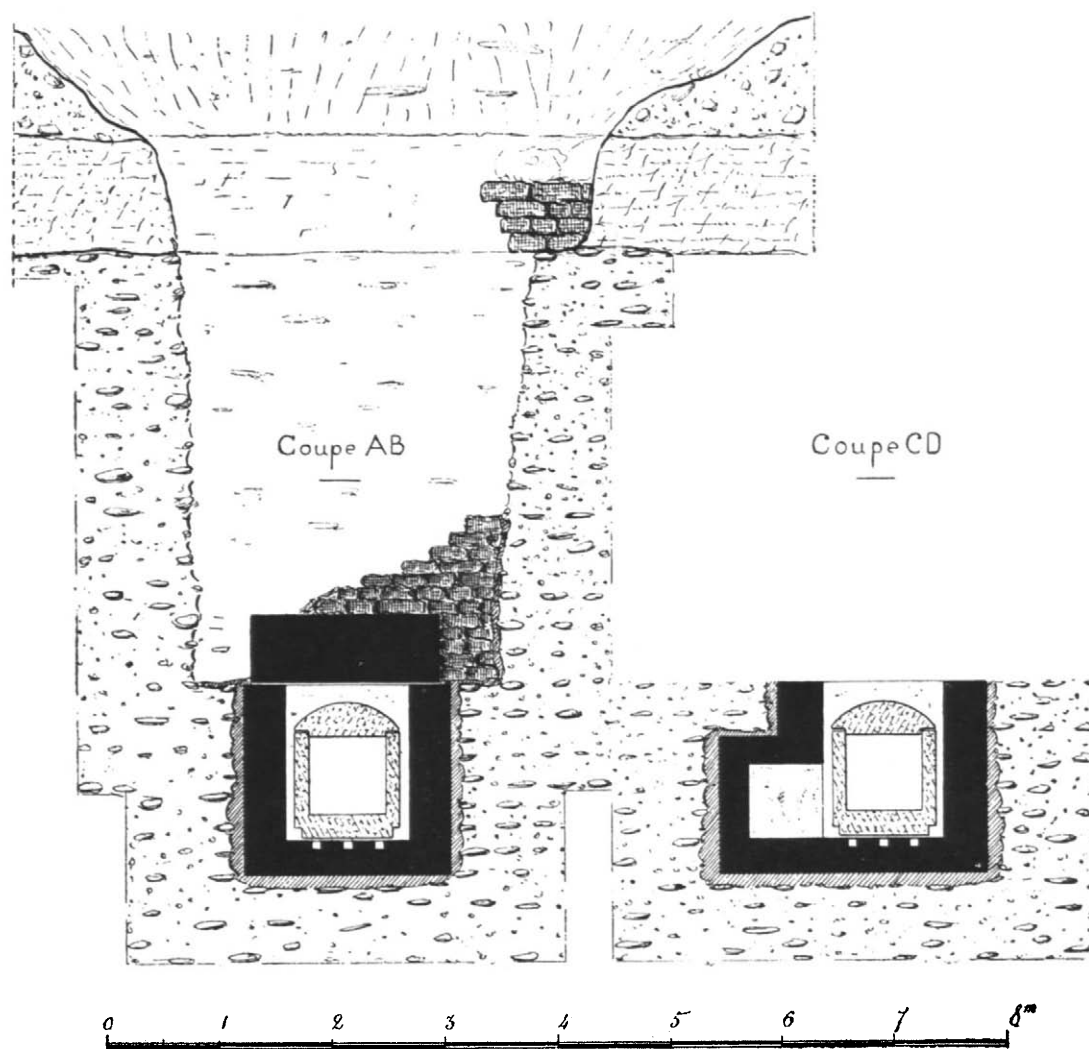


Fig. 6. East-west section through the crypt of the tomb of Intef(?). Gautier, *Licht*, figs. 77–78.

89/69: Fragment with remains of two columns of text in sunk relief with parts of the *sw*-plant. Found in debris north of the Grand North Mastaba.

Dimensions: H. ca. 9.5 cm

89/63: Fragment with remains of the signs Δ , Δ , and Δ in sunk relief. The signs were carved larger than those of the autobiographical inscriptions, suggesting they belong to a different text. Found in the debris north of the Grand North Mastaba.

Dimensions: H. 8.5 cm; W. 3.2 cm; Th. 5.5 cm

UNDERGROUND APARTMENTS

(fig. 6, pls. 35–37)

An open-trench construction was used to build the underground apartments of the mastaba, which consisted of a passage and “chamber,” after which the trench behind the masonry was carefully filled with small stone blocks and brickwork.

The design of the underground apartment was rather simple: a passage with a 14° inclination and a sarcophagus at its lower end. The 1.07 m wide and ca. 1.28–1.30 m high passage was cased with paving slabs and wall and ceiling blocks. The ceiling blocks were sunk into shallow sockets cut into the upper edges of the wall blocks. There was no actual burial chamber: the sarcophagus stood at the lower end of the passage, which was differentiated from the upper part by an inclination lessened to 10° . The reduced incline was probably

needed to give the mummy inside the sarcophagus a more “comfortable,” stable position. The ceiling and floor of the passage show better quality workmanship at the shifting point, from 14° to 10° . As usual, the builders had not foreseen that the sarcophagus could get stuck at the point at which the angle of the slope changed.

The sarcophagus stood on three parallel, north-south-running grooves that originally contained the wood skid poles used when it was pushed in place.⁵⁴ Gautier describes them as three longitudinal grooves, 28 cm wide and 12 cm deep. These grooves continue (photo L7–8: 475) along the sloping passage in an upward direction. Did they reach the upper end of the passage (fig. 6)?

The sarcophagus filled the lower end of the passage completely, leaving no space for the placement of grave goods. Though the construction of the underground apartments of the mastaba was unusually strong, one wonders why the high-ranking official who built the tomb accepted this arrangement. This austerity may have been the expression of a specific burial custom.

After the burial the following steps were taken to secure the tomb. A portcullis was lowered directly in front of the sarcophagus. It consisted of a gigantic, 1.90 m high slab, probably weighing 1.6 metric tons, which was lowered into position through corresponding guiding slots or grooves in the side walls. The portcullis slab was not set vertically but at a right

⁵⁴ For similar arrangements, see Arnold, *Building*, pp. 273–75, figs. 6.32–33.

angle to the slope of the passage. Two strong wood beams were then inserted into putlogs cut into the side walls on the south side of the passage. The beams were probably meant to keep in position or stop the momentum of the first blocking stone lowered into the passage and thereby keep the lowermost section of the passage empty. This empty space would have been urgently needed for the deposition of the funerary offerings, such as beer and water jars and plates with fruit, bread, and meat.

The sloping passage itself was sealed with more than a dozen blocks, measuring roughly 2 x 2 x 2 cubits (1.05 m) and weighing 2.7 metric tons each.⁵⁵ Only the pyramids of Amenemhat I, Senwosret I, and probably Amenemhat II were so heavily blocked, whereas private tomb builders were normally content with a portcullis and a fill of rough fieldstones. The uppermost end of the passage was not roofed, but remained an open trench in the northern court of the enclosure, which was then blocked with a mass of smaller stones. Most of the cube blocks remain in the passage, their tops exposed because the roof of this part of the passage has disappeared.

Robbery

The manner of blocking the tomb described above was practically impenetrable, and for robbers the effort to chisel through ten meters of limestone would have been enormous. However, they could get directly to the roof of the burial chamber by digging a narrow foxhole through the much softer surrounding *gebel* just above the passage roof. This scheme, which sounds foolproof, involved calculating the location of the chamber. In the case of the Grand North Mastaba, the robbers were not so skilled and failed twice. They miscalculated the position of the chamber and broke through the passage roof about four meters too far to the north. After destroying two of the blocks in the passage, they abandoned this difficult work, lengthened their foxhole, and again broke through the ceiling about 1.5 m from the portcullis. They still had to cut to pieces the two lowermost blocks and to destroy the portcullis.

The chamber was also attacked from the south side. These robbers probably dug their tunnel from the east or west and broke directly through the south end of the chamber roof. We do not know whether this action was the result of failures in the north, or whether another gang was competing with the first group of thieves. This procedure was exactly like the attacks against the neighboring tomb of Senwosretankh and probably carried out by the same gangs of tomb robbers.

The canopic chest was broken into pieces, whereas the sarcophagus remained undamaged; only its lid was shifted to the side. Since Gautier did not mention any finds, the robbery must have been thorough. The photos taken in 1907–8 show the passage roof in a state of disarray, suggesting that stone robbers removed the material of the mastaba, emptied the construction trench, and removed part of the passage and chamber roof. Since the sarcophagus and the surrounding chamber walls were officially removed in 1907–8, the devastation is now total.

Sarcophagus

(pls. 36, 37c)

MMA 09.180.528a 1–2

The sarcophagus of gray granite is a beautiful work of crafts-

manship and perfectly preserved. The lid, though slightly shifted by the robbers, was undamaged. Only the top edge of the sarcophagus was slightly broken when the robbers lifted the lid. The surface is hammer-dressed but not polished. The bottom is a plain box with four protruding decorative battens.

The length of the sarcophagus shrinks from 236 cm at the bottom to 232 cm at the top, producing a noticeable slope of the two short sides. The discrepancy of 4 cm is too great to be explained as a measuring error of the stone masons, but sloping sides are an extraordinary feature that has not been observed on any other Egyptian sarcophagus.

The interior of the sarcophagus is now inaccessible, but the walls—according to Gautier—are 14 cm thick. The lid, a flat slab with a curved roof, has a protruding ledge on the underside that fits to a corresponding groove in the box. One round handle knob at each end of the lid was produced by tubular drilling. The knobs were smashed off after the interment.

<i>Dimensions:</i>	Box, outside	
	L. (bottom)	236.2 cm
	L. (top)	232 cm
	W. (bottom)	89 cm
	W. (top)	89.7 cm
	H.	81–81.5 cm
	Box, inside	
	L.	215 cm
	W.	68 cm
	H.	65 cm
	Lid	
	L.	230.5 cm
	W.	89.7 cm
	H.	21.5 cm

Canopic Chest

(pl. 36)

MMA 09.180.528b 1–2

The canopic chest was deposited in a 65 x 65 m wide side niche in the center of the east wall. Made of yellowish white quartzite, it is a fine example of the excellent hard stone work by the sculptors of the Middle Kingdom. The upper half was smashed by the tomb robbers, and the chest has been reconstructed from the fragments. Normally a flat lid sits atop a tall box, but in this case the bottom part, which contained the four 11.7 cm deep cavities for the projecting canopic jars, makes up only one-third of the height of the chest. The lid, a hollow block comprising two-thirds of the total height, has a rounded top with rectangular ends. The chest rests on two decorative battens. The lid apparently had one round handle that had been carefully sawed off. Ancient patches were attached to two upper corners with the help of wedge-shaped dowels that slid into a groove on the lid. The ideal practice was to combine a sarcophagus with a canopic chest of the same shape and material, and variations like this one are rare. No remains of canopic jars were mentioned by earlier excavations that might have revealed the name of the tomb owner.

<i>Dimensions:</i>	Base: 59 x 59.5 cm, H. 22.5 cm
	Lid: 59 x 59.5 cm, H. 41.8 cm
	Total H. when closed: 64.3 cm

⁵⁵ This assumes a specific weight of limestone of 2.75 kg.

French Tomb

(pls. 8, 32, 38–46)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gautier, *Licht*, pp. 69–73; Arnold, *Building*, pp. 198–200, fig. 4.138B, p. 271, fig. 6.28

SOURCES: L89: 1–17, 20–22, 24–46, 49, 51–55, 58–62, 80, 88, 142–45

EXCAVATION

During the excavation of the Grand North Mastaba, Gautier discovered a second, splendid underground tomb in the southwest area of that complex. The architecture of the tomb was not sufficiently documented at the time, and the tomb was therefore reopened and carefully surveyed in fall 1989 by Christian Hölzl, Regina Breitfellner, William P. Schenck, and Bryan T. Hess.

A thick layer of granite dust was observed along the west side of the tomb during excavation. In order to study this layer, two test trenches were opened at a distance of between 15 and 30 m from the tomb. The two trenches indeed showed a continuation of the granite dust, from which it can be assumed that the area was used as a workplace by the masons who produced the casing blocks of the royal crypt and probably the blocks for plugging the entrance corridor of the pyramid.⁵⁶ The French Tomb, which was dug through this granite dust layer, is, therefore, later. The second test trench, farther west, hit a small brick chamber tomb and, directly west of this, the mouth of a shaft (see below).

During the excavation of the construction pit of the French Tomb, an empty wood box was found, buried 5 m southeast of the tomb.

TOMB OWNER AND DATE

The tomb, located directly outside the southwest corner of the enclosure wall of the Grand North Mastaba, has no enclosure of its own. The opening to the entrance staircase is inside the court of the Grand North Mastaba, identifying the French Tomb as a subsidiary tomb of the Grand North Mastaba. It was not, however, a minor addition; architecturally speaking, it was a major monument in its own right. Unfortunately we have no information about the owner of this splendid tomb or about his relationship with the builder of the main monument. An important consideration is the chronological relationship between the two.

Pottery found in the crypt⁵⁷ of the French Tomb is dated to the period of Senwosret III, and the fragments of the sarcophagus also belong to a type common in that period. A late date is also indicated by the sophisticated ceiling construction of the crypt, which first appears in the later years of Senwosret III.⁵⁸ In addition, the crypt of the tomb represents a totally different type from that of the Grand North Mastaba. These observations lead us to conclude that the French Tomb was built and used for burial in the reign of Senwosret III, thus much later than the Grand North Mastaba (which dates to the reign of Senwosret I/Amenemhat II). This conclusion seems to exclude the possibility that the tomb owners were closely related, as, for example, husband and wife. It remains an open

question why the owner of the French Tomb did not build an enclosure or cult building for himself, but instead attached his tomb to the Grand North Mastaba.

UNDERGROUND APARTMENTS

(pls. 8, 38–46)

The significance of the tomb lies in its superbly constructed underground apartments, fine examples of Middle Kingdom masonry. The tomb was built in an open pit with the top of the roof only three meters below the surface. The lack of an apparent superstructure in which the necessary mortuary cult would have been carried out is so unusual that one has to postulate the intention of placing a protective structure on top, either a mastaba or a small chapel. The tomb being unfinished, one may assume that this structure was never built.

The modest and unsightly tomb entrance starts with a small, open staircase of a few steps leading into an 8 m long, east-west-sloping brick-lined passage. The passage, without a proper ceiling construction, passes directly under the west enclosure wall of the Grand North Mastaba. A short but wider section of the passage (outside the enclosure) serves as a turning place for the burial equipment from east-west to north-south, after which the passage continues southward.

This 12 m long north-south passage consists of two parts. The north part, 4.5 m, is cased with bricks, and the floor is paved with one course of bricks. The brickwork in the walls shows a regular alternation of headers and stretchers. The 2.2 m high barrel vault is now mostly destroyed but was built of three rings of bricks standing on end. The rings were inclined, as is usual in Egypt. The bricks were specially made for the vault and are slightly wedge-shaped. A curious feature is the corbel-like protruding course of headers on which the innermost ring of bricks rests, a feature that did not contribute to the stability of the vault.

The inner part of this corridor, cased with limestone blocks, slightly changes direction, a necessary correction because the brick-lined part of the corridor (due to a surveyor's error?) was not aligned with the tomb chambers. The floor of this part is composed of a limestone pavement course, which carries the three wall courses and the flat ceiling slabs.

After 5.46 m, the corridor reaches the first of two portcullises (fig. 7, pls. 38, 46a, b). It was made of two limestone slabs (83 and 67 cm high, 37 cm thick), one on top of the other, which were housed in two deep niches in the side walls. They could be levered out into corresponding slots in the opposite walls, the lower one from west to east, the upper one from east to west. The two blocks are still in the closed position, but the robbers had entered the tomb by cutting out a section of the western half of the upper block. Two grooves on the upper edge of the lower block (fig. 7) accommodated the wood skid poles on which the upper stone was moved (probably on rollers, see pl. 46c).⁵⁹ Parts of one skid pole are still embedded in the socket. Also visible are deep sockets cut into the portcullis and the eastern side wall for levering out the portcullis when the tomb was closed. A 2.8 m long section of corridor continues behind the first portcullis. In its west wall are two spacious niches (1.90 m deep, 86 cm wide, 1.34 m

⁵⁶ The pyramid entrance is 100 m distant.

⁵⁷ Lisht Diary, Oct. 8, 1989. See Dorothea Arnold, forthcoming.

⁵⁸ Arnold, *Senwosret III*, p. 111.

⁵⁹ See Arnold, *Building*, p. 271, fig. 6.28.

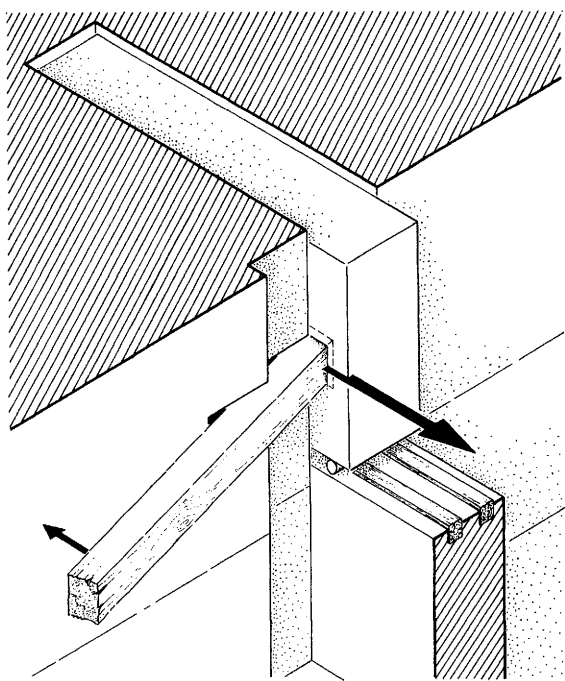


Fig. 7. Levering method of the portcullises in the French Tomb. Draw. D. A.

high), apparently storage chambers. The niches lacked doors, but blocks found in the corridor may originate from the blocking. Further to the south the passage was sealed by a second portcullis, constructed like the first one (the lower block 80 cm, the upper one 85 cm high, both 31 cm thick). Again, they were broken through in the upper right half. An oddity is the gap of 25 cm left open at the top after positioning the portcullis, an invitation to tomb robbers!

The second portcullis blocked the burial crypt, a magnificent stone chamber 2.4 x 3.15 m, with a small canopic niche (78 x 72 x 78 cm) at the south end of the east wall. The two courses of wall blocks carry four pairs of sloping roofing blocks forming a 2.79 m high gable roof.⁶⁰ They are joined at the apex in the ingenious manner of the later Twelfth Dynasty: the joints are not straight, but a stepped projection on one slab fits into a corresponding notch on the opposite block. The gap between the wall blocks and the desert *gebel* was also filled with large limestone blocks.

The stone masonry is of the highest quality, and the wall surfaces in the crypt are perfect. In some parts, however (the side walls of the niches and the north wall of the crypt), the walls are patched with dozens of small stones, some as tiny as 8 x 20 cm, all carefully fitted and plastered over. This practice was also observed in the crypts of Senwosret III and his wife, Queen Weret II, and suggests severe damage during construction work.⁶¹

Robbers had chiseled a round hole through the north end of the gable. Since another gang had broken through the portcullises, one has to assume that the two groups worked independently.

Roof of the Crypt

(pls. 41–43a)

The roof of the crypt was constructed with nine huge blocks leaning against each other to form a gable roof.⁶² These blocks do not touch the top of the side walls; their thrust is instead diverted against the *gebel* behind so that the chamber walls are actually relieved of pressure from above. The nature of the wall blocks as a free-standing lining is especially pronounced by the

topmost block course, which has a triangular cross section and was meant to fill the gap between ceiling blocks and the wall (pl. 41b[B]). However, the tight fit may have reversed the relieving aspect, with the roof blocks functioning more like wedges that actually increased the pressure on the wall blocks. The construction was so robust, however, that the chamber did not suffer any damage (except for that caused by the robbers).

Equally skillful is the joining of the roof blocks. In order to increase stability and to prevent the edges of the paired blocks from touching, the slabs were joined in an interlocking mortise and tenon arrangement. The contact area between blocks was thereby enlarged, thus lessening the possibility of cracking. Plaster was poured through the grooves onto the contact surfaces of the upper block ends.

A chamber of relatively modest dimensions built close to the desert surface did not actually need such a complicated roof construction. One can only assume that the tomb owner was eager to employ state-of-the-art construction methods. As mentioned above, such sophisticated gable roofs were not in use before the reign of Senwosret III.⁶³

Sarcophagus

SOURCES: L32–33: 75–76; L33–34: 45

It remains a mystery why the quartzite sarcophagus of the tomb and apparently the canopic chest as well were smashed into small pieces and removed from the chamber. A few fragments were found in the sand of the chamber, most of them in the debris above and around the tomb. The quartzite fragments do not permit a reconstruction of the sarcophagus, but traces of its position on the floor slabs—as expected, along the western wall of the chamber—suggest a sarcophagus of 79 x 219 cm. The fragments also show that the lid of the sarcophagus had a rounded top, probably combined with two rectangular ends, corresponding to type 2.⁶⁴ The rectangular end was 11 cm wide, and the thickness of the lid was 15.5 cm at the edge.

Fragments of bones found by Gautier and by us in the tomb indicate that a burial had taken place. In addition, a flagellum bead and parts of an eye-inlay were found in the area.

⁶⁰ See Salah El-Nagar, *Les voûtes dans l'architecture de l'Égypte ancienne* (Cairo, 1999), p. 135, pl. 111.

⁶¹ Arnold, *Senwosret III*, p. 79.

⁶² For a preliminary drawing, see Arnold, *Building*, p. 198, fig. 4.138B.

⁶³ Arnold, *Senwosret III*, p. 111.

⁶⁴ Sarcophagus typology will be discussed in the forthcoming volume on Middle Kingdom tomb architecture at Dahshur.

Tomb of Imhotep

(pls. 47–61)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gautier, *Licht*, p. 74; *BMMA* 15, pt. 2 (Feb. 1915): 5–22

SOURCES:

Diary of A. M. Lythgoe, March–May 1914

AM 2660, 2662–63

6 LN: 30; L13–14: 1037–42, 1142–52, 1154–55, 1157–59, 1297–1301, 1303–7, 1309, 1312–17, 1320, 1322, 1343–51; L84: 158–61; L84–85: 4/19, 4/23–29, 6/7–10; L86: 13–17, 18, 266–68, 336–44, 382–92, 406–7, 409–12, 425–28, 664–73, 753–66, 769–73, 781; L87: 10, 15, 40, 54–55, 81–83, 125–26, 154, 205–7, 214–16; L88: LIII 33, LXVI 14, LVII 23–24, 31, 34; L89: 23, 74–77, 81–85, 87, 188–89, 376–78

EXCAVATION

The tomb was discovered and superficially explored in 1894 by Gautier, who mainly concentrated on the tomb shaft of Sesenebnef outside the northeast corner of the Imhotep enclosure wall. In the 1914 season, the Egyptian Expedition rediscovered the large funerary complex of Imhotep in the angle formed by the upper end of the causeway and the northern half of the eastern enclosure wall of the pyramid of Senwosret I. The tomb soon became renowned for the two wood statuettes deposited in its enclosure wall. Following the outbreak of the First World War the work was suspended and for unknown reasons not taken up again in the 1916–17 season. To make things worse, no records except for a set of important site photographs, a short diary, and a few sketchy plans survived. In 1984, therefore, we decided to resume the work in the Imhotep tomb, one of the main results of which was the documentation of the religious texts in the main tomb 5117 (see below). After the completion of the work, the enclosure wall was restored to a shallow height and the mastaba rebuilt to a moderate level with blocks of artificial stone. Access to the subterranean parts had to be blocked because of the danger of collapse of the *tafl* ceiling.

The excavations of 1914 had already disclosed that the tomb of Imhotep was not an isolated structure but either a part or the nucleus of a cemetery that continued to the east. One shaft-tomb (no. 5115), found intact by the 1914 Expedition, contained ten Middle Kingdom coffins.⁶⁵ Large, unexplored brick walls 18 m east of the Imhotep east wall suggest the existence of another large tomb enclosure (fig. 8).

The reexcavation in 1984–89 showed that the funerary complex of Imhotep was more complicated than that of the other tombs at Lisht-South due to a convoluted building history and heavy reuse in following periods.⁶⁶ Though our work concentrated on the Imhotep complex itself, additional excavation is required in the area to the east and south. In the east, a thick wall must have been the southwest corner of a large neighboring tomb complex. The area between the Imhotep east wall and that other tomb enclosure seems honeycombed with unexplored shaft-tombs, probably of the late Middle Kingdom. We also opened several test squares in the area between the Senwosret I causeway and the south wall of the

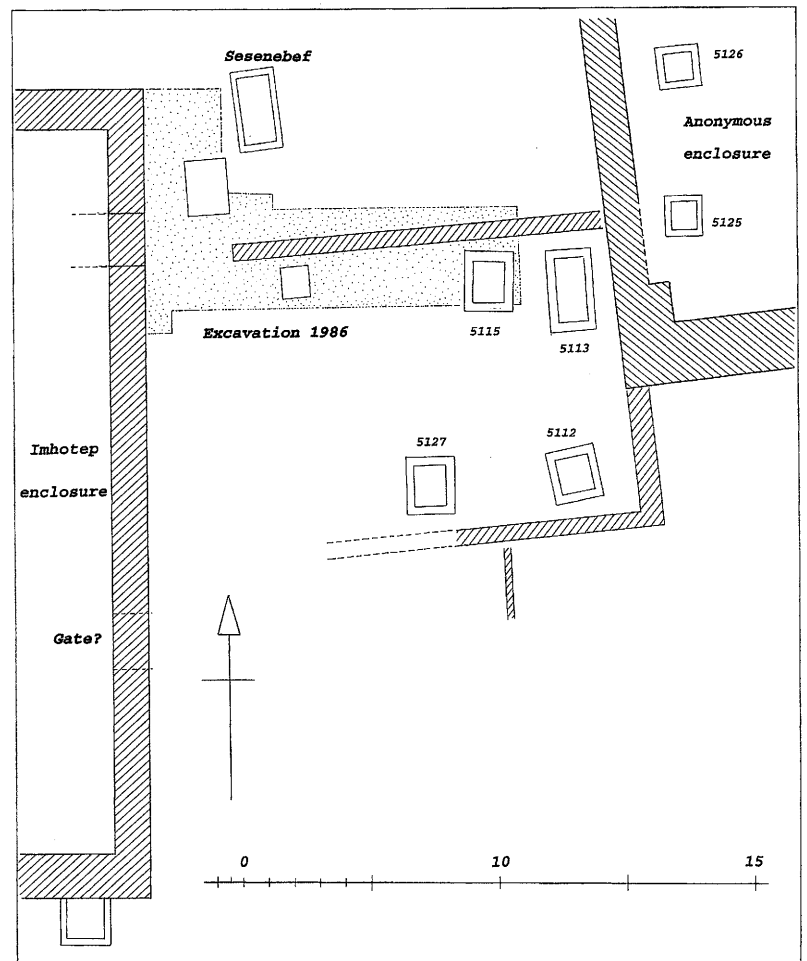


Fig. 8. Sketch plan of the cemetery east of the Imhotep complex. Scale 1:200. Draw. D. A.

Imhotep enclosure. This area, originally built over by sinoid walls, also yielded the remains of artisans' work. We found in the debris covering the area the typical granite dust, straw, unfinished sculptures, and pieces of papyrus.

TOMB OWNER (SHAFT 5117)

According to the inscriptions in the sarcophagus pit of the crypt, Imhotep held numerous and important offices,⁶⁷ the majority of them religious in character. The titles might suggest that Imhotep had risen from a priestly background to the high secular rank of a "royal sealer."

1. *hrj-p^ct* "member of the elite"
2. *h3tj-^c* "high official"
3. *hmtj-bjtj* "royal seal bearer"
4. *smr w^ctj* "sole companion"
5. *hrj-h3bt hrj-tp* "chief lector priest"
6. *sm* "sm-priest"
7. *sm3-hr* "stolist of Horus"
8. *sm3-Mnw* "stolist of Min"
9. *[s3?] mdw-ntr* "[scribe?] of the sacred writings"

⁶⁵ *BMMA* 10, pt. 2 (Feb. 1915): 20–22.

⁶⁶ On these questions, Dorothea Arnold has devoted much work, which will be addressed in a forthcoming publication.

⁶⁷ From the transcription in 1988 of Felix Arnold.

10. *sš md3wt ntr* “scribe of the divine books”
 11. *hrj [s?]št3 n* /// “master of secrets(?) of . . .”

12. *mh-jb nswt [hnt]t3wj* “king’s confident [at the fore of] the Two Lands”

13. *jmj-r 3hwt* “overseer of fields”
 14. *hrj-wdb m3^c* “correct chief of distribution”
 15. *jmj-r k3t nbw* “overseer of all works”
 16. *hrp šndyt nbt* “controller of every kilt”

ANONYMOUS TOMB OWNER (SHAFT 5124)

The owner of secondary shaft 5124 remains anonymous. Examinations of the skeleton by Eugen Strouhal showed that it was a male person who was less than fifty at death, probably between forty and forty-five years of age. The bones of his skull were unusually thin, like those of a child, and suggest a serious illness or disability. Interestingly, Imhotep, buried in shaft 5117, also seems to have suffered a related illness. His skull represents an important early example of trephination.⁶⁸

DATE

The beginning of the construction work for the Imhotep complex can be dated to the later years of the reign of Senwosret I, but Imhotep’s burial must have taken place some time afterward, most probably in the reign of Amenemhat II. The arguments for this chronological sequence are as follows.⁶⁹

1. The 1986 re-excavation of the tomb complex revealed that the Imhotep tomb’s eastern enclosure wall was not built directly on the natural desert surface. Instead, a considerable amount of fill had been deposited in a north to south direction in the area of the tomb’s east wall and in a south to north direction at the southeastern corner. The fill consisted mainly of fine to medium coarse *tafl* that may well have originated from the tunneling work in the tomb’s main shafts (nos. 5117 and 5124) and underground chambers, as well as in other shafts east of the Imhotep precinct. A layer of fine sand—probably wind-blown—separated that *tafl* fill from the natural desert *gebel*.

A heap of bricks underlay the *tafl* at one point along the eastern enclosure wall. Potsherds found among these bricks date the accumulation to the early to middle reign of Senwosret I. Sherds from the *tafl* layer itself, on the other hand, are contemporary with the pottery of a more advanced stage of the reign. Parallels to this pottery have previously been found in the brick chamber and purification chamber of the king’s pyramid temple.⁷⁰ Since no later sherds were discovered in the layers below the Imhotep enclosure wall, a date for its construction during the second half of the reign of Senwosret I is indicated. This date fits well with the early form of Imhotep’s sarcophagus (see p. 37 n. 80).

2. It is highly unlikely that the tomb construction was undertaken before the completion of the northern brick wall flanking the royal causeway in regnal year 25.⁷¹ As has been shown previously, the brick wall of the causeway was built on a substantial layer of limestone chip, most probably the builders’ debris from the pyramid temple and stone causeway

walls. On top of that same limestone layer, and adjacent to the north face of the brick causeway wall, the builders then erected an enclosure surrounded on three sides by a sinoid brick wall, with the causeway wall forming the fourth side. This enclosure was destined to provide a space for dumping the debris from the pyramid temple cult, a fact that is evidenced by heaps of potsherds. The necessity for such an enclosed space for refuse can only have arisen because the construction of the nearby Imhotep tomb precinct had started.

3. Considerable amounts of broken pottery vessels, not removed by previous excavators, were discovered in the chambers of shafts 5117 and 5124. These were obviously remains of vessels deposited with the burials. The shapes and physical properties of this pottery point to a date one step removed from the ceramic style prevalent during Senwosret I’s reign. Indeed they fit best into the reign of Senwosret I’s successor, Amenemhat II.

4. Dating of the actual burial of Imhotep to the reign of Amenemhat II accords well with the stylistic features of the two wood statuettes discovered in the cavity inside the southern enclosure wall (see above). As Dorothea Arnold will show in detail, these statuettes differ considerably in terms of style from representations of Senwosret I and are much closer to royal images of the time after that pharaoh. She will also demonstrate that the deposition of the statuettes and their accompanying shrine most probably took place in connection with the burial of Imhotep’s mummy, not at the time the wall was built.

5. The bones found in the sarcophagus of Imhotep were examined by Eugene Strouhal, who came to the conclusion that Imhotep died between the age of forty and fifty.⁷² Imhotep could not have started building his tomb before attaining a high rank in the Egyptian hierarchy, that is, not before the age of twenty-five, which leaves a maximum of twenty-five years between the initial construction of the tomb precinct and the final burial of its builder. If the tomb and its enclosure were constructed during the reign of Senwosret I, but after the brick wall of the causeway was built, i.e., after year 25 of Senwosret I’s forty-four-year reign, Imhotep would have died in the first decade of the reign of Amenemhat II.

⁶⁸ I thank David T. Mininberg for information on trephination (surgical perforation of the skull). See also Paul Ghalioungui, *Magic and Medical Science in Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1965), pp. 92–93, pl. 9. An example from the Middle Bronze II B period from Tell Beit Mirsim has been published by Sara Ben-Arieh, *Bronze and Iron Age Tombs at Tell Beit Mirsim* (Jerusalem, 2004), pp. 204–5. In general, see A. Arensburg and I. Herschkovitz, “Cranial Deformation and Trephination in the Middle East,” *Bulletins et mémoires de la Société d’Anthropologie de Paris* 14, 5 (1988): 139–50.

⁶⁹ This section is the contribution of Dorothea Arnold. The author totally concurs with her findings.

⁷⁰ Dorothea Arnold, in Arnold, *Senwosret I*, vol. 1, pp. 116–43.

⁷¹ The first of the two building phases of the causeway is dated to regnal year 22 (Felix Arnold, *The Control Notes and Team Marks*, Publications of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, vol. 23 [New York, 1990], pp. 146–49). The second phase, which concluded the construction work at the pyramid complex, cannot have occurred before regnal year 25. The clean-up of the site would therefore have been carried out after regnal year 25.

⁷² Eugene Strouhal, forthcoming.

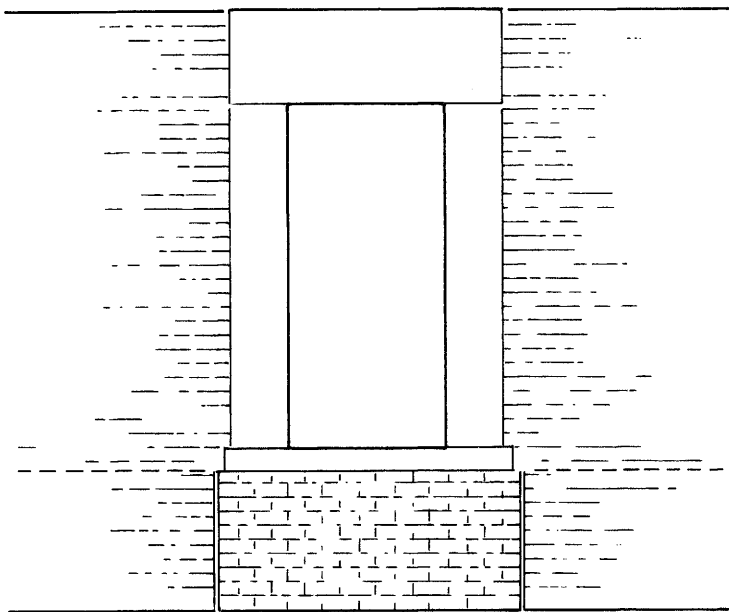


Fig. 9. Hypothetical gate construction in the outer brick enclosure wall of Imhotep. No scale. Draw. D. A.

BRICK ENCLOSURE WALL

(pls. 49, 57a–c, 58a–c)

The tomb complex is surrounded by an outer rectangular brick enclosure of 27.67 x 30.45 m. The enclosure extends an additional 6.25 m in the northwest corner, where it surrounds a mastaba-like stone structure. The wall, 1.75–2 m thick, had a deep and protruding foundation, was inclined, and was, of course, plastered and whitewashed. Erected on an irregular surface, with a lot of fill necessary for the eastern parts, the foundation courses varied in height. The aboveground brickwork was in some places preserved to a height of ten courses.

The south wall included a cavity containing a wood shrine with an Anubis fetish and two wood statuettes with the red and white crowns (see below). Slightly west of the deposit, two wood boats (not the solar boats mentioned on p. 36) were found buried outside the enclosure wall, aligned one behind the other and parallel to the wall, but on different levels. The better preserved boat A (the western one) was sheltered by a kind of roof or vault made of bricks. Remains of bricks were also found surrounding boat B, but the shelter had disappeared.⁷³

Neither the brick outer enclosure wall nor the stone inner wall (see below) preserves any sign of an entrance gate, and the location of both gates remains problematic. Gautier noticed a gap in the western half of the south outer wall and, without a clear understanding of the enclosure, took it for the gate (indicated on his plan, pl. 3). However, the traditional location would have been the southern end of the east wall, from where a stone walkway could have led to the entrance of the stone inner enclosure wall. Our own excavation of that spot only confirmed conclusions drawn from 1914 photos, namely, that there was no gate there. Consequently we assumed that the entrance might be a few meters to the north, more to the middle of the east wall (as drawn on pl. 49). Another possibility is that the entrance was later built above the construction gap through which the sarcophagus was introduced at the north end of the east wall (fig. 9). In addition, one must consider the layout of neighboring tombs and shafts, which would have influenced the location of the gate. Dorothea Arnold will investigate these options in her own study of the site.

South Wall Deposit

(pls. 47, 58a)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *BMMA* 15, pt. 2 (Feb. 1915): 12–22; Hayes, *Scepter I*, pp. 193–94, fig. 117; Mohamed Saleh and Hourig Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum Cairo* (Mainz, 1987), no. 88

SOURCES: LI3–14: 1307–14

The deposit consisted of two wood statuettes in royal costume, one wearing the white crown (JdE 44951), and the other the red (MMA 14.3.17).⁷⁴ Facing east, they stood side by side behind a small wood naos, which contained the remains of an Imiut or Anubis fetish (MMA 14.3.18).⁷⁵ The cavity was covered with two rough wood boards and bricks. Unfortunately, the cavity was not documented well enough by the excavators to allow us to judge whether the niche was constructed together with the wall (which is suggested by the regular sequence of bricks and the mud plaster covering both) or whether the niche was cut later and carefully cleaned up.

The purpose of this unique deposit has not been fully explained. In her forthcoming study Dorothea Arnold suggests that it may represent a small-scale model of an Osiris tomb located south of the main tomb of Imhotep “in Abydos.” She has also shown that the two statuettes do not represent—as previously assumed—Senwosret I, but two divine guardian spirits, certainly carved in the reign of Amenemhat II when Imhotep was buried.⁷⁶ The two wood model boats buried nearby at the southern foot of the wall (one MMA 14.3.23)⁷⁷ may therefore represent boats used for the voyage to Abydos. Boat burials are usually located south of a tomb or pyramid.⁷⁸

STONE INNER ENCLOSURE WALL

(pls. 48–49, 58b)

A stone inner wall 13.65 m (26 cubits) by 20.2 m (38.5 cubits) enclosed Imhotep’s mastaba. This wall was only two cubits thick and cannot have been higher than 2.5 m. Enough traces of its stone foundation survive to allow us to follow its course around the mastaba in the east, south, and west. No traces of the wall are left in the north, where the reconstruction of its course is difficult indeed. We do not know whether or where the stone wall connected to the northwest “stone mastaba” (see below). One also wonders how six to seven tomb shafts could have been dug in the north court without undermining the wall. It can only be assumed either that the shafts pre-date the wall or that the shaft builders removed the wall. The location of the entrance is unknown, and it cannot easily be

⁷³ The first boat is in the Metropolitan Museum (14.3.23); the other one, which had been reburied by the earlier Expedition, we were able to restudy in 1986. See Cheryl Haldane, in Arnold, *Senwosret I*, vol. 2, pp. 106–7. We also reburied the extremely fragile remains.

⁷⁴ S. B. Johnson, “Two Wooden Statuettes from Lisht,” *JARCE* 17 (1980): 11–20; Peter Dorman, *Egypt and the Ancient Near East in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York (New York, 1987), pp. 30–31.

⁷⁵ See Ursula Köhler, *Das Imiut: Untersuchungen zur Darstellung und Bedeutung eines mit Anubis verbundenen religiösen Symbols* (Wiesbaden, 1975).

⁷⁶ Dorothea Arnold, *The Art and Archaeology of the Lisht South Cemetery* (forthcoming).

⁷⁷ Cheryl A. Ward, *Sacred and Secular: Ancient Egyptian Ships and Boats* (Philadelphia, 2000), pp. 103–6.

⁷⁸ Arnold, *Senwosret I*, vol. 3, pp. 52–53, 78–80.

determined because a great number of tomb shafts between the inner and outer enclosure walls would certainly have influenced the access.

The Solar Boats

MMA 14.3.22

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *BMMA* 15, pt. 2 (Feb. 1915): 12, fig. 8(C); Hayes, *Scepter* I, p. 272, fig. 178

SOURCES: LI3-14: 1030-31, 1342

In 1914, a deposit with remains of two solar barks (not the boats mentioned on p. 35) was discovered in a brick-lined pit located in the narrow passage between the Imhotep mastaba and the southern stone enclosure wall. The remains consisted of two prow and stern posts, together with two complete sets of the symbolical or magical objects that can be seen on the decks of boats of this kind.

MASTABA OF IMHOTEP

(pls. 48, 57c, 58d)

Within the enclosure the mastaba was surrounded by an extremely narrow corridor, 4 cubits in the north, west, and south, and 5.5 cubits in the east. It was built of irregular field-stones surrounding a fill of debris and was cased with limestone that sat on a stone foundation that protruded beyond the foot of the mastaba. The dimensions, only 6.5 x 13 m (12.5 x 25 cubits), were too small to accommodate interior rooms. Though the core masonry was still 1.8 m high in 1914, it did not show any traces of an interior room. The pavement course has disappeared, but not the subfoundation of irregularly shaped blocks of poor quality local limestone.

Since no casing blocks remain, the shape of the exterior of the mastaba is uncertain. Its shape could have been of the Buto type, or it may have been paneled or at least adorned with one or two false doors at the east and perhaps also at the north side. By the 1984-89 season, the inner enclosure had been destroyed down to the foundations, the mastaba reduced to a rubble heap about 1 m high, and no fragments of the casing or of false doors were left.

The foundations of the center of the east side and of the southeast corner suggest that the stone enclosure wall and the mastaba stood on a common stone foundation that also served as the pavement of the inner court and perhaps the foundation for a cult place or chapel attached to the mastaba exterior. There is no other evidence for such a structure, however, and the space of 5.5 cubits for the east-west extension seems rather insufficient for a chapel.

In the narrow passage between the north stone wall and the Imhotep mastaba are the two main shafts of the funerary complex: no. 5117 of Imhotep and, east of it, no. 5124 for a second unidentified male person. More than a dozen other shafts were later added in the outer court (pl. 49).

NORTHWEST "STONE MASTABA"

(pls. 48, 57d)

In the area northwest of the Imhotep mastaba there are no

traces of the stone inner enclosure wall but instead the foundations for a second, smaller, mastaba-like stone structure. This building had a brick core encased by a thick stone casing. The foundation course of limestone blocks 1.4 to 1.8 m wide was well preserved in 1916. The blocks were unusually well dressed and joined with cramps. Although the remains suggest that the monument was a mastaba, no traces of underground apartments were discovered, neither inside the brick enclosure nor outside. We cleared the area in the north to a distance of 15 m from the northern brick wall, only to discover one of the so-called French shafts, which have no connection with the Imhotep complex. We also dug a tunnel leading northwest from a side chamber of shaft 5117 of Imhotep, but this undertaking was also futile. The northwest "mastaba" seems not to have been a real tomb, but some other kind of memorial.

The northwest extension of the brick enclosure wall to accommodate this mastaba within the Imhotep complex and the lack of empty space around it indicate clearly that the mastaba pre-dates the wall. One also should note that it was not founded on an artificial fill, as was the eastern part of the Imhotep complex, but on the natural desert surface. For reasons about which one can only speculate, the structure was later incorporated into the Imhotep complex. Did Imhotep perhaps incorporate his father's mastaba into his own complex and, since no burial chamber had been built for his father, had him interred in the eastern shaft 5124 to the side of his own tomb?

UNDERGROUND APARTMENTS OF IMHOTEP (SHAFT 5117)

(pls. 50-52, 54-55, 60)

In 1986 we discovered near the north end of the enclosure's east wall a 1.4 m wide construction gap blocked by bricks, behind which, leading west, a sloping entrance-like hole was cut into the bedrock, apparently the upper end of a roughly cut staircase. Since the rock was rather fragile and broken, it had been repaired with bricks. The 45° sloping passage had rock-cut steps, and, at a depth of 15 m, the staircase turned south into a less inclined passage. At the bottom, the inner corner of the staircase had been planed in order to facilitate the passage of a large object. One may assume, therefore, that the staircase was used for lowering the sarcophagus of Imhotep (see below). The steep steps and the long slope must have rendered the maneuver a dangerous and terrifying one. Two huge putlogs in the north wall of the passage show that a heavy beam must have been set into the wall, certainly in connection with the transport of the sarcophagus. The less inclined passage continues and encounters an over 2 m thick brick blocking. The bricks were set in a careless manner and did not fill out the recess of the door frame, which may even have been intended to receive a stone blocking. This area was also the lower end of the 1.6 x 1.8 m wide vertical shaft 5117 that descended from the northern side of the mastaba.

Above the bottom of the shaft, at 5.1 m, were two juxtaposed side chambers. The two shallow chambers were spacious (2.6 x 2.6 m in the north, and 2.55 x 4.4 m in the south) and, though they may have been prepared for burials, were found completely empty. Another side chamber opened to the west of the shaft at ground level. This cavity was 1.9 m long and 70-90 cm high, apparently too small for a burial. We used

this chamber to tunnel for about 5.30 m northwest, seeking unsuccessfully to find subterranean rooms of the mastaba-like building in the northwest. Five meters beyond the shaft, the sloping passage reached the burial chamber of Imhotep. As in several other Middle Kingdom tombs, the mouth of the shaft as well as that of the staircase remained accessible after the construction of the mastaba. Shaft 5117 was certainly too narrow for the lowering of the construction material and must therefore have been used to introduce the burial.

Crypt of Imhotep

(pls. 51–52, 55, 60)

Since no proper cleaning took place during the short 1914 season, the tomb in October 1988 was in the same devastated condition as the ancient thieves had left it: the door blocking had fallen inward, the roofing blocks of the sarcophagus were smashed and sticking out of the sarcophagus pit, and parts of the chamber roof had collapsed. After we carried out an extensive cleaning, the following situation was recorded.

The crypt consists of a rock-cut upper room 3.10 x 3.70 m and 2.88 m high with a slightly curved ceiling. The marks on the *tafl* suggest the use of a chisel 1.7–1.8 cm wide and 3–4 cm long. No black measuring marks were preserved. In the west wall are two pairs of square putlog holes one above the other and two others opposite each group in the floor of the chamber. They certainly housed the beams of the scaffolding for lowering the sarcophagus and its lid (see pls. 52, 55). The holes were cut for 13 x 17 cm vertical beams and horizontal ones of 21 x 24 and 24 x 30 cm.

The floor of the western two-thirds of the chamber is sunk and cased with three courses of limestone slabs, thereby creating a sarcophagus pit or lower chamber of 1.10 x 2.55 m (inside measurements), about 2.33 m below the floor of the upper room. The pit was still covered by three roofing beams, of the original five, two in the north and one in the south turned on its side. The upper parts of the walls of the pit were inscribed. Along the top is a horizontal band of names and titles of the tomb owner, and below that band are 180 columns of religious texts.⁷⁹ The granodiorite sarcophagus deposited in the pit (see below) prevented the artists from inscribing the lower parts of the walls. Only a small part of the text is in sunk relief; most of it was sketched in black ink and the sculpting left unfinished.

A canopic niche is attached to the upper part of the sarcophagus pit, at the center of the east side, and is also lined with limestone. The niche is 51 x 75 cm and 78 cm deep. The sarcophagus pit was sealed with five huge limestone slabs of about .28 x .55 x 1.93 m. Two or three slabs would have covered the canopic pit and the adjoining floor area, creating a continuous flat pavement level in the upper room. A casing of the chamber was probably envisaged, but no such steps were taken after the burial. The tomb robbers lifted two slabs of the sarcophagus pit and the slab of the canopic chest and threw the fragments on top of the sarcophagus. The sarcophagus was robbed and its contents completely destroyed. Bones, potsherds, beads, and tiny pieces of gold foil found in the sarcophagus show that the burial had taken place.

Sarcophagus of Imhotep

(pls. 55, 60)

The grayish black granodiorite sarcophagus is completely preserved and represents a plain, archaic type 2.⁸⁰ The bottom part

is box-shaped with a beveled lower edge. Whether there were four battens could not be confirmed because of the narrow space between the sarcophagus and the walls of the pit. The outer upper edges of the bottom part were unfinished and show a band of protective bosses 8 cm high and 0.5 cm thick. The tomb robbers had opened the lid and pushed it into the gap between the sarcophagus and the west wall of the pit. Because of the narrow space in which it had fallen and the nearness of the texts on the walls of the pit, extracting it was a nerve-wracking maneuver. The lid consists of a simple slab with a rounded top. The handle knobs were smashed off. One five-sided handle (diameter 14.5 x 15 cm) was found in the debris.

<i>Dimensions:</i>	Box, outside	
	L.	227 cm
	W.	91–91.5 cm
	H.	93 cm
	Box, inside	
	L.	196 cm
	W.	60 cm
	H.	70 cm
	Wall thickness	15.5 cm
	Lid	
	L.	226 cm
	W.	91 cm
	H. (center)	35 cm
	H. (edge)	23 cm

UNDERGROUND APARTMENTS OF SHAFT 5124

(pls. 51, 53, 56, 61)

A second shaft descends from the northern side of Imhotep's mastaba, only 2.87 m east of shaft 5117. The outer rim measured 2.45 x 2.75 m, the shaft itself only 1.55 x 1.70 m, creating a ledge for inserting two to three limestone sealing slabs. Despite the size of the shaft, it could not accommodate a stone sarcophagus. The eastern edge of the shaft was later covered by the inner stone wall.

Shaft 5124 ends at a depth of 14.66 m, about 60 cm above the bottom level of the neighboring shaft of Imhotep. At the bottom of the shaft, a small chamber opens in the west wall, which contained three pots deposited there by ancient workmen or undertakers. From the bottom of the shaft a 5.3 m long passage slopes down into the burial chamber. The upper end of this passage was blocked by an 87 cm thick brick wall (brick format 10 x 17 x 33 cm), most of which was removed by tomb robbers.

The burial chamber was similar to that of Imhotep. The upper part of the room is 3.16 x 3.70 m and 2.88 m high with a slightly curved ceiling. On the east and west walls are rather large niches or side chambers, the purpose of which is not known (see p. 49). The walls and the ceiling are carefully carved from the *gebel* and still covered with the masons' black measuring marks and chisel traces. One may expect,

⁷⁹ The religious texts of the sarcophagus pit will be published by James Allen.

⁸⁰ The sarcophagus typology will appear in the forthcoming publication on Middle Kingdom tomb architecture at Dahshur.

however, that the builders intended to case the walls—as was planned in Imhotep's tomb—with limestone slabs.

The eastern two-thirds of the room are filled by the sarcophagus pit. The cavity is cased with limestone blocks leaving a pit 1.36 x 2.90 m and 1.85 m deep (interior dimensions), wide enough to house a stone sarcophagus similar to that of Imhotep; the shaft, however, was too narrow to lower such a piece—certainly an indication of poor planning! Traces of a wood coffin were found: slightly raised areas on the floor of the pit suggest the location of four battens. After the burial, the pit was covered with five or six limestone slabs about 32 x 55 x 190 cm. The robbers threw two slabs into the pit, leaving three in position. The casing blocks of the pit still show positioning marks in red ink.⁸¹ The cavity for the limestone pit has a 35 cm extension to the south, suggesting a plan to make the pit longer. A sarcophagus pit 3.25 m long, however, doesn't make sense: only royal sarcophagi have such dimensions.

A pit for the canopic chest was built in the floor below the wall niche on the east wall. It was originally covered by a slab at the same level as the blocks covering the sarcophagus pit. The inside measurements are 72 x 73 x 78 cm. The canopic niche was found empty.

The tomb was completely robbed. The presence of a burial is only attested by potsherds and a few bones.

Tomb of Mentuhotep

(pls. 62–92)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gautier, *Licht*, pp. 79–80, pl. 3; Dieter Arnold, “El-Lischt: Nachuntersuchungen an einem alten Grabungsort,” *Antike Welt* 3 (1991): 154–60

SOURCES:

Enclosure: L88: I 6–9; II 24–25, 29–30; VI 31–32; IX 24–25; X 1–2, 10–11, 15–16, 18–19; XIII 6–7; XVI 3–4, 6; XIX 1–2; XXI 1–4, 6; XXII 24–35; XXIV 32–37; XXV 29–30; XXVI 6–7, 34–37; XXX 13–14; XXXII 27–28; XXXIV 1–2, 6, 8–9, 13–14; XXXVI 8–9, 11–12; LI 31, 34, 35, 32; LV 10; LVI 26; LVIII 9–10, 22, 29, 31–32; LXXIV 1; L89: 56–57, 86, 89–93, 99–105, 190–92, 195, 196

Southern area: L88: 24–25, 27–28; XV 11–12, 18–19; XXX 22–25; XXX 1–2, 8–9; XL 4–5; LXXIV 16; LVII 25; LXXIV 29

Priests' houses and storerooms: L87: 137, 147, 152, 190, 192–95, 196–97, 199, 200–202, 279, 276–85, 441–42; L88: V 21–24, 30–31; XXXVI 18–19; L89: 146–47, 170–71

Shaft: L88: XXVI 21, 23; XXXII 1–5

Underground apartments: L88: XL 23; LIX 20–22; 89I670 # 17, 24; 89I671 # 17, 20–21, 26; L89: 96, 98

Reliefs: L88: LXXIV 6, 35

EXCAVATION

The tomb complex of Mentuhotep covered the area between the southern end of the eastern enclosure wall of the pyramid complex of Senwosret I and the desert as it begins to slope sharply eastward. The complex is smaller than the huge complex of Senwosretankh but surpasses all the other major known Middle Kingdom tombs in the south cemeteries of Lisht, including the Grand North Mastaba, the mastaba west

of Senwosretankh, and that of Imhotep. The tomb complex already appears on the map of Gautier:

Vers l'angle sud-est de l'enceinte [of king Senwosret I] se trouve, touchant presque le mur, un monument de briques en si mauvais état qu'on peut à peine en délimiter le contour; dans ce vaste massif rectangulaire, on distingue deux petites chambres vers l'angle sud-est. Un large mur de briques descend obliquement du côté de la vallée. En dehors de cette construction se trouve un grand puits, de section presque carrée [i.e., tomb of Nakht].⁸²

No excavation work seems to have taken place at this time, beyond the building to the east, where Gautier found the above-mentioned burial of Nakht. It is astonishing that the Egyptian Expedition also disregarded the site, especially because photos of the 1908–9 season (L8–9: 238–40) show in the far distance some sounding work in the area, probably in search of a dumping ground.

We devoted the final, very hot days of the 1987 season (end of June to beginning of July) to the study of this structure and soon rediscovered a little below the sand the two above-mentioned “petites chambres” and three additional ones in the west. It became immediately clear that we had come upon an important building complex that would require further excavation work. This work was mainly carried out from September to November 1988, followed by some additional fieldwork and documentation in 1989. As a result, the dilapidated tomb shaft was discovered and repaired with modern brick walls, access ladders were installed, and in 2006 the mouth of the shaft was secured again by a mastaba-like stone building.

TOMB OWNER

As a treasurer and possibly vizier Mentuhotep, son of As-en-ka, was the most important official during the reign of Senwosret I and perhaps Amenemhat II. He has left an unusually large number of statues at Karnak⁸³ and, naturally enough, has been the subject of several scholarly studies.⁸⁴ The importance of his person is reflected in the size and dominating position of his tomb complex in relation to the royal pyramid.

Mentuhotep also built a cenotaph at Abydos, from which originate a large stela in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (CG 20539),⁸⁵ and a false door in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1980.173).⁸⁶ The following titles appear in Mentuhotep's tomb at Lisht but do not add new information beyond the titles known already from other monuments:

1. *jrj-p^ct* “member of the elite”
2. *h3tj-^c* “high official”
3. *htmtj-bjtj* “royal seal bearer”

⁸¹ See F. Arnold, *The Control Notes and Team Marks*, p. 34, figs. 3–5, pl. 14.

⁸² Gautier, *Licht*, pp. 79–80.

⁸³ Obsomer, *Sésostris I^{er}*, pp. 181–87, 502–3; S. Sauneron, “Les deux statues de Mentuhotep,” *Karnak* 5 (1970–72): 65–76.

⁸⁴ Zbyněk Zába, *The Rock Inscriptions of Lower Nubia (Czechoslovak Concession)* (Prague, 1974), pp. 109–11; Elisabeth Delange, *Musée du Louvre, Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire, 2060–1560 avant J.-C.* (Paris, 1987), pp. 55–65; W. K. Simpson, “Mentuhotep, Vizier of Senwosret I, Patron of Art and Architecture,” *MDAIK* 47 (1991): 334–37; B. Fay, “Custodian of the Seal, Mentuhotep,” *GM* 133 (1993): 19–28; Allen, “High Officials,” pp. 20–21; Franke, *Personendaten*, dossier no. 262; Obsomer, *Sésostris I^{er}*, pp. 172–89.

⁸⁵ Obsomer, *Sésostris I^{er}*, pp. 520–31.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 509–10.

4. *t3tj*/// “vizier”⁸⁷
5. *hrp j3t nbt ntrwt* “controller of every divine office”
6. *[hrp]-k3wt* “controller of works”
7. *jmj-r sš m*/// “overseer of writing in [the house of . . .].”
8. *jmj-r njwt* “mayor of the [pyramid?] town.” Fragment 88/70 contains as a part of a title ///-Amenemhat/// and may be reconstructed as “mayor of the pyramid town of King Amenemhat.”
9. /// *mdw-ntr sš* “[overseer of the] scribes of the sacred writings”
10. *[r] Pr Dp nb* “spokesman of every Pe-ite and Dep-ite”
11. *smr [w^cty]*/// “. . . [sole] companion”

DATE

Mentuhotep first appears in an inscription of year 18 of Senwosret I. There is little doubt that the tomb at Lisht could only have been built after the completion of the royal funerary complex, about year 25 of Senwosret I. The appearance of a cartouche “Amenemhat” in the vizier’s chapel (pl. 82) and the interpretation of two signs on the shoulders of the statues (CG 42044 and 14/6/24/12, Egyptian Museum, Cairo) as part of the prenomen of Amenemhat II seemed to suggest that the vizier lived into the reign of that king. Fay, however, has rightly raised doubts about the reading of the signs on the statues as parts of a royal name, and the cartouche from the chapel might as well refer to Amenemhat I (see above). Evidence for Mentuhotep’s lifetime is, therefore, confined to the reign of Senwosret I.⁸⁸

SURROUNDING AREA

The complex of Mentuhotep did not stand alone in the eastern plain in front of the royal pyramid complex but was surrounded by other buildings. Directly north was a huge brick enclosure (p. 60, pls. 109, 111–112), leaving only a narrow passage of 2.12–2.38 m for traffic. The wall of the northern complex was founded 1.24 m higher than the Mentuhotep complex and apparently at a slightly later time. In the west, a passage only 1.87 m wide separated the Mentuhotep enclosure from the eastern enclosure wall of the royal pyramid complex.

Along the south side was a group of less organized structures. Sinoid walls were found directly outside the Mentuhotep complex at the southeast corner and along the south wall. They seem to have been part of the wall marking Mentuhotep’s tomb area during the construction and were partially demolished and buried after the tomb was completed. The area farther to the south has not been explored but certainly contains more tombs.

CAUSEWAY

(pls. 62, 63, 73)

Like other tombs of the early and middle part of the Twelfth Dynasty, the tomb of Mentuhotep no longer followed the simple mastaba scheme but was designed as a rectangular funerary complex 32 x 45 m and oriented east-west, with the

entrance in the east. This orientation and the location of the entrance of the complex in the east, close to the desert’s edge, required construction of an access from the valley. The slope of the desert necessitated a causeway that took the form of a staircase with a slight 7° incline, similar to causeways of the Middle Kingdom tombs of Beni Hasan, Qaw el-Kebir, and Aswan. This causeway suggests the existence of a kind of valley chapel or entrance building, as known from the equally monumental Twelfth Dynasty tombs of Asyut and Qaw el-Kebir. Remains of this valley building are likely buried under high mounds of sand down at the desert edge, at least 100 m distant from the tomb complex. Its exact location could not be determined because of the Muslim cemetery that is steadily encroaching on the desert slopes. We followed the upper end of the causeway for about 13 m and determined that the causeway really continued eastward from the entrance of the tomb enclosure. At this distance, the causeway consisted of a 5.25 m (10 cubits) wide brick massif with sloping side walls, a monumental construction indeed. The pavement level is not preserved, but the surface was certainly composed of wide steps plastered with mortar. The layout of the bricks suggests a passage 6 cubits (3.15 m) wide in the center, flanked on both sides by a 2 cubit (1.05 m) wide parapet walls that might have been 4 cubits (2.1 m) high.

BRICK ENCLOSURE WALL

(pls. 62–63, 74b–c)

The causeway terminated at a monumental stone portal in the center of the east wall. Whereas the other three sides of the enclosure wall were only 2.10 m thick (foundations 2.22–2.45 m), the east wall was 2.89 m (2.875 = 5½ cubits; the foundations 3.05 m), indicating that it was also higher, as much as 8 m, and perhaps pylon-shaped. The gate, which was constructed of limestone set into the brick wall, was removed by stone robbers and can only be recognized from a 3 m wide breach in the brick foundations that once carried the gate’s stone foundation blocks. Immediately behind the gate was found a considerable number of small inscribed limestone fragments, which suggest that the door frame was wide enough to carry an important inscription (see below, “Gate Inscription”). Judging from the diagonal direction of the causeway, one might conclude that the entrance into the court was located in the center of the eastern court wall.

The enclosure walls were robbed down to the brick foundations. Since these foundations were generally only two courses thick and set in a leveled foundation trench on the *gebel* surface, there is almost no trace of them. Along the east and south sides and especially at the southeast corner, however, a deep and wide brick foundation was necessary to support the actual wall at the edge of the steep desert surface. A solid 1.95 m thick north-south running brick wall prevented erosion of that corner. This buttress wall could only be followed for 3.5 m, but it certainly continues to the south. The bricks used for the buttress differed from those of the enclosure.

⁸⁷ This title does not appear in the tomb itself but only on the anonymous statue (MMA 09.180.12) found outside the enclosure and on the stela from Abydos (CG 20539). *Ibid.*, pp. 520–31.

⁸⁸ B. Fay, “Custodian of the Seal,” *GM* 133 (1993): 28.

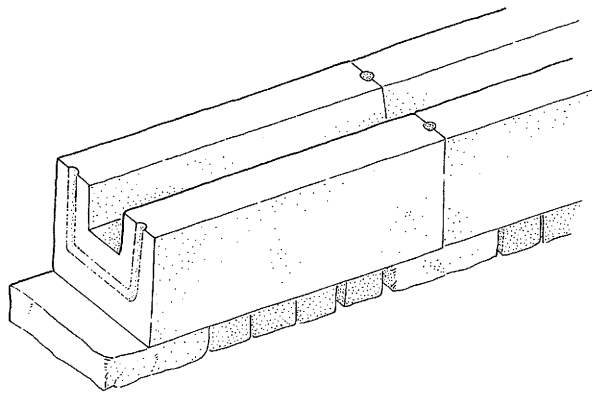


Fig. 10. Drainage block (based on TC N-2114) from the court of the Mentuhotep enclosure. Draw. D.A.

Unfortunately no bricks from the upper portion of the wall were preserved so that it cannot be determined whether the wall was plain or paneled. The 2.10 m thickness would not allow deep recesses, but it would have permitted a flat paneling system as was found at the enclosure of Senwosret at Lisht-North (pl. 150b).

The area south of the enclosure also contained remains of a long sinoid wall running east-west, perhaps a temporary "fence" for the construction site. The wall, only one-half brick thick, sat on a one-brick-wide foundation and looked sturdy and solid. Builders' debris (dolerite chips from stone hammers, sand, rope pieces, etc.) also suggests a construction site in the vicinity. The area south of the Mentuhotep tomb has not been thoroughly excavated.

DRAINAGE SYSTEM

(fig. 10, pls. 62, 75)

A technically interesting feature of the complex is a system of stone drain channels, surrounding the mortuary chapel on all four sides, of which enough is preserved to understand its construction. Water from the court as well as that falling from water spouts on the chapel's roof was collected in these channels and guided down to the southeast corner of the court from where it would exit through a channel under the enclosure wall. The court inside the enclosure, paved with three courses of bricks protected by a 1.5–2 cm thick coat of white-washed mud plaster, sloped downward from the mortuary chapel and from the brick wall to the limestone drains. The drains were not centered between enclosure wall and chapel but were placed closer to the chapel (1.45 m). Along the front of the chapel in the east, the distance was even wider (3.07 m). The drains are 1–1.65 m long, 50 cm high, and 55 cm wide and have a U-shaped section (fig. 10). The drain stones were joined with gypsum poured into channels at each end of the stone. The drains sat on a carefully prepared foundation of bricks, reinforced beneath the joints with limestone blocks. The drain outside the enclosure in the east is badly damaged. The remains show that the drain was set on a 2.10 m wide brick ramp sloping down the hill in a southeasterly direction, but not exactly parallel to the causeway ramp. As inside the enclosure, the foundations of the stone channel alternate between sections of brick and limestone slabs.

Because of poor maintenance, drainage of the tomb court did not function during heavy rainfalls. Windblown sand and litter soon blocked the channels, especially the T-shaped con-

nection piece in the southeast corner of the court. Instead of draining from under the east wall, the water collected inside the corner of the court and oozed into the ground, creating a huge pit-like underground cavity into which all manner of garbage, including pottery, was sucked. This flow of water may have contributed to the collapse of the already weakened southeast corner of the enclosure wall.

CULT BUILDING

(pls. 62–63, 74c–d)

A formidable mortuary chapel built of stone, 14.14 m (14.175 m = 27 cubits) wide (north-south) and about 29 m long (east-west), formed the main feature within the brick enclosure wall. The east-west orientation and the dimensions of the building, which are exceptionally large for a Twelfth Dynasty private monument, rule out a massive mastaba and suggest instead a pillared court in the east and a mortuary chapel in the west. Furthermore, numerous fragments of wall decoration confirm the existence of once splendidly decorated interior rooms. The building was completely destroyed by stone robbers, and its layout can only be judged from some fragments of the architecture and decoration and the remains of the subfoundation. The latter consists of two courses of irregular 46 cm thick limestone slabs that once carried the actual foundation or paving course. A few of the slabs bore team marks. Only in a few places is the actual paving layer preserved. Some blocks at the northwest corner and south of the tomb shaft are still in position, as are two more at the east end of the north side. These preserve the original level of the building and also the slightly beveled outer edge of the foundation platform of the mortuary chapel.

The building must have included a pillared court or portico. We found some—unfortunately small—fragments of multi-edged limestone pillars or columns, the largest of which was 26 cm high. The pillars were slightly fluted with a vertical band of sunk inscription filled with green paint. The flutes, the number of which could no longer be determined, vary in width from 7.5 to 8.3 cm. If we assume a court, surrounded by porticoes, at least 4 x 4 columns would have been required, but two (or four?) pillars, standing in an entrance portico of the mortuary chapel with an open front to the east, cannot be ruled out, especially since some of the fragments were found in the area east of the stone building.

Since no traces of the actual cult chapel are left, we can only offer conjectures about its shape. Judging from the oblique orientation of the causeway, the entrance to the chapel was located in the east wall, either in the center or perhaps shifted to the south to continue the oblique direction of the causeway. As far as can be discerned from the fragments, the decoration program of the chapel interior would have required at least one anteroom in front of the main offering chamber. Also to be considered was the accommodation of at least ten life-size statues, some of which would probably have stood under the portico, flanking the sides of the entrance into the chapel. The only shaft in the tomb complex was apparently located inside the offering room (see below).

Wood Doorjamb

(pl. 76a)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Arnold, *Senwosret I*, vol. 2, p. 64, pl. 76a

SOURCES: TC 418; L33–34: 446

A wood fragment inscribed with the titles of Mentuhotep, but not his name, was found in the debris of queen's pyramid 2 of the Senwosret I complex, that is, about 180 m west of the Mentuhotep tomb. As a doorjamb or frame, it formed the left-hand front corner of a wood shrine. Holes for copper wire would have allowed the board to be attached to the side of the shrine. The piece is well made, with the front and (visible) side edges painted red. The shape of the shrine is unknown, but a likely type is the inscribed wood shrine for the statue of King Hor (Thirteenth Dynasty),⁸⁹ an instructive comparison. The width of the royal door frame—as far as can be deduced from De Morgan's small drawing—is only 7 cm, while the door frame of the Mentuhotep shrine was 13 cm. The Mentuhotep shrine must therefore have been at least as big and probably even bigger than the royal one. Apparently neither shrine had door wings. The shrine probably housed the main cult statue of Mentuhotep, maybe one of those of which fragments remain (see below) or even an additional one made of wood.

A shallow inscription includes the following titles:

1. *jtj-p^ct* “member of the elite”
2. *h3tj-^c* “high official”
3. *htmtj-bjtj* “royal seal bearer”
4. *smr [w^ctj]///* “. . . [sole] companion”

The name is not preserved, but in the absence of another major tomb in the area one may assume that the piece originated from the Mentuhotep tomb. The possibility that the shrine once stood in a queen's chapel can be ruled out: such chapels were too small to house a shrine of this size.

Dimensions: Th. 4.7 cm; W. at the front 13 cm; preserved L. 50 cm

INSCRIPTIONS AND DECORATION

(pls. 76–79, 82, 84)

The chapel area but also more distant places yielded a considerable number of relief and text fragments, some significant for the reconstruction of the decorative program of the building, but most of them worthless because of their small size. All these fragments were recorded, and the selection published here gives an impression of the categories involved. The large variety of texts and pictures suggests a complex and opulent decoration program that, due to the terrible destruction of the tomb, can no longer be reconstructed.

The evidence indicates the existence of a number of inscriptions in different sizes and locations, most of which were written in sunk or incised relief and which contrasted with the decoration executed in raised relief. In other words, hieroglyphs in sunk relief seem to have been part of inscriptions independent of representations, whereas hieroglyphs in raised relief seem to have been connected with figure images and scenes. Only a few text groups stand out that can be more or less hypothetically attributed to parts of a building, while others can only be tentatively grouped by size.

The proposed distribution of the texts takes into account the general decorative practice of placing sunk inscriptions on exterior walls, door frames, architraves, and so on.

LARGE HORIZONTAL FAÇADE INSCRIPTION

(pl. 77)

The most monumental inscription was a horizontal band of sunk hieroglyphs. The text band (between border lines) was 40 cm high, with the hieroglyphs measuring about 29 cm. The exterior face on which the text was cut had a slope of about 88.5°, thus a very nearly vertical inclination, quite in contrast to the normal 84° slope of an inclined mastaba wall, which shows that the inscribed blocks must have topped a different building type, one built with practically straight walls. The inscription certainly ran along the east side of the cult chapel and perhaps around the other walls as well. There also seem to have been vertical columns, probably at the wall corners or flanking an entrance.

Monumental exterior inscriptions along the top of a building are a common decorative motif of Middle Kingdom mastabas.⁹⁰ In addition, the recovered fragments also inform us that the exterior wall of the Mentuhotep chapel was not topped by a torus and cavetto molding but was rounded on top. Unfortunately, only a few pieces of the text are preserved, despite the dimensions of the building.

88/57 + 58 + 109; 89/12: A group of fragments with remains of a text reading: *///r s^ch.f nb ntj hr.f hr.k dd///* “. . . all his nobleness that is with him thanks to what you said[?]”. Masonry edges are on the underside and left side of the block. The distance between border lines is 36.5 cm (inside) and 40 cm (outside). The overall length was 1.69 m; the original height of the block was 81.4 cm. The distance from the lower horizontal masonry edge to the border line of the text is 13.5 cm. The distance from the lower horizontal masonry edge to the beginning of the top curve is 65 cm.

Dimensions:

88/57: L. 74 cm; H. 53 cm

88/58: H. 54 cm; W. bottom 53 cm, W. middle 72 cm

88/109: L. 49 cm; H. 71 cm

88/72: Huge fragment with remains of the word *///bjtj///*. Horizontal masonry edge beneath and vertical one to the right. Distance between border lines is 36.6 cm (inside) and 42 cm (outside). The distance from the lower masonry edge to the border line of the text is 16.5 cm.

Dimensions: H. 82 cm; W. 44 cm

88/115: Fragment with remains of huge hieroglyphs reading (the direction is not clear) *///nb///n k3///* or *///s n k3 n ///[?]*. The second reading would include the name of Mentuhotep's mother, As-en-ka.

Dimensions: L. 61 cm; H. 30 cm

⁸⁹ De Morgan, *Dahchour I*, pp. 91–93, figs. 212–16; Mohamed Saleh and Hourig Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum Cairo* (Mainz, 1987), no. 117.

⁹⁰ See the tombs of Sobekemhat, Nebit, Hor-kherty, and Khnumhotep in the forthcoming volume on Middle Kingdom tomb architecture at Dahshur. The height of the text, ca. 40 cm, seems to have been average. For other examples, also from royal temples, see Adela Oppenheim, “Relief Decoration of the King's Temples and Queens' Chapels,” in Arnold, *Senwosret III*, p. 137.

GATE INSCRIPTION

(pl. 76b–d)

A pile of numerous small limestone fragments of an incised inscription was found in the court immediately behind the gate. The predominance of numerals suggests that the inscription was a contract between Mentuhotep and the funerary priests. Such contracts occurred in the Twelfth Dynasty and contained the number of required offerings. Unfortunately, the small size of the fragments poses serious problems for a reconstruction. The find spot suggests that the text was carved into the door frame of the portal of the enclosure wall, but one cannot rule out the possibility that an inscribed block from the front wall of the stone building was dragged to this spot and broken up. Why the block was not removed in one piece, as were the other blocks, but chipped into tiny pieces, is unknown.

A publication of the isolated pieces without a reconstruction of the text seems of little value. Such a reconstruction could only be undertaken from the real fragments (stored in the tomb shaft), but since these are tiny, the success of such an enterprise is doubtful.

FALSE DOOR INSCRIPTION

(pl. 77b)

A dozen or so fragments seem to have belonged to the false door of Mentuhotep because the background paint imitates pink granite, which is used for false door decoration. The hieroglyphs were painted blue. The fragments were all collected from the main shaft, suggesting that the false door stood above or close to it. The best preserved pieces are as follows:

88/131: Part of a small column of text with an abbreviated offering spell facing right: “. . . invocation offerings consisting of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, all things on which a god lives . . .” Probably belongs with 89/3 (no direct connection).
Dimensions: H. 11 cm; W. 5.5 cm

89/2: Remains of a small text column facing right with the signs *///[hrj-jb-n-ntrw]///* “. . . in the midst of the gods . . .”
Dimensions: H. 10.5 cm; W. 4.5 cm

89/3: Part of a small text column facing left with the signs *///nbt///* “. . . all [plants, trees?] and . . .” Vertical masonry edge to the right. Probably belongs with 88/131 (no direct connection).

Dimensions: H. 9.5 cm; W. 4.3 cm

89/3a: Remains of two small signs, one being *hb* “feast.”
Dimensions: H. 5 cm; W. 3.7 cm

The following piece may also have belonged to the false door since it includes a double recess to the right of a text column:

88/32: Remains of a vertical inscription containing the expression *jm3hw*. The hieroglyphs are blue. The profile of the text column suggests that the piece must have been part of the frame of a false door. The top is rather smooth (masonry edge?).

Dimensions: H. 12 cm; W. 14 cm

UNIDENTIFIED LARGE SUNK INSCRIPTION

(pl. 78a)

A number of fragments represent a vertical text with columns about 19–20 cm wide. The hieroglyphs all face left.

88/56: Lower part of a seated figure on a chair with lion legs, probably the hieroglyph *šps*.

Dimensions: H. 13 cm; W. 15.5 cm

88/30b: Remains of *///rf n d///*.

Dimensions: H. 17.5 cm; W. 19 cm

88/33: Remains of parts of the signs *///m33-n///*. Horizontal masonry edge at the bottom.

Dimensions: H. 10 cm; W. 11 cm

88/64+88/67: Remains of two columns, the left one of which has the signs *šps*, *h*, and *sw* and parts of a *sw*-plant. Vertical masonry edge at the left.

Dimensions:

88/64: H. 13.5 cm; W. 16 cm

88/67: H. 15 cm; W. 11 cm

88/68: Remains of three large hieroglyphs *m*, *n*, and *njwt*, perhaps the title *jmj-r njwt* “mayor of the pyramid city.” The vertical double line to the left cannot be a divider.

Dimensions: H. 15 cm; W. 9.5 cm

88/73a: Remains containing the hieroglyphs *h*, *sw*, and *h*.

Dimensions: H. 14 cm; W. 13 cm

88/74f: Remains of two text columns, probably facing left with remains of the text *///r t3.wy*.

Dimensions: H. 12 cm; W. 18 cm

There is one fragment of a horizontal inscription facing right with two text bands:

89/96: Remains of two horizontal text bands with large hieroglyphs, in the upper line parts of *jmj-r*, in the lower line remains of *///jrj-[p^ct]///*.

Dimensions: H. 20 cm; W. 12 cm

UNIDENTIFIED MEDIUM-SIZED,
SUNK INSCRIPTION

(pl. 78b)

Only a few fragments of two vertical inscriptions with 9–10 cm wide columns are preserved. The inscriptions faced each other.

88/53: Remains of two or more small text columns facing right with parts of various hieroglyphs including *h* and *h*. In two pieces.

Dimensions: (top) H. 9.3 cm; W. 9.5 cm; (bottom) H. 10.2 cm; W. 9.8 cm

89/37: Remains of two text columns facing left containing the group *juw*.

Dimensions: H. ca. 6 cm; W. 27 cm

89/79: Remains of four text columns facing left. The second column has *///w hs///*, the third column *///jmj-r sš m///*. Inside width of the columns is 8.6 cm. Masonry edge at the bottom.

Dimensions: H. 49 cm; W. of decoration 47 cm

RELIEF DECORATION AND RAISED
INSCRIPTIONS

(pls. 79–84)

Numerous fragments of relief decoration and raised inscriptions, depicting a wide range of subjects, probably originated from the interior walls of the portico and cult chamber(s), though unfortunately they are too small and isolated to enable a reconstruction of scenes or of the rich decorative program

of the tomb. The figures and attached short texts executed in raised relief contrast with the sunk relief used for independent exterior inscriptions. Only one major fragment from a figure of a seated tomb owner is in sunk relief; overall twice as many fragments of raised relief were found as sunk relief. As is to be expected from a tomb of a high-ranking official, the quality of relief work was extraordinary, especially demonstrated in the fragments of water scenes.

Because of their close association with images, a separate category of raised inscriptions was not appropriate. Beyond the pieces presented here, a group of approximately twenty smaller fragments was recorded. Since these fragments do not contribute to the reconstruction or understanding of the wall reliefs, they have been excluded from the publication. The following subjects can be distinguished.

REPRESENTATIONS OF MENTUHOTEP

(pl. 79)

It is to be expected that Mentuhotep himself would have been depicted in reliefs of various sizes. We have fragments of at least two representations in sunk and one in raised relief, which may originate, respectively, from a portico or door frame and from the offering scene in the main cult chamber of the building. Mentuhotep is shown seated, holding a staff in his raised hand.

88/49: The toes of two feet and the lower end of the staff of the seated figure of Mentuhotep facing right. Less than life-size. Raised relief.

Dimensions: H. 25 cm; W. 13 cm

88/71: Fragment of a life-size relief of the tomb owner facing right, with remains of his shoulder (covered with a leopard skin) and the forward hand adorned with a bracelet, holding a staff. Mentuhotep may have been shown seated on a chair. Sunk relief. Horizontal masonry edge on top end.

Dimensions: L. 55 cm; W. 20 cm

88/107g: Front of the knees and shins of a seated male figure facing left. Less than life-size. Sunk relief.

Dimensions: L. 18 cm; H. 12 cm

MARSH SCENES

(pls. 80–81)

Three fragments of a marsh scene, discovered by the original Expedition around the causeway of Senwosret I, were believed to have been part of the causeway decoration, but they could as well have originated from the tomb of Mentuhotep, where at least three fragments of similar content were found. Format and style of both groups of fragments seem quite similar, and there is no other decorated tomb in the entire area. Furthermore, it is doubtful that the causeway was decorated. If indeed all fragments are part of the same wall decoration, several separate marsh scenes are to be expected.⁹¹ One fragment represented a basin filled with lotus flowers that was surrounded by a frieze of alternating water plants and an unidentified elongated object. The second picture connects a large school of live mugil fish (not in a net?) with a scene of drying fish eggs and cut-up fish. Two fragments were part of a netting scene. Another fragment shows aquatic life with crocodiles and fish, a picture that could be combined with the netting scene. A reconstruction of the original context is impossible because the arrangement of such scenes was not standardized but depended on the creativity of the artist.

88/60: Large fragment of a marsh scene with parts of three fish, a catfish, a lotus blossom at the bottom, and a portion of a fishing net with remains of a float. Horizontal masonry edge at the bottom. Raised relief. Three fragments have preserved black zigzag water lines on a blue background (89/4a–c). Masonry edge at the bottom.

Dimensions: H. 35 cm; W. 44 cm

89/94: Part of an underwater scene with parts of three fish and a crocodile on the bottom. Remains of blue color on the water. Crocodiles can appear in fishing scenes, but they are more common in the great double scene featuring harpooning and catching fowl with a throw stick or in the scene of cattle crossing the river.

Dimensions: H. 16.3 cm; W. 13 cm

Relief block

MMA 13.188.2

Sources: AM 2892; L12–13: 238

High, narrow fragment of a scene with an unusually dense and detailed arrangement of a school of mugil fish below and a scene of drying of fish eggs and of cut-up fish above. Both scenes are separated by a raised line and two rectangular objects that might depict floating devices for a fish net. No traces of a net are visible, but the net may have been indicated in paint that has since disappeared. A close match of both freely swimming and dead fish can be seen in the tomb of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep at Saqqara.⁹²

Provenance: The register card of the Museum mentions “N. Pyr.” as the origin, contradicting the caption of photo L12–13: 238, “causeway,” which suggests the South Pyramid.⁹³

Dimensions: H. 80 cm; W. 24 cm

Relief fragment

MMA 08.200.57

Sources: AM 2798; L7–8: 558

The fragment was certainly part of the same scene as the following piece (L12–13: 219). It shows aquatic plant life distributed between two parallel panels, apparently representing the edge of an artificial pond. A third stripe, undecorated like the monochrome dado of the wall, suggests the orientation of the fragment, but the base lines of the dado are missing.

The rectangular objects separating the plants are puzzling. Since they are not attached to a rope or a net and are standing upright, they cannot be part of a fishing net. Could they be an architectural feature of the pond?

Provenance: The fragment is said to be “from a mastaba tomb near the pyramid of Senwosret I.”

Dimensions: L. 53 cm; H. 37 cm

⁹¹ On fish and fishing, see Douglas J. Brewer and Renée F. Friedman, *Fish and Fishing in Ancient Egypt* (Warminster, 1989); Michael Johannes van Elsbergen, *Fischerei im Alten Ägypten* (Berlin, 1997); Dietrich Sahrhage, *Fischfang und Fischkult im alten Ägypten* (Mainz, 1998).

⁹² Ahmed M. Moussa and Hartwig Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Niankhnum und Chnumhotep* (Mainz, 1977), fig. 12 and pl. 31 (lower two registers). On the drying and pressing of mugil eggs, see Wolfgang Helck, “Kaviar,” *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (Wiesbaden, 1980), vol. 3, cols. 377–378, with references.

⁹³ No records of the excavation season 1912–13 are preserved, so that it is not possible to resolve this discrepancy. Since one or all three pieces could possibly have been found at Lisht-North, the fragments might also belong to the tomb of Rehurdjersen, which included rich aquatic scenes.

Relief fragment

MMA 08.200.58

Sources: AM 2939; LI2-13: 219

The fragment, with the same subject and the same problems of interpretation, was certainly part of the scene depicted on the previous fragment. It preserves two joints from the corner of the block.

Provenance: The fragment is said to have been found in 1912-13 at a "causeway," probably meaning the causeway of Senwosret I.

Dimensions: H. 23 cm; W. 18 cm

VARIOUS SUBJECTS IN RAISED RELIEF

(pls. 82-84)




Some of the following fragments originate from the usual scenes portraying priests and offering bearers that certainly covered the walls of the main offering chamber. There are also fragments from scenes that do not fit into the decorative program of the offering room but that suggest at least one ante-room, an architectural arrangement that is also supported by the number of statues of the tomb owner.

88/23: Left arm and right hand of a man, facing right and pulling a rope, from a fishing or slaughtering scene.

Dimensions: H. 18 cm; W. 8-9 cm

88/25: Remains of a text facing right with the signs *///nt nsw///* and a vertical dividing line to the right. Horizontal masonry edge on top.

Dimensions: H. 13 cm; W. 12 cm

88/27: Remains of the word *k3t* ("work") facing right. The  is red, the  red with blue hair, the  has a black eye and yellow eye area. To the right is a vertical element like a block border with a blue rectangle, separated from adjoining rectangles by blue lines. Vertical masonry edge to the left.

Dimensions: H. 23 cm; W. 8.5 cm

88/34: Part of the hand and papyrus scroll of a priest who is reciting in front of a shrine or naos. The front part (column shaft?) of the naos consists of yellow, brown (originally red?), and blue horizontal elements, which are separated by three bands with the sequence black-blank-black. Horizontal masonry edge on top and vertical masonry edge at the upper right end (corner of block).

Dimensions: H. 17 cm; W. 15.5 cm

88/43: Remains of large-scale left-facing hieroglyphs from the name Mentuhotep.

Dimensions: H. 18 cm; W. 6.5 cm

88/46a: Parts of two ropes, probably of a sailing boat.


Dimensions: ca. 11 x 11 cm

88/47: Remains of a cone (of grain?) with part of the strokes of the number 5 (+ x). Dividing line and horizontal masonry edge on top.

Dimensions: H. 17 cm; W. 20 cm

88/47g: Small fragment with remains of the spotted pattern of a priest's leopard skin garment.

Dimensions: 6 x 6.2 cm

88/50: Upper part of the  hieroglyph with detailed carving of the owl's feathers. The bird is surrounded at the top and left by a raised frame.

Dimensions: H. 9.6 cm; W. of surface 10 cm

88/54: Left block border, text column with the signs *///jj*

nbš.t and part of a human figure(?) facing right. Vertical masonry edge to the left.

Dimensions: H. 28-28.5 cm; W. 26.5-27.5 cm


88/59: An elongated fragment with remains of the middle part of several men, apparently approaching each other in two groups, but, due to the poor condition of the surface, their activity is not quite recognizable. From left to right:

1. At left, water is poured on man moving to the left.
2. A man facing right carries fowl.
3. A man facing right apparently carries a staff.
4. Traces of a standing figure (?) in a long garment facing left.
5. The front hand of a man carrying a staff facing left.

Dimensions: H. 14 cm; W. 80 cm

88/61: Lower end of three *kheker*-elements in fine raised relief. The circles are painted from inside out in the sequence [red]-green-blue; the stems have the same pattern of colors. The block border has a green frame.


Dimensions: H. 18 cm; W. 36 cm

88/69: Remains of the word *k3t* "work," which certainly was part of the title "overseer of the work." The  is blue. Vertical masonry edge at the left.

Dimensions: H. 9.5 cm; W. of surface 26.5 cm

88/70: Left upper corner of a wall with remains of four *kheker*-elements, upper and left block border, and the main part of the cartouche of a king Amenemhat, possibly part of one of Mentuhotep's titles: "mayor of the pyramid town of King Amenemhat." The relatively small size of the elements points to a small room unit like a niche. Vertical masonry edge to the left.



Dimensions: H. 30 cm; W. 29 cm

88/107: Part of a procession of offering bearers facing right with remains of a person carrying the foreleg of an ox, followed by a calf (head only). Traces of yellow on cattle. In front of the person are the remains of *///tp jb*; behind are parts of the . Horizontal masonry edge below.

Dimensions: H. 18 cm; L. 49 cm

88/134: Upper part of a vertical cartouche of Kheperkare (Senwosret I) and the sky sign above in painted raised relief. Masonry edge at the top. The sky is blue, the sun red, the beetle black, the frame of the cartouche brown, its background yellow, and the left divider blue. The background was white.



Dimensions: H. 13 cm; W. 16.5 cm

89/1: Part of a vertical text column facing left with remains of the titles *jjj-p^ct* and *h3ty-^c*. The  is green with yellow bands, the  is yellow with a red eye and a blue mane. The vertical divider is blue.


Dimensions: H. 15 cm; W. 11 cm

89/61: Left projecting ledge or frame, probably part of an inscribed raised door frame. To the right is a kneeling scribe facing right, labeled *///jnw*.

Dimensions: H. 55 cm; W. 40 cm

89/62: Lower end of a cartouche "*///-k3-///*," which certainly was Kheperkare (Senwosret I). The only other king of the Twelfth Dynasty whose name contained a  was Amenemhat II. Senwosret III can be ruled out on chronological grounds. The cartouche and vertical divider are blue, the interior of the cartouche is yellow, the  red, and the horizontal stroke beneath the cartouche yellow.


Dimensions: H. 9 cm; W. 11 cm

89/75: Part of an inscription with large hieroglyphs within a frame(?) containing two *t*-signs and two vertical number strokes. A frame also surrounds the , as on 89/50. Horizontal masonry edge on top.


Dimensions: H. 16 cm; W. 8 cm

89/77: Lower part of the rear leg and foot of a male figure, less than life-size, facing left. Below are the upper ends of the signs *s-n*. Horizontal masonry edge on top.



Dimensions: H. 20.5 cm; W. 26 cm

89/81: Part of a procession of offering bearers facing right. A huge bundle of papyrus blossoms in two tiers dangles from the arm of a carrier. Behind, a part of the leg of a carrier is preserved. A label ends with *///3.t*. The leg of the offering bearer is red, the wing of the vulture and the  are blue, and the papyrus plants are green with yellow edges. A yellow ribbon dangles between the vulture and the papyrus bundle. Vertical masonry edge to the right.

Dimensions: H. 19.5 cm; W. 20 cm

89/84: Remains of offerings and an inscription *jrj///m-s3f///*. From the top dangles a lotus bud with blue and yellow petals. At the bottom left appear the horns of an antelope (? black); the animal is probably walking in front of an offering bearer. The stick of the  is brown, the brows of the owl are yellow.

Dimensions: H. 11.8 cm; W. 10.5 cm

89/85: Lower end of two text columns. The  and the papyrus drum are red; the  and the divider are blue.

Dimensions: H. 10.8 cm; W. 16.4 cm

89/86: Parts of the beaks of three ducks or geese. One masonry edge along the side.

Dimensions: H. 16 cm; W. 9.5 cm

89/89: Knees of a small male figure facing right.

Dimensions: H. 6.5 cm; W. 13 cm

89/99: Complete face of a less than life-size male figure facing right and raising a hand in an attitude of adoration. The curls of the wig are arranged in horizontal rows.

Dimensions: 15.5 x 15.5 cm

89/100: Long skirt and rear leg of a priest facing left. The vertical block border and a vertical masonry edge appear behind him.

Dimensions: H. 14 cm; W. 14.5 cm

89/107: Parts of three large figs from a pile of offerings.

Dimensions: H. 8 cm; W. 13 cm

89/118: Remains of two horizontal lines of text with various signs.

Dimensions: H. 12.5 cm; W. 7 cm

SCULPTURE

Fragments of more than ten life-size statues were found during the excavation of the chapel area and shaft.⁹⁴ Ownership of several large statues seems to have been a privilege of very few high officials during the early Twelfth Dynasty because a similar abundance was found only in the tomb of Senwosretankh at Lisht-South, while no other examples are known from the Lisht-North or Dahshur cemeteries. The Mentuhotep statues must have populated a considerable part of the cult chapel and its antechamber, but their exact distribution remains unknown.

Most prominent were large fragments of at least four life-size limestone figures of Mentuhotep in the posture of a seated scribe. The figures held on their lap a papyrus scroll inscribed in sunk hieroglyphs with two or more vertical text lines giving titles, filiation, and the name of Mentuhotep. More inscriptions may have adorned the base of the statues. The inscriptions leave no doubt that our Mentuhotep was identical with the Mentuhotep who owned about eleven statues that were found in Karnak, which also represented him as a scribe.

One can conclude from fragments that there were at least six additional life-size statues:

- (a) Two life-size seated figures of granodiorite
- (b) Three life-size scribe figures of limestone
- (c) One life-size scribe figure of quartzite

There were also one or two small scribe figures of limestone. In addition to these statues, which were certainly housed in the Mentuhotep chapel, one may tentatively attribute to the same tomb statuary discovered by the original Expedition outside the Mentuhotep complex:

- (d) A granodiorite fragment inscribed with the name Mentuhotep was found far away, in the main shaft of secondary pyramid 3.⁹⁵ The piece was 17 cm long and may have been part of a statue base.

The original Expedition found two statues (e–f) that did not preserve the name of the owner but may have originated from the Mentuhotep tomb because no other major tomb was found in the area. A peculiarity of these figures, however, not observed on statue remains found in the Mentuhotep complex, was the obvious and intentional destruction of the name and, on one statue, also the titles of the owner.

- (e) Anonymous seated statue

Sources: 16 L: 182–83

Lower half of a seated life-size diorite (or granogranite?) statue. Only the seat and the lower part of the body with the legs are preserved.⁹⁶ All texts on the seat of the statue were intentionally and completely destroyed. The statue was discovered in the 1916 season in the mouth of shaft 44/44 (as shown on photo 16 L: 182–83). The statue, left in the ruins of the original Expedition house, is now housed in the rebuilt excavation house (LN 91: 238–45, 247).

- (f) Anonymous seated statue

MMA 09.180.12

Lower half of a seated, slightly larger than life-size diorite (or granogranite?) statue (photos L8–9: 339–40). Only the statue base, throne, legs, and lower part of the body are preserved. The individual wears the royal kilt. The name at the edge of the base is destroyed and the inscriptions seem in general to be willfully damaged, although the throne and base still carry his titles:

1. *jrj-p^ct* “member of the elite”
2. *h3tj-^c* “high official”
3. *f3.ty* “vizier”
4. *jmj-r njw.t* “mayor of the pyramid city”

Provenance: The statue was found by Gautier in 1894–95 and rediscovered (according to the accession card in the

⁹⁴ These will be published by Dorothea Arnold.

⁹⁵ See Arnold, *Senwosret I*, vol. 2, p. 60, pl. 74.

⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 46, 68–69.

Department of Egyptian Art, MMA) by the original Expedition in the 1908–9 season, “lying on old surface level a few meters outside the enclosure wall [of Senwosret I], at a point about half way between the causeway and the S.E. corner of the enclosure wall.” Since the Mentuhotep tomb is closest to this “point” and no other major tomb is known in the area, one might assume that the statue represented our Mentuhotep. This assumption is not certain: although the owner of the statue was a vizier, this title has not yet been found in the tomb of Mentuhotep at Lisht.

PRIESTS’ HOUSES AND STOREROOMS

(pls. 62, 63, 74a–b)

The southern part of the complex was occupied by a row of eleven priests’ houses and/or storerooms, which were built against the southern enclosure wall. Again, the rooms closer to the corners of the wall had deeper foundations and could be easily distinguished, while those in the middle of the south wall were built on top of the *gebel* surface and have left few traces. The rooms had a common north wall, interrupted by doors, the location of which could be determined by gaps in the brickwork. Originally these were certainly the places for the stone thresholds, which could have carried a stone or brick door frame. Fragments of an inscribed door frame were found in the threshold pit of door 4. Since only every second room had a door (nos. 2, 4, 6, 8, 11[?]), we have to assume that the other rooms were side rooms of those with a north entrance. The connection between these side rooms is not always clear. No stone cavities for thresholds existed in the side rooms, and the doors were probably only openings in the wall without door wings. Possibly, the rooms were not separated by walls; the preserved brick foundations may instead have supported column bases (as indicated on pl. 62). In that case, instead of two distinctive rooms, there would be either one room with a central column or a room with the front half open and the inner part roofed. The narrow and longish proportions of the rooms (2–2.5 x 6 m), however, suggest two chambers each roofed with a brick vault. If it is assumed that priests lived in these rooms, one might speculate that there was a three-room apartment for a higher-ranking priest at the west end followed by four two-room apartments for lower-ranking priests in the east. The rooms are grouped from east to west as follows:

1/2: Entrance room 2, much larger than inner room 1, was perhaps an open court because it had a small brick bench set against the center of the south wall. In the east we found unexpectedly strong foundations for a separation wall from the narrow side of room 1.

3/4: Entrance room 4 is smaller than inner room 3. The separation wall has a round hole in the center, which could have contained a round stone column base. Part of the brick paving could still be recognized along the east wall of room 3. It is not certain that 3 was accessible from 4. It could also have connected to room 2.

5/6: Both rooms were probably vaulted. Remains of the limestone threshold were found in front of 6.

7/8: Both rooms were probably vaulted.

9/10/11: Remains of a limestone threshold for room 11 were still recognizable. Room 9 still has its brick paving. In room 10, three flat, narrow, and short brick benches were built against the east, south, and west walls. They sat on top of brick and pottery debris and were apparently built after some destruction had already occurred. The room was used in later times for burials. All rooms were probably vaulted.

The excavation of the priests’ houses and storerooms brought to light quite a number of objects, including inscribed material, that might contribute to a better understanding of the rooms. These finds will be published later.

UNDERGROUND APARTMENTS

(pls. 62–72, 85–92)

Corresponding to the huge size of the funerary complex, the Mentuhotep tomb had a wide, deep shaft and large and unusual underground apartments. Both shaft and chambers were used for more than one burial and consequently underwent several structural changes, robberies, destructions, and repairs.

Shaft

(pls. 63–66, 85a)

The huge burial shaft of Mentuhotep was the only recognizable feature among the slabs of the foundation platform. Since the shaft had been reopened several times in the course of the millennia, its original closure had vanished, and one can only speculate on how the mouth was sealed and hidden. The accumulation of relief and statue debris above the mouth of the tomb shaft would indicate that decorated chambers with statues of Mentuhotep were nearby (see below). One might assume, therefore, that the shaft opened in the floor of the main offering chamber, located in the northwest corner of the stone superstructure.

The funerary complex contained only one burial shaft, that of Mentuhotep himself, which was reused once, probably in the Thirteenth Dynasty. That there was not a single secondary shaft is unique because all the other major tomb complexes at Lisht were surrounded by dozens of lesser shafts belonging to household members of the main tomb owners and their descendants.

The shaft to the underground apartments was indicated by a large depression filled with windblown sand covering masses of stone robbers’ debris: piles of dressed limestone fragments, some with the sunk facade inscription, some with smaller inscriptions and decoration, remains of a charcoal fire with small fragments of a black granite pyramidion, and fragments of statues (see above). All this debris is an illustration of the amount of stone robbery that occurred here, probably in the late New Kingdom. An indication of the destruction date is provided by the burial of two Third Intermediate Period coffins, on top of the stone refuse, about 80 cm below the surface. The coffins were found undisturbed. One was a poor anthropoid wood coffin, the other a pottery coffin with a human face. The shaft cannot therefore have been reopened after the Third Intermediate Period.

The dimensions of the shaft—2.50 x 3.15 m (= 4 x 6

cubits)—were sufficient for the lowering of the two stone sarcophagi. The rim widened to 3.50 x 4.28 m in order to accommodate the limestone slabs, which were laid side by side over the shaft. The size of these slabs can be roughly estimated:

- (a) 46 cm x 1.35 m x 3.50 m
- (b) 46 cm x 1.50 m x 3.50 m
- (c) 63 cm x 1.43 m x 3.50 m

These slabs were covered by another course of 68 cm thick limestone blocks, the actual pavement course of the funerary chapel. This meter-thick limestone blocking was no obstacle for later intruders, who chiseled through the center of the blockage. Only the outer edges of the roofing blocks remained cemented in place. The depth of the shaft, 7.88 m, was determined by the level of solid limestone into which the tomb chambers had to be cut, which starts 6.70 m below the roofing blocks of the shaft.

On the northern side of the shaft was a 1 m thick solid retaining wall of rough fieldstones (*dabsh*), beginning 3.2 m below the roofing blocks, set into clay mortar and a fill of loose *tafl*. The purpose of the wall can only have been to prevent a collapse, since behind it we were able to clear a huge cavity bulging north into the *tafl*. The wall would have prevented the lowering of the sarcophagi and can therefore have been built only after their introduction. A later date is confirmed by fragments of a granite offering table and of a quartzite sarcophagus or canopic chest as well as a cup of the second half of the Thirteenth Dynasty, all of which were found built into the wall.⁹⁷ It is probable, therefore, that the wall was built in the later Thirteenth Dynasty, during the reuse of the tomb when the shaft walls had been weakened by repeated excavations.

For later tomb robbers, unfamiliar with the history of the shaft, this wall was an indication that a chamber was hidden to the north. Aware of the bad state of the rock behind, they did not dare to dismantle or dig into the wall. Instead they devised a complicated and somewhat ridiculous method of entry, starting at the bottom of the shaft. They cut two horizontal fox holes through the rock in both side walls of the sloping tomb passage; these fox holes then continued parallel to the side walls of the shaft and around the retaining wall. In order to bring in fresh air, small window holes connect to the shaft. The western fox hole turns upward after reaching the northwest corner of the shaft, and a vertical shaft seems to connect with the cavity behind the retaining wall. We could not clear this part of the robbers' tunnel and follow it to the end, but we were convinced that the robbers had failed to reach their goal. Since no such upward shaft was cut from the eastern tunnel, a small area northeast of the shaft remains unexplored, and there is a small but unlikely possibility that a chamber is hidden there.

After the tomb was first robbed, the shaft must have remained open for some time, during which more blocks and debris of the funerary chapel and its statues collapsed, covering part of an ox skeleton that lay in the sand not far from the entrance to the sloping passage. Since the tomb had been entered, the skeleton cannot have been in situ, which might explain why it was no longer complete. Since it is unlikely that an ox died in the necropolis and its corpse was thrown into an empty shaft, the ox was probably buried as an offering in front of the blocking wall or on top of the fill of the shaft.

Sloping Passage

(pls. 64–67)

Opening from the lower end of the shaft was a 1.90 m high by 1.20 m wide passage, the walls and ceiling of which were carefully dressed. It slopes downward at an angle of 18.5° and reaches the burial chamber after 20.8 m. The mouth of the passage was originally closed with several huge limestone blocks piled atop one another. One, measuring 60 x 78 x 165 cm, was still on top of the debris, levered backward into an inclined position so that the robbers could climb over it. The rock above the door of the crypt was also chiseled away by thieves for easier access. The above-described robbers' tunnels open in the east and west walls at the top of this sloping passage. When we entered the passage, the upper half was filled with clean, windblown sand that had streamed all the way down into the burial chamber.

Crypt

(fig. 11, pls. 64–67, 85b–d)

The crypt of Mentuhotep had a long history of official additions and illicit intrusions during the Thirteenth and Eighteenth Dynasties. Original burials were destroyed, rooms added, and new burials deposited and robbed again, leaving the interior in a disarray difficult for the archaeologist to disentangle.

The burial apartments were half filled with sand, limestone blocks and fragments, and remains of destroyed burials. Most striking was a large number of inscribed and uninscribed red quartzite fragments of a sarcophagus probably originating from lower chamber F. The main object amid the debris was the red granite sarcophagus in crypt A. After the debris was removed, it became clear that the burial apartments followed a well-known Twelfth Dynasty scheme. The rooms were laid out on two levels, and the position of the entrance was reversed from the upper to the lower level so that the red quartzite sarcophagus came to be positioned below the entrance passage in room F.⁹⁸

On the upper level of the chamber system, after the sloping passage, was a 3.40 x 3.75 m and 1.66–1.85 m high chamber (A) from the south wall of which extended two narrow loculi (B, C). Directly to the right on entering was a small opening that led into a 3.10 x 5 m side chamber (D). In the center of the floor of main room A was a wide pit, or chamber (E), which held the granite sarcophagus of Mentuhotep in an extension of the east wall. The lower sarcophagus chamber (F) for the original quartzite sarcophagus of Mentuhotep was in the north, below the sloping passage. Chamber F had a central pit (G) and a canopic niche (H). This arrangement clearly showed an original burial in chamber F with a quartzite sarcophagus and a later addition of a granite sarcophagus in entrance chamber E.

Originally chamber A was symmetrical about the axis of the sloping passage and probably measured 2.60 m wide, 3.77 m long, and 1.66–1.85 m high. Central pit E was certainly filled with masonry and covered by a stone pavement. Similar

⁹⁷ The cup can be dated by its vessel index of 140. See Arnold, *Semwosret I*, vol. 1, p. 141.

⁹⁸ Similar arrangements are found in the tombs of Khety (no. 311) at Asasif and of Inpy (no. 620) at Lahun (see Petrie, *Lahun II*, pl. 27). Also similar are tomb 603 and the "Kiln Tomb" (ibid., pl. 36A). An unpublished example is tomb T, north of the tomb of Intef (no. 386) at Asasif.

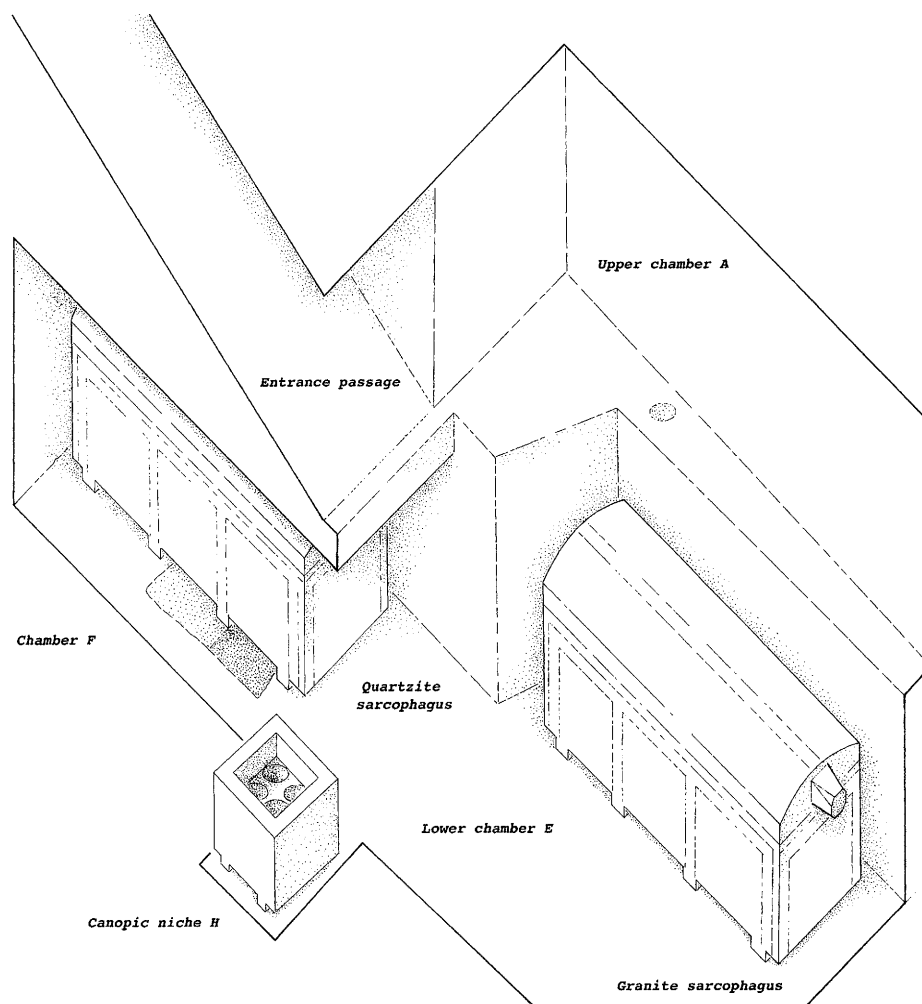


Fig. 11. Isometric view of the Mentuhotep crypt with the two sarcophagi and the canopic chest. No scale. Draw. D. A.

upper entrance chambers also appear in other Twelfth Dynasty tombs, but their purpose is not known. Chamber A was certainly cased with limestone slabs, or the builder planned such casing, though whether it was carried out is impossible to know since no stones remain. It is also possible that the casing was removed together with the pavement and the fill of pit E when the second (granite) sarcophagus was introduced (see below) and the chamber to house it enlarged 80 cm to the east. We do not know, however, if the granite sarcophagus was added before or after the completion of the work.

The two southern loculi B and C can be compared to side chambers in other Twelfth Dynasty tombs and might be considered "Ka-chamber" and "treasury." It is curious that they could be accessed only if the pavement in chamber A was intact. After the destruction of the floor, they could only be reached with a ladder from the bottom of pit E. There is the possibility that they did not belong to the original plan. Only C may have been part of the first scheme, and B may have been added in connection with the introduction of the granite sarcophagus. This explanation is supported by the irregular alignment of B, which could have resulted from less careful secondary building activities. From the evidence of Thirteenth Dynasty potsherds and remains of other burials (see below), one might conclude that at least two more burial facilities were prepared during the Thirteenth Dynasty, perhaps for descendants of the Mentuhotep family. The addition of long, narrow loculi was a typical feature of the Thirteenth Dynasty.

Side chamber D, the execution of which is obviously inferior to that of the rest of the tomb, was certainly a later addition. The ceiling is low, but the floor is possibly not finished;

the plan may have been to dress it down. A shaft was sunk into the floor, perhaps to lead into the actual (but never executed) burial chamber. This arrangement differs from possible Thirteenth Dynasty loculi (see above) and points to a later period. A few beads, gold foil, rotten wood covered with blue paint, and the well-preserved head of a mummy confirm the presence of a burial.

Perhaps related to chamber D is a large fragment of a canopic vessel found in the debris of the main burial chamber, as were several small fragments amid the debris of chamber E. The vessel consisted of a black, coal-like material that was cracking and flaking off. A bead collar was carefully carved onto the shoulder, a rare feature known only from the Eighteenth Dynasty, which suggests that the jar was part of an intrusive New Kingdom burial of a rather wealthy person.⁹⁹ A canopic lid of wood in human shape was also found in chamber A, but there is no indication to which burial it might have belonged.

The lower chamber, pit E (1.50 x 3.60, 1.50–1.90 m deep), was meant originally as a turning chamber for the quartzite sarcophagus, which was lowered from the passage and finally pushed into the loculus F (fig. 11). The side walls still retain sockets or putlogs for the scaffolding, and the floor is covered with grooves for skid poles needed for the maneuver (see pl. 67). As mentioned above, pit E was enlarged 85 cm to the east in order to accommodate the granite sarcophagus. Of course, the sarcophagus could have been left standing in the center of the room, but the usual layout of a burial chamber required

⁹⁹ Reisner, *Canopics*, pp. 59–62, pl. 13 [59–62].

the sarcophagus to stand along a side wall and the canopic chest to be set in a niche of the east wall or opposite. A second, granite canopic chest was not found, but there is evidence for additional canopic burials. Amid the debris of room E there were some 12 cm thick limestone slabs with remains of black measuring or positioning marks, suggesting a limestone casing. The slab is too thin for a large room and rather suggests a smaller loculus, for instance, the canopic niche. The niche, however, is too small for both casing and canopic chest. Was the pit under the quartzite sarcophagus cased?

The burial chamber was wide enough (1.58 x 3.06 m, 1.60 m high in the center, 1.50 m high along the side walls) to accommodate a quartzite sarcophagus of dimensions similar to those of the granite sarcophagus. The north wall of the room retains traces of six vertical and parallel rows of black brush lines. A 1.05 x 1.05 m and 92 cm deep pit under the sarcophagus was certainly meant to receive a wood box with objects of importance to the tomb owner. The sarcophagus filled the loculus so tightly that, to get at the burial and the pit beneath, the tomb robbers had no other alternative than to smash the sarcophagus to pieces. After the destruction and plundering of the sarcophagus and the “treasure chest,” the pit was used as a dumping place for heavy blocks and stone fragments.

In the western wall of sarcophagus pit E was a roughly dressed niche (H), 77 x 85 cm and 1.20 m high, with a quartzite canopic chest. The chest was slightly twisted, and the lid and the upper part of the box were smashed to pieces. The rear wall of the niche shows a series of about seventeen vertical marks made with a flat chisel 2.5 cm wide.

Quartzite Sarcophagus

(pl. 72)

The sarcophagus of red quartzite must have been an exceptionally beautiful piece of hard stoneworking, similar to the slightly better preserved canopic chest. The lid had a rounded top and vaulted interior that presumably accommodated a wood coffin with a rounded lid. The box was decorated with incised inscriptions that were filled with blue paint. The ends of probably four decorative battens were worked into the bottom.

The sarcophagus was smashed into literally hundreds of small pieces. There is little doubt that, with enough time, a reconstruction could be undertaken under laboratory conditions. In lieu thereof, we owe special thanks to Regina Breitfellner for sorting and documenting the fragments in such a way that James Allen and William Schenck were able to reconstruct, at least on paper, the textual program of the sarcophagus.¹⁰⁰ This reconstruction was facilitated by the fact that the texts basically followed those of the granite sarcophagus and other Middle Kingdom coffins. The main difference was the lack of the palace façade pattern, which distinguishes the granite sarcophagus, but one can also detect other deviations in the text.

A central text column ran down the length of the lid. A horizontal text band ran around the upper edge of the box of the sarcophagus, with vertical columns at both sides of the four corners and two additional columns on the long sides. Though they would be expected, no parts of the *udjat* eye pattern and no traces of an interior decoration have survived.

Dimensions: The exact dimensions can only be produced after a complete reconstruction. The thickness of the lid at the edges is 15 cm, and that of the rim of the sarcophagus is 14.5 cm.

Quartzite Canopic Chest

(pls. 68–69)

The lower half of a smashed canopic chest still stands in niche H. The box is made of a solid block of red quartzite and certainly formed a set with the quartzite sarcophagus. It belongs to the type with a solid bottom into which, in place of jars, four round cavities were drilled to receive the organs.¹⁰¹ On each side of the chest was a column of text giving the name of a god protecting part of the canopic burial, followed by the “overseer of the seal-bearers Mentuhotep.” The sunk inscriptions were painted blue, with one line of text running along the upper edge and down the center of each side. The upper part of the chest was so badly smashed that we were only able to restore the essential parts of the inscriptions.

Dimensions:

Box: 68.5 x 68.5 x 71.5 cm (including battens)

Lid: unknown

Granite Sarcophagus

(pls. 68, 70–71, 85b–d–92)

The granite sarcophagus is an outstanding example of high-quality Middle Kingdom workmanship. The surface of the granite box and lid are perfectly smooth, the edges are sharp, and the planes are set at precise right angles. The lid is slightly curved and has two square handles with beveled edges. A 12.5 cm wide text column is carved on the top of the lid. The box has a 4 cm high band of sunk inscriptions running around the upper edge, with two vertical columns at the small ends and four columns on the long sides, all 12.5 cm wide. The columns separate eight square panels that are decorated with incised representations of the *serekh*-palace façade.¹⁰² The box included four pairs of decorative battens.

The interior of the sarcophagus, including the underside of the lid, is decorated and inscribed. The smooth surface of the granite is covered with a fine gypsum coat that carries the paint. Similar to the decoration program of other Twelfth Dynasty coffins,¹⁰³ the bottom, ceiling, and the lower parts of the walls are inscribed with coffin texts. The walls are topped by an object frieze and a horizontal text band. An elaborate false door adorns the north end of the east wall, and tables with stone vessels enhance the north wall. The preservation is excellent, and the quality of the painting extraordinary.

We pulled the box of the sarcophagus far enough from the walls to be able to document all inscriptions. The lid was set upright against the west wall of pit E on two stone pillars we constructed.¹⁰⁴

The presence of two monumental stone sarcophagi inscribed with the same name and title and standing in the same tomb is puzzling. It is certain that the original plan foresaw only one sarcophagus, that of quartzite. The addition of a

¹⁰⁰ The texts on both sarcophagi will be published by James P. Allen (forthcoming).

¹⁰¹ It is very similar to the canopic chest of secondary pyramid 3 of Senwosret I; see Arnold, *Senwosret I*, vol. 2, pls. 24, 26.

¹⁰² Incised palace façade panels appear already on Old Kingdom sarcophagi; see Donadoni, *Sarcophagi Egizi*, pls. 23(3), 34.

¹⁰³ For example, the coffin of Khety (MMA 32.1.133; Hayes, *Scepter I*, pp. 315–16, fig. 205). Numerous examples in Günther Lapp, *Typologie der Särge und Sarkammern von der 6. bis 13. Dynastie*, Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Ägyptens 7 (Heidelberg, 1993).

¹⁰⁴ Both were covered with plexiglas panels as a protection against dust and small rock falls. Removal of the piece from its proper environment would endanger the fine decoration.

second sarcophagus required some structural changes in the tomb and must have been the result of a new development in funerary customs. The case will be discussed in an article to be published separately.

<i>Dimensions:</i>	Box, outside	
	L.	248 cm
	W.	88.5–89 cm
	H.	96.5 cm (including battens); 87.5 cm (without battens)
	Box, inside	
	L.	216 cm
	W.	56 cm
	W. of rim	16 cm
	Depth	76 cm
	Weight	3665 kg
	Lid	
	L.	248 cm
	W.	88.5–89 cm
	H.	27 cm (center), 15 cm (edge)
	Weight	1560 kg (assuming 3 kg for each cubic decimeter granite)

On top of the debris in the chamber in which this sarcophagus stood (E) was also the unusually well preserved head of a mummy, probably of Mentuhotep.

South-Khor Tomb A

(pls. 1, 94)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *BMMA* 15, pt. 2 (July 1920): 3–6

SOURCES:

- AM 2745 (south *khôr*)
- TC 352–53 (coffins); 1083 (shaft); 1084 (pottery)
- 16L: 6–16 (excavation of site only); 17–55 (burial of Khety, mainly the coffin)

EXCAVATION

The desert plateau south of the pyramid of Senwosret I has not been completely excavated. It is interrupted by natural *wadis* and has been much disturbed by the activities of tomb builders, robbers, Gautier's workmen, and the original Egyptian Expedition, which used the area as a dumping ground. The actual southeast promontory of the plateau, which once carried a modern windmill, was never excavated and is marked by robbers' craters and debris mounds. The area west of the windmill hill and south of the pyramid of Senwosret I was trenched in 1916–17 in order to gain dumping space. This trenching operation led in the following seasons to the excavation of three groups of monuments. From west to east, these are the tomb of Shetepibreankh, tombs A, B, C, and D, and the two mastabas A and B in the south *khôr*. The blank space on the available plans (AM 2743 and 2745) does not mean that these areas are free of tombs, only that they have not been explored.

The least thoroughly studied of these three groups is

located on the slope down in the *khôr*, where the remains of the two mastabas A and B were partially exposed. Only the western half of mastaba A was excavated in the short season of 1918. The connection of mastabas A and B to those on the plateau above is difficult to establish; there seems a closer correlation to a still-unexcavated cemetery along the southeast foot of the cliffs.

TOMB OWNER AND DATE

Since the excavation of south-*khôr* tomb A was abandoned and no inscriptions were found, the owner of the mastaba is not known. The date of the tomb cannot be established more precisely than "Twelfth Dynasty."

BRICK ENCLOSURE WALL

Two shafts were found within the denuded brick enclosure wall. The shaft in the northwest corner of the court was secondary and contained the undisturbed burial of the *jmj-r swt* "chief storekeeper" Khety (shaft no. 5301).¹⁰⁵ Since the east-west dimensions of the enclosure were not determined, we can only assume that the enclosure was not square, but elongated, and that it contained the usual "Lisht-type" arrangement of a court in the east and a brick cult building in the west.

CULT BUILDING

The funerary chapel was built of brick, but it was found so much eroded by rain flowing down the gully that no details could be discerned. The plan of the funerary complex suggests a brick chapel with a cult chamber. The head of a limestone statue, half life-size, found in the nearby shaft (LSP 87: 9), may indicate a statue niche in its western wall. These considerations have to remain speculation, however.

UNDERGROUND APARTMENTS

Square shaft 5305, probably dug into the floor of the cult chamber, led into the burial of the original tomb owner (TC 352–53, 1082–83). The rock-cut chamber is 80 cm wide and 2.70 m long, just enough to house a slender wood coffin. The ceiling was slightly arched (pl. 94b, A). Later, two more chambers for multiple burials were added further up the shaft. The north chamber had three coffin niches to the north and one recess with a ledge to the east (pl. 94b, C). The south chamber had four coffin niches in the south and one in the north (pl. 94b, B). All these tombs were robbed, but remains of inscribed coffins certainly point to the Middle Kingdom. One coffin belonged to a female "scribe of the Harim," Henuta.

¹⁰⁵ Hayes, *Scepter* I, pp. 205–6, fig. 205. The coffin is now in the Metropolitan Museum (32.1.133).

THE BURIAL OF KHETY (SHAFT 5301)

The funerary complex also included a large burial pit in the northwest corner of the enclosure. The mouth of the pit was lined with brick walls. The deep shaft led to the burial chamber, which was found untouched, but its contents were affected by the humidity of the groundwater. The small burial chamber contained the richly decorated Twelfth Dynasty coffin of Khety (MMA 32.1.133). Lansing gives the following description:

This one, situated between the superstructure and its enclosure-wall, was not the main shaft of the tomb. It penetrated to a sufficient depth, however, to have reached the level now found to be affected by moisture from the constantly rising bed of the Nile—as is the case in many of the tomb shafts of the Lisht cemeteries. This was evident, when the blocking in the entrance to the burial-chamber had been removed, from the condition of the wooden objects found there. The chamber was small, the coffin almost entirely filling it. On this had been placed a representation of the funerary barque—one of the stock items of burial equipment in the XII dynasty. But the wood of which it had been made was not of sufficiently good quality to withstand the action of time and humidity, and it had collapsed and slipped to the ground, a shapeless heap. Two small wooden statuettes [MMA 32.1.134, MMA 32.1.137] were in not much better condition, being warped and split, but the preservation of a third left nothing to be desired [MMA 32.1.135].

The coffin was of the ordinary XII dynasty type with the usual inscriptions on the lid and sides, which showed the individual to have been an official of the necropolis: “The Overseer of the Place of Truth, Khety.” The interior of the coffin proved to be of considerable interest. The sides and lower surface of the lid were decorated with representations of funerary equipment and lists of offerings. The burial was well wrapped and padded, the cloth being remarkably well preserved, and was decorated with a collar of greenish blue beads about the neck, and bracelets and anklets of similar work.

South-Khor Tomb B (pl. 94a)

EXCAVATION

In 1916–17, Lansing exposed the southwest corner of a second tomb, a short distance farther to the east and higher up the *wadi*, which, from his observations, seems to have been similar to south-*khôr* tomb A. The corner was built on a deep layer of fill dumped in the *wadi*, perhaps at the time of pyramid construction. Work at the tomb was discontinued.

Tomb A in the South Area (pls. 1, 93, 95)

SOURCES:

AM 2743 (plan and section, pits 1–22, 27, mastaba A–B)
TC 722–26 (numbering system of pits); 730 (statue); 732–38 (pit 1 finds); 739–42 (pit 2 finds); 744–48 (pit 3 finds); 749 (pit 5 finds)
L31–32: 165–66, 214 (overview); L32–33: 16–17 (statue); L33–34: 80 (pit 2 finds)

EXCAVATION

Between 1931 and 1934 the Egyptian Expedition excavated a group of four tomb enclosures immediately south of the southern outer enclosure wall of Senwosret I. The tombs are so densely crowded together as to suggest limited building ground. The chronological sequence of the four tombs could have been easily reconstructed, had the excavators noted the connection between the four tombs.

Tomb complex A was excavated together with the three other tombs by the Egyptian Expedition in 1931–34. The complex consisted of a rectangular, east-west-oriented enclosure containing in its western half a tomb chapel.

TOMB OWNER

The owner of Tomb A is unknown, although the size and quality of his building show that he must have been of some rank. Not being the first person to claim a burial ground in the area, however, he had to content himself with an available space. The strange placement of the tomb suggests the crowded conditions in the cemetery, but why it was pushed so close to the corner of D is unknown. Was there a pyramid construction ramp in the east that had to be avoided? Or were there more tombs or constructions in the area? Apparently a southern extension to the enclosure wall was planned for Senwosret I's pyramid complex to the north of Tomb A, which, though never carried out, prevented the construction of private tombs in that direction.

BRICK ENCLOSURE WALL

The brick enclosure walls, which had limestone corner blocks, measured 21.4 x 31.8 m. They are extraordinarily thick (2.2 m) and must have been at least 5 m high. The location of the entrance into the tomb enclosure is unknown because the walls were not preserved high enough to preserve an opening. Since the eastern part of the complex is totally eroded we do not know whether the court contained priests' rooms and storerooms, possibly built against the east wall, or whether it was an empty space serving as a forecourt to the chapel.

CULT BUILDING

The cult chapel stood in the western half of the brick enclosure.

sure and was perhaps built of stone. The building was completely destroyed so that only a few foundation stones and the outline of the foundation trenches remained along its western edge. The chapel was practically square, measuring 12.8 m (north-south) by 13.2 m (east-west). No relief fragments or architectural elements were found that would enable a reconstruction, but fragments of a life-size limestone statue (MMA 33.1.161) and of a black granite statue or offering table (TC 730) found in pit 1 of the court suggest that the tomb had the expected cult chamber with a statue niche. The sculpture probably represented the tomb owner, but no identifying inscription was preserved.

UNDERGROUND APARTMENTS

Four shafts were discovered within the enclosure. Shafts 1, 2, and 3, located around the remains of the cult chapel, were clearly added later. The fourth shaft (R8) was located within the square of the chapel but is oriented in such an odd way that one hesitates to identify it as the main shaft. In addition, since none of the four shafts is architecturally distinguished, one has to assume that the main shaft has not yet been discovered.

Tomb B of Djehuty in the South Area

(pls. 93, 95–100)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *BMA* 28, pt. 2 (1933): 20–21, figs. 16–17

SOURCES:

AM 2727–29 (detailed plans of pit 6); 2733–38 (models); 2741 (false door); 2743 (overall plan 1:200)
TC 751–840
L31–32: 119–21 (model find); 123–24 (crypt); 146–51, 166 (architecture); 183–91 (models); 219 (false door); L33–34: 128 (relief fragments)

EXCAVATION

Tomb B was a beautifully decorated example of Middle Kingdom tomb architecture. As with all of the tombs at Lisht, it was destroyed but still better preserved than the others in the south area, with some brick walls standing several courses high. The tomb complex was excavated by Ambrose Lansing in the 1931–32 season, but only recorded on a plan of 1:200 and with a few photos. The excavation work was rewarded by the discovery of excellent wood funerary models (see below). Additional studies were carried out by Christian Hölzl in 1988 in order to verify some architectural details.

TOMB OWNER

The name and title of the owner of the tomb, the “hall

keeper” (*ḥrj-ḥt*) Djehuty, is clearly preserved on fragments of his stela found in the main shaft.¹⁰⁶ The excavators considered Djehuty (or Thoty, as Hayes transcribed the name) an official of Senwosret I.

DATE

Due to its closeness to the pyramid site, one can assume that the tomb’s construction did not begin before the conclusion of the construction work on the pyramid. Since the enclosure walls of the Djehuty complex abut those of enclosures A and D, one has to conclude that the Djehuty complex was later than these structures and probably the latest of the group.

BRICK ENCLOSURE WALL

(pls. 96–97)

The tomb enclosure of Djehuty was surrounded by a 1.6–1.8 m thick brick wall measuring 21.8 x 25 m. The wall was still preserved up to the fifth course. Since the enclosure was built against the walls of older tombs A and D, there was no need for an east wall; only a part of the south wall had to be built. The northwest corner was set on a large limestone corner block.

With the conventional access from the east blocked by tomb A, the entrance to the enclosure was placed in the north wall. The door was a large stone construction, of which two slabs of the doorsill were still in position in 1931–32. In 1988, only the northern slab remained, resting on separate foundation blocks.

In spite of the access from the north, the usual east-west orientation of the interior was maintained. The cult building occupied the western part of the enclosure and opened to the east; the eastern part of the enclosure was used for a priest’s house.

The Model Deposit

When the passage between the southern enclosure wall and the tomb was cleared, a group of wood funerary models was discovered. Carefully deposited in a 35 cm deep pit in the floor, the models are of very good quality and amazingly well preserved. The deposit consisted of the following objects:

- (a) A granary/bakery/brewery/weaving shop ([MMA 32.1.125], now Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington, 58.34)
- (b) A sailing boat (MMA 32.1.124a–c)
- (c) A rowing boat (JdE 58907)
- (d) A wood model of a bird ([MMA 32.1.127])
- (e) A model of a duck from the hand of a model offering-bearer ([MMA 32.1.126a,b])

Fifty cm to the north of the models was found a white, rectangular wood coffin with a small wood bier on top of its lid. The proximity would suggest a connection between the

¹⁰⁶ Unfortunately the fragments don’t identify the type of “hall.” See William A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* (Beirut, 1982), nos. 452–99.

deposit and the coffin. A dozen bread molds were lying in the gap between the coffin and the deposit, and coffin and bread molds rested on a 10 cm high accumulation of debris. The position of the coffin on the level of the corridor is unexpected, and one doubts that this was a regular burial.¹⁰⁷ In addition, a set of good-quality models would be expected in the chamber of a tomb owner such as Djehuty, but not in connection with a surface burial. Lansing assumed it “likely that they were part of the funerary paraphernalia of the official Thuty.” Could coffin and deposit have been a reburial of Djehuty, perhaps when his tomb was usurped by somebody else, or was it a “south tomb” or Abydos burial? If, as Dorothea Arnold suggests, the models represent the end phase of model making (reign of Senwosret II?), either the tomb complex is to be dated to a later period, or the model deposit and coffin are later additions.

PRIEST’S HOUSE

(pls. 96–97)

The priest’s house was destroyed down to the first or second brick course. It seems to have consisted of a separate room in the north, which, because of its proximity to the entrance into the enclosure, was probably the place for a guard. A door in the west wall opened into a central room or court with three rooms to the south. If they were storerooms, the additional entrances in the west and south wall were probably not original.

CULT BUILDING

(fig. 12, pls. 96–99)

The main building, built of brick, had the exterior appearance of a square mastaba but was actually a small funerary chapel measuring 14.20 m (north–south) by 12.80 m (east–west) with a cross-shaped interior room.

A portico with four pillars in front faced east. The position of the pillars can be recognized because their bases were worked from the paving slabs. Marks left on the bases show that the columns were fluted. The floor of the portico was paved with limestone slabs that revealed a distinct bed for the wall casing blocks, which stood against the north, west, and south walls. The floor slabs carrying the stone walls were joined together with wood cramps hidden under the wall blocks. The roof—certainly of flat stone slabs—rested on the wall casing and the architraves of the four portico pillars.

The position of the door into the cult chapel is indicated by the groove for inserting the door wing. A narrow passage led into a 3.70 m wide and 9.40 m long transversal offering hall. No paving slabs were preserved in the passage or cult chamber, but traces of the foundation blocks indicate that both were paved with stone.

A cult niche was inserted in the center of the west wall, probably housing a statue of Djehuty. The niche was certainly cased with stone. The rear wall must have been occupied by the limestone false door (pl. 99a), which was ca. 98 cm wide (see below).

From the offering hall a channel drained offering liquids outside into the west court. Such a feature is known from the

offering halls of royal pyramid temples,¹⁰⁸ but is rare in private tombs (see p. 76).

Decoration

(pls. 98, 99b)

The wall reliefs and inscriptions that decorated the portico and offering hall are known only from small fragments found scattered over the floor of the portico. About 150 small chips of painted limestone relief were preserved. Parts of the design had been drawn, but were not carved. From these fragments the excavators described (following TC 750–52) the portico decoration with unusual precision:

On the upper part of the wall, or walls, there was a series of standing male figures, about 40 cm. high, engaged either in pulling on a thick rope, or in bringing up offerings—notably birds of which parts of the outspread wings remain. The figures have their hair cropped close, like a tight-fitting skull cap, and wear a knee-length kilt with projecting apron in front and with a loop projecting out of the waist-line over the abdomen. The flesh colour is dark red; the hair black; and the kilt white; the wings of the bird red; and the rope white. There are fragments of figures facing in each direction. This part of the wall, as far as the base-line on which the figures stand is carved in low relief and painted.

Below the feet of the figures the wall is unsculptured, the designs being merely sketched on in black and red ink outline—preparatory to the actual cutting of the relief, which never took place.

The majority of the chips from this part of the wall carry fragments of monumental hieroglyphic inscriptions, reading from right to left, and, therefore, probably from the south wall of the portico, or from the south side of the west wall.

Immediately below the feet of the sculptured figures there runs a horizontal line of hieroglyphs, ca. 5 cm. high from border to border. The hieroglyphs are drawn both in outline and solid, either red or black; the border lines are black; the guide lines red. . . . Secondly, there are fragments of a larger hieroglyphic inscription (tall signs ca. 8 cm. high); the signs . . . drawn in outline in black ink, the guide lines being red, the border lines black.

Thirdly, there are large patches of red, with incised outline, which are probably parts of figures.

Finally, there are several fragments of a vertical column (or columns) of inscription, blocked out in black and red (one column between the corner of the wall—by the door?—and a figure), in which appears the name *Senwosret*, enclosed within a cartouche. (Columns 7 cm. wide). This (unless one is disposed to assume that it is Senwosret II or III who is referred to) dates the portico and the mastaba to the reign of Senwosret I.

The following observations (TC 756) concern the decoration of the offering hall:

About 30 for the most part small fragments of fine white limestone relief; found in the upper part of the burial pit; and clearly from the walls of the chamber inside the mastaba. The panels of relief were enclosed with a block border 4.25 cm. wide. The relief is very low; finely cut; of monumental quality; unpainted. The fragments disclose

¹⁰⁷ It is not recorded whether the coffin contained a body.

¹⁰⁸ Ludwig Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahu-Re* (Leipzig, 1910), vol. 1, pp. 75–83.

the presence of the following elements in the scenes depicted:

A. 2 panels side by side: one containing a female figure, dressed in a shin-length tight dress with a bead anklet around her ankle, about half life size, standing, facing right. Behind her, but separated by a vertical line: the figure of a man, about half life-size, dressed in a stiff short kilt, with flaring apron and grasping a staff or sceptre in his down-hanging rear hand, standing, also facing right.

B. A formal offering list, divided into registers and compartments; with the name of each offering in a single compartment and below each, a small *wsh* bowl and a numeral.

C. 3 distinct sizes of monumental hieroglyphic inscription, the largest reading, in vertical columns from right to left; the next in vertical columns from left to right; and the smallest in a horizontal line from left to right.

False Door

(pls. 98a, 99a)

About fifteen fragments of a false door were found in the cult chamber and the upper part of the burial pit. Though the dimensions are not certain, a reconstruction by members of the Egyptian Department¹⁰⁹ suggests a 98 cm wide and perhaps 1.96 m high false door that would have fit easily into the niche of the cult chamber. The door drum contained a few remains of the name and titles of Djehuty.

Roof

(fig. 12)

The portico was certainly covered with a flat stone roof, as was probably the entrance passage. Though the chamber was apparently lined with limestone slabs, the 3.70 m wide room could not be covered with a stone roof. The ceiling must have consisted of a semicircular brick vault, 1.50 m high, over the north and south walls of the main chamber. It would certainly have been whitewashed or painted. If one adds the wall height of the main room, about 2.625 m, the crest of the vault would have been 4.13 m above the floor. Since the niche was probably also cased with limestone, the vault span would have been reduced to about 1.37 m, which could easily have been covered with horizontal limestone slabs. The horizontal roofing slabs of the entrance passage and the niche would have carried

the central part of the barrel vault of the main chamber.

The height of the roof outside would have been increased, depending on the number of brick rings of the vault. Though its appearance is unknown, one may assume that the vault was covered with brickwork that produced a flat roof and gave the building the appearance of a mastaba or truncated pyramid at least 5 m in height.

UNDERGROUND APARTMENTS

(pls. 96, 100)

The tomb complex had one shaft, no. 6, situated in the northern half of the funerary chapel, which was certainly the burial shaft of Djehuty. The mouth of the shaft was hidden under the stone paving of the cult chamber and carefully lined with stone in order to carry the paving slabs. The shaft was 1.55 m square and had a depth of 13.75 m from the bottom to the top of the stone at the mouth.

The funerary apartment had the well-known division into two floors. A short passage led south into the roughly dressed upper chamber, in the center of which is a rectangular pit; from the slightly inclined bottom, one enters into the actual crypt, which was 3.06 m long, 1.20 m wide, and 1.60 m high. Floor, walls, and ceiling of this chamber were cased with 20–25 cm thick limestone slabs, two of which (seen on the photos of the crypt) sealed a gap in the south wall that opened into the canopic niche, roughly cut into the bedrock. Though the crypt was large enough to house a stone sarcophagus, no fragments of one were found, and it has to be assumed that Djehuty was buried in a rectangular wood coffin.

The door frame of the crypt had an inner slot to accommodate the portcullis stones, two of which appear in the photos to be leaning against the wall. All these observations and the remains of a brick wall in the entrance passage above confirm that the burial had taken place and that the tomb had been properly sealed. However, the burial was thoroughly looted; only a few pots, inlays, and beads were left.

¹⁰⁹ The false door will be included in James Allen's publication of the religious texts of Lisht.

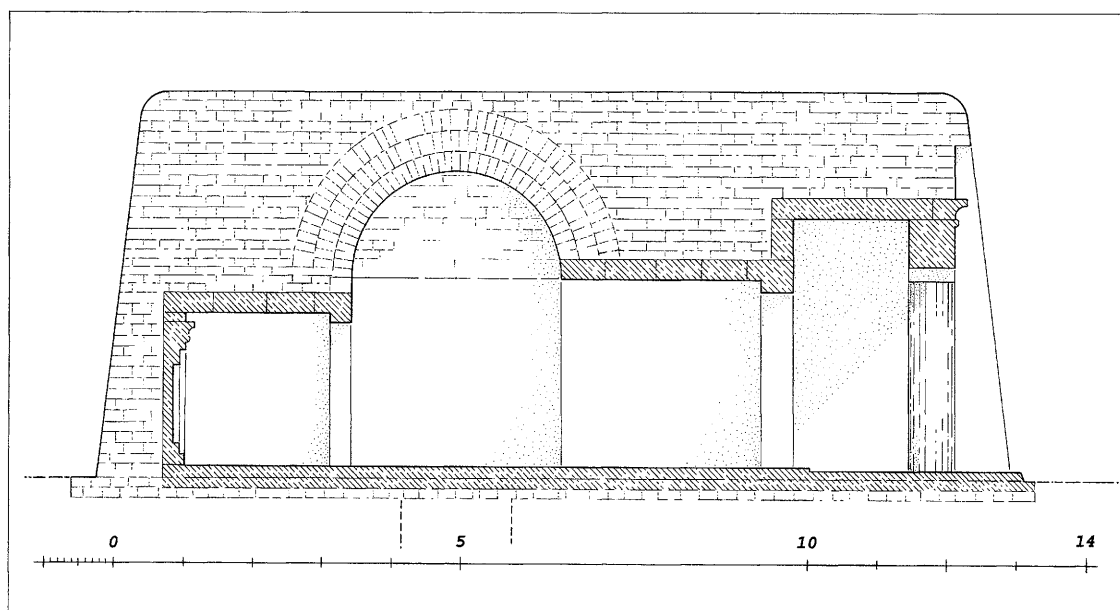


Fig. 12. West-east section through the funerary chapel of Djehuty. Draw. D.A.

Tomb C of Ip/// in the South Area

(fig. 13, pls. 93, 101–106)

SOURCES:

Lisht Journal I, pp. 192–93

AM 2739 (door lintel and jambs); 2740 (false door); 2742 (pits 16 and 17); 2743 (plan of south field)

TC 858–916 (mostly concerning material from shafts 916–22); 863–65 (door frame); 866–68 (false door)

L31–32: 242–43, 249–50 (stela and relief fragments);

L33–34: 111, 133. No photos of the burial chamber or above-ground structures exist.

EXCAVATION

Tomb complex C was built directly at the southern edge of the pyramid plateau. This exposed location may have led to the obliteration of the southern half of the complex and explain why plan AM 2743 shows only the northern part. The construction sequence of the four tomb enclosures in the south suggests that the tomb of Ip/// was the first of the group.

TOMB OWNER

According to fragments of the false door and the door frame of the chapel (see below), the owner's name started with Ip///.¹¹⁰ The rest of the name was not preserved. The person held the following important titles:

1. *jrj-p^ct* “member of the elite”
2. *h3tj-^c* “high official”
3. *smr-w^ctj* “unique associate”
4. *htmtj bjtj* “royal seal bearer”
5. *jmj-r nwy* “overseer of a law-court”

DATE

The titles, the location of the tomb, and the dimensions, which are larger than those of the other tombs in the south-*khôr* area, suggest that Ip/// was a high-ranking official, probably of Senwosret I. As stated below (p. 58), three short connecting walls of tomb D abut the north wall of tomb C, making tomb C the oldest in the group. This observation and some finds and pottery suggest a date early in the reign of Senwosret I. This theory depends, however, on whether the connecting walls between tomb C were part of tomb D or represent a later addition. One might further speculate that tomb C was intentionally set as far away from the construction site of the royal pyramid as possible so that work in the extreme south could start before the completion of the king's complex.

BRICK ENCLOSURE WALL

(pl. 93)

Thanks to its forward position, in the southernmost row of the

cemetery, the tomb was large. The enclosure measured 32.8 m (east-west) by probably 29 m (north-south). The brick enclosure wall was only 1.4 m thick and strongly battered, about 1 to 12. The bricks in the wall were 10–12 x 15–16 x 33–34 cm. The entrance was probably in the east, and, though nothing is preserved, the eastern half of the court might have been used for a priest's house. The 1931–32 excavation notes mention remains of brick paving in the court, which would be more usual for a roofed space. As usual, the cult building was erected to the west.

In the better preserved parts of the enclosure, eight shafts were discovered, some within the funerary chapel, some in the court. The shafts were robbed but still contained numerous objects and enough remains of the burials to attest to rather expensive Middle Kingdom tomb equipment. For example, shaft no. 18 belonged to a “mistress of the house, Senwosret [sic],” who may have been a relative of the tomb owner. Parts of her inscribed wood coffin were preserved. Her shaft also contained a unique wood model of a brick mold (MMA 34.1.198). Potsherds date the burial to the earlier part of the Twelfth Dynasty.

CULT BUILDING

(fig. 13, pl. 93)

Not much is known about the plan of the cult building because only the northwest corner, north wall, and northeast corner were excavated or preserved. The building was of brick, its exterior plastered with mud, and measured 16.3 m east-west. It may have been square or rectangular. The structure was certainly not a massive mastaba, but a funerary temple with interior rooms. Part of a dividing wall protruding south from the north wall suggests a 5.7 m deep outer room and a 3.6 m deep inner room. The outer room was apparently decorated with paint over mud plaster; the interior room seems to have had a limestone casing that was decorated with reliefs and inscriptions. Due to the poor state of preservation, several possible reconstructions (fig. 13) can be suggested.

(A) A 2.5 m thick east wall at the northeast corner, with a central entrance leading into a closed outer room. The 5.7 m deep room would have required central supports, probably four pillars.

(B) The simple and convincing reconstruction (A) is contradicted by the location of shaft no. 18, namely, in a spot directly south of the proposed entrance, under the south end of the east wall. Since the shaft is undoubtedly contemporary with the building,¹¹¹ a reconstruction would have to integrate both the east wall and shaft. This could be achieved by reconstructing a portico with two front pillars. The shaft would narrowly fit within an intercolumnium. Because of the unfavorable consequences of this arrangement for the alignment of the pillars in the entrance room, there is reason to doubt a design with a pronaos-like open front.

(C) The third solution would abandon the square design in favor of a narrow building that would leave shaft 18 and the other secondary shafts outside the south wall.

¹¹⁰ Too many possibilities exist to be able to restore a name starting with Ip///.

¹¹¹ According to Dorothea Arnold, the pottery found in the shaft (documented on TC 880–87) is from the early part of the Twelfth Dynasty. The remains of the coffin and other objects point to a similar date.

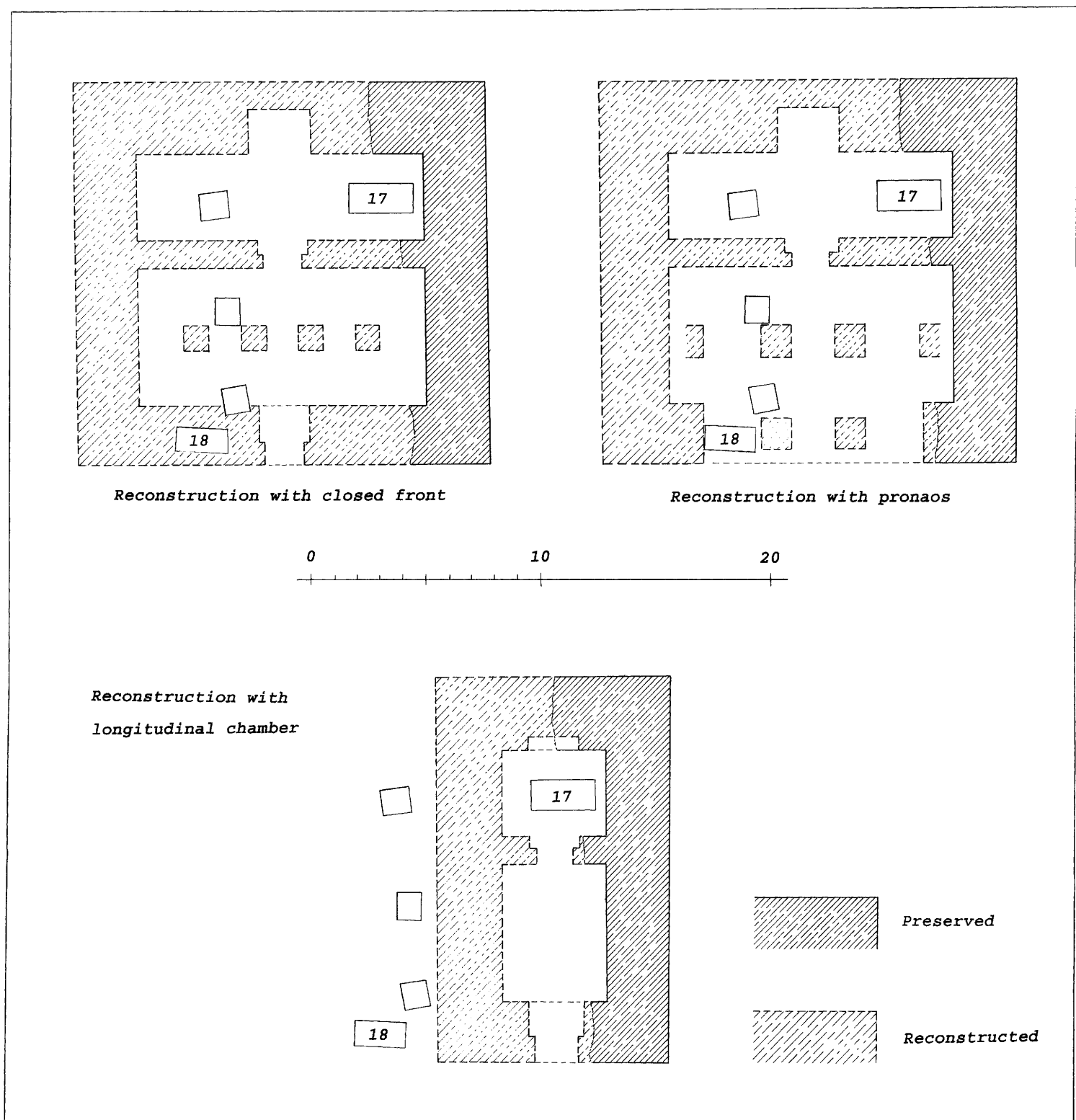


Fig. 13. Alternative reconstructions of the cult chapel of Tomb C. Draw. D. A.

The inner room may have had a shallow central niche with a false door, remains of which exist (see below and pl. 106). Other fragments could have originated from the door frame of the inner room or from the frame of the niche. Since reconstruction (C) excludes ceiling supports, the entrance room and inner room would have been covered with brick vaults of a considerable span (4.5 m).

Decoration

(pls. 102–106)

Reflecting the high rank of the tomb owner and his large tomb building, the interior of the cult chapel and its entrance area were lavishly decorated. The quality of the relief work was brilliant. Unfortunately, the total destruction of the building has left nothing on the walls; only tiny fragments were found in the debris, apparently most of them in pit 17. Although the

fragments were described by the excavators in great detail on the tomb cards, they were not drawn and were only poorly photographed so that it is virtually impossible to evaluate or reconstruct them. The whereabouts of the fragments is unknown, but there were essentially four groups of decorative material:

WALL PAINTING

(pl. 102a)

About twenty-nine small fragments of painted mud plaster in the debris may have originated from the entrance room (TC 859–61). They show *kheker* ornaments, ceiling stars, block borders, and bands from the wall base as well as hieroglyphs and the figure of an official bowing to the left. Photo L33–34: 98 shows parts of a female head and the zigzag lines of a water scene. Whereas painted mud plaster is a common feature in

Middle Kingdom tombs of Upper Egypt, this technique is generally rare in the Memphite area, where it was replaced by painted or carved limestone relief.

WALL RELIEF

(pls. 102b, 103a, 105)

About 150 small fragments of painted limestone relief were recovered, apparently from shaft 17, which were certainly part of the decoration of the cult chamber. Photo L31-32: 249 shows raised-relief fragments of a large, seated male figure, presumably the tomb owner. Facing left, he is approached by smaller male figures, probably offering bearers or priests. Photo L31-32: 250 has remains of inscriptions in raised relief and offering bearers marching in both directions. The two reconstructions below are based on the different size of the hieroglyphs. The larger ones were assigned to the door frame, the smaller ones to the false door.

DOOR FRAME

(pl. 106b)

There were also three dozen pieces of a limestone frame topped by a cavetto, painted in imitation of granite, and inscribed with sunk hieroglyphs. The fragments could have formed the frame of a false door mentioned below, or they could have belonged to the frame surrounding the statue niche. The width of the opening (80.5 cm) is based on the dimensions of the frame (2 x 44.5 cm); the height remains uncertain. The wall reliefs and the door frame suggest that the interior of the funerary chapel had stone paving, on top of which stood the door and the casing blocks. A reconstruction of the frame was undertaken by the original Expedition and William Schenck (AM 2739).

FALSE DOOR

(pls. 103a, 104, 106a)

Also found in shaft 17 were three dozen small fragments of a small limestone false door, painted in imitation of granite. The false door was topped by a cavetto with a torus molding and seems to have included three columns of sunk hieroglyphs on each side containing the titles of Ip///. Part of his name is preserved. The rectangle above the door slot seems to have shown a representation of Ip/// at the offering table. The false door was ca. 71 cm wide, but its height is unknown. It would naturally have occupied the west wall of the sanctuary. The original Egyptian Expedition and, later, William Schenck created a reconstruction.

Sculpture

About sixty very small fragments of a life-size granodiorite statue were found in and around pit 17 (TC 858; L33-34: 133). They belonged to the lap and legs of the statue and its dorsal pillar. The figure was clothed in a long garment and wore on the head a striated wig. The right hand was clenched over the right knee and held a "handkerchief"; the left hand lay open over the left knee. The back pillar was 20 cm wide and carried two text columns that preserved parts of the name and titles of the owner. The statue would have occupied a cult niche in the west wall of the cult chamber.

UNDERGROUND APARTMENTS

(pls. 93, 101)

The underground tomb had an unusually elaborate interior arrangement that became more complicated when secondary tombs were added. Whereas the burial shaft (no. 16) was located outside the north face of the tomb in the court, the construction shaft (no. 17), 1.35 x 2.7 m and with a strong stone casing around its mouth, was built on the more solid ground of the interior cult chamber.

The sloping burial shaft joins the 10.5 m deep vertical construction shaft not at its lower end but halfway down. Since the construction shaft had to be filled in when the mastaba was built on top, the passage to the burial chambers would have been blocked. It remained accessible, however, by a brick vault installed at the juncture of the burial and construction shafts.

From the bottom of the construction shaft, a sloping passage led into a chamber that originally served only as a transition chamber, but was later enlarged in all directions in order to accommodate ten more coffins. From a niche in the west wall, a third shaft descended 5.25 m into a passage that sloped into a shallow but large room in the north. A sloping ramp in the room's floor reversed the path of movement and led southward into the burial chamber, which was simply a coffin niche with its floor ca. 24 m below the desert surface.

One has the impression that the final burial chamber was not completed according to the original plan. There are two putlogs in the wall above the third shaft that were part of a sturdy scaffolding for lowering or lifting a heavy object. Since emptying the debris of the tomb building did not normally require such a mechanism, it may have been made for lowering stone lining blocks for a crypt or a stone sarcophagus. Since no finds are mentioned in the records, one may assume that the tomb was found empty.

Tomb D in the South Area

(pls. 93, 107)

SOURCES:

AM 2730-31 (pits 7 and 9), 2732 (Roman houses)

TC 800-808 (finds from pit 7)

L31-32: 175-78 (Roman houses); L33-34: 353-64 (brick-work), 357-61 (Roman houses)

EXCAVATION

The excavation of tomb D was carried out by the Egyptian Expedition in the 1931-32 season, and, judging from the poor documentation, in haste. The tomb complex was entirely built of brick. The owner of Tomb D is unknown.

DATE

As discussed above (p. 55), Tomb D seems to be later than Tomb C.

BRICK ENCLOSURE WALL

The square (27 x 27 m) brick enclosure is somewhat unusual and difficult to understand. One may assume that the entrance was in the center of the east wall, but the plan does not show a gap in that or in any other wall. The cult chapel is not a free-standing building, but is set against the west enclosure wall and is separated by only a corridor from the enclosure walls on the north and south. The northeast corner of the court is occupied by brick buildings that seem to connect with the chapel. One would assume, however, that they were separate and that the connecting walls were simply foundations, invisible above ground; otherwise, the corridor south of the tomb would have been inaccessible. The three shafts dug inside show that the space could be reached. The corridor or court north of the tomb was probably part of the priest's house in the northeast corner. The room in the southeast corner of the court is recorded without an entrance.

CULT BUILDING

The superstructure was certainly nothing more than a square brick chapel with two parallel interior rooms. Both rooms would have been covered by brick vaults, which the excessively thick walls (3–3.3 m) were certainly strong enough to support.

The cult chapel could be entered from the court, and its two elongated parallel rooms were probably connected. The north room was probably an entrance room of 3.7 x 10.4 m, and the slightly wider southern room the actual offering hall measuring 4.2 x 10.4 m, probably with a false door in the west wall. The layout of two east-west-oriented parallel rooms differs from that of the neighboring cult buildings and is not typical for funerary chapels in the cemeteries of Lisht.

UNDERGROUND APARTMENTS

(pl. 107)

The shaft system 7/9 certainly belonged to the tomb owner. The construction shaft (no. 7) descends from the floor of the north cult chapel, the burial shaft (no. 9) from the small court outside the chapel. The construction shaft did not end in the center of the burial chamber roof, which would have caused a problem when the shaft was filled. Instead, the shaft reached a side niche of the burial chamber, which would have been walled up when the shaft was closed. The floor of the burial chamber was ca. 16 m below the *gebel*. A small canopic niche was cut into the south chamber wall. A pit was sunk into the chamber floor in order to house a stone sarcophagus of ca. 1.3 x 2.9 m and ca. 1.4 m high. The huge stone sarcophagus would have been lowered through the narrow construction shaft into a transition area north of the shaft and from there pulled into the crypt. In spite of all these building preparations, the sarcophagus never arrived. At least no fragments of a sarcophagus were found or recorded.

Tomb F in the South Area

(pl. 93)

SOURCES:

The tomb is barely visible in the background on photos L31–32: 166, 214.

EXCAVATION

Some walls were uncovered west of tomb D suggesting another tomb structure, tomb E, but the area was never properly excavated. Without more excavation work it is difficult to determine whether there was a mastaba or simply some separate burials, and this structure has not been included in our studies. However, another tomb complex, tomb F, east of tomb D, was at least partially excavated in 1931–32.

TOMB OWNER

The identity of the tomb owner is unknown.

BRICK ENCLOSURE WALL

Tomb F was surrounded by a brick wall only 80 cm thick that measured 16.9 m from north to south. The eastern side was not excavated.

CULT BUILDING

Only the southwest corner of the brick building was excavated. From its position within the enclosure, one can estimate that the building measured ca. 7 m from north to south. The location of a central shaft (no. 4) within the mastaba suggests the existence of an interior cult chamber.

Tomb of Sehetepibreankh

(pls. 93, 108)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *BMMÄ* 19, pt. 2 (1923–24): 41–43, figs. 11–12, 15

SOURCES:

TC 1085–1116 (small finds only)
L87: 11, 13, 208–13

EXCAVATION

The tomb complex of Sehetepibreankh is situated 27 m south of the southwest corner of the pyramid enclosure of Senwosret I, close to a *wadi* descending the desert plateau and leading to the recently discovered cemetery of Middle

Kingdom rock tombs. The tomb complex was excavated by the Egyptian Expedition in the 1923–24 season. Since most of the original expedition records were lost, work was resumed in June 1987 by Christian Hölzl, who concentrated his efforts on the clearing of shaft 6L.P 20.

TOMB OWNER

According to the inscription on the seat of the limestone statue found in the burial pit, the tomb owner held the following titles:

1. *rh-nsu m3^c mrj.f* “true associate of the king who loves him”

2. *jmj-r pr* “steward, administrator”

These titles present the tomb owner as a mid-ranking official, which is confirmed on the one hand by the modest dimensions of his tomb complex but contradicted on the other hand by his rich tomb equipment (see below).

The identification of the Lisht Sehetepibreankh with a Twelfth Dynasty high priest of Ptah of Memphis with the same name¹¹² is a possibility but—considering the discrepancy in titles—improbable. The titles of Sehetepibreankh on his statue are completely preserved and do not include those of a high priest of Ptah, a position that would scarcely have been omitted from an official funerary statue.

DATE

Sehetepibre is the throne name of Amenemhat I, which suggests a date for the tomb owner in the reign of that king or slightly later. A gold pendant found in the upper chamber of the main mastaba pit (6L.P 19), however, bears the cartouche of Senwosret III,¹¹³ which might indicate that the burial of Sehetepibreankh took place under this king. Such a date is contradicted by the seated limestone statue of Sehetepibreankh (see below), which fits better stylistically in the reign of Amenemhat II to Senwosret II. The life span of Sehetepibreankh may, therefore, have covered the latter part of the reign of Amenemhat II, the short reign of Senwosret II, and—less likely—the early years of Senwosret III. One should rather assume that the pendant belonged to a later burial in the upper chamber.

BRICK ENCLOSURE WALL

(pl. 108a)

The tomb complex consists of a nearly square (33.7 x 35.2 m) brick enclosure wall, ca. 1.8 m thick, preserved only one to three courses high (not counting the two foundation courses). The entrance in the east wall once had limestone doorjambs decorated with seated figures of the deceased. The door was further articulated by a small chamber in front of and behind the gate. The court inside contained the cult chapel in the western half and six burial shafts. They were found completely rifled.

In the more important pit 6L.P 17 (situated between the

entrance chamber and the doorway of the mastaba) the thieves had overlooked some objects that showed that the burial was that of a person of some distinction.

CULT BUILDING

(pl. 108a)

The brickwork of the cult building, though much eroded, clearly shows a structure with interior rooms. The entrance to the chapel had a stone frame, but it is unlikely that the interior was cased with stone. The northern half of the building had completely disappeared, but it certainly contained the offering chamber with the main shaft (6L.P 19). The statue of Sehetepibreankh, found in this shaft, was probably housed in the main offering room. A dividing wall suggests a second, smaller, chamber in the south, remains of which still existed in 1987.

UNDERGROUND APARTMENTS

(pl. 108b)

The enclosure contained three square (6L.P 15, 6L.P 16, 6L.P 19) and three rectangular shafts (6L.P 17, 6L.P 18, 6L.P 20). Four of these shafts, as recorded below, preserved remains of rich Twelfth Dynasty burials.

Pit 6L.P 15

Pit 15 preserved only a few items, such as eye inlays, a faience bead (MMA 24.1.30), a faience pendant, and a limestone figurine.

Pit 6L.P 16

Pit 16 contained remains of a wood coffin with the name Neb-nefer(?)—net, fragments of the stucco mummy mask and wrapping, a bronze mirror disk, and a wood figure from a model.

Pit 6L.P 17

The rectangular pit, between mastaba and entrance chamber, may have belonged to the wife of the tomb owner for it contained remains of an unusually rich (female?) burial: a gold ring with a beryl scarab inscribed with the title “the mistress of the treasury of incense” (JdE 48394), a small gold chain (MMA 24.1.31), faience beads of a flagellum (MMA 24.1.32), a string of beryl, carnelian, lapis, paste, and gold beads (MMA 24.1.33), a bracelet of carnelian, feldspar, and blue paste beads (MMA 24.1.34), lids of alabaster vessels (MMA 24.1.39–40), a green serpentine vessel and kohl pot (MMA 24.1.41–42), a red granite mace head (MMA 24.1.43), a limestone(!) figure from a model boat (MMA 24.1.44), parts of ceremonial staffs, inlays of the coffin, and pottery.

Pit 6L.P 19

One may assume that square shaft 6L.P 19, inside the cult chapel, was that of Sehetepibreankh. The shape and dimen-

¹¹² See H. de Meulenaere, “Le grand-prêtre memphite Séhétepi-bré-ankh,” in *Festschrift zum 150-jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Mitteilungen aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung*, vol. 8 (Berlin, 1974), pp. 181–84.

¹¹³ *BMMA* 15 (1924): 41, fig. 11; now Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JdE 48393.

sions of the shaft and burial chambers were not recorded by Lansing, but references to a chamber A at the upper level and a “lowest chamber B” suggest at least two different tomb levels.

The shaft still preserved remains of the burial: a gold pendant in the shape of a shell in granulated work and inscribed with the cartouche of Senwosret III flanked by the royal uraei (JdE 48393), the head of a wood *was*-scepter, the end of a second staff, a wood *bat* symbol, and some pottery. The limestone statue of Sehetepibreankh (MMA 24.1.45) had apparently been thrown from the offering chamber into the pit.

Pit 6L.P 20

We reexcavated the largest rectangular pit, 6L.P 20, in 1987. The mouth of the shaft was lined with bricks. The only noteworthy object was an Aegean MMIIA sherd in the debris close to the western brick lining of the shaft (L87: 408–9).

SCULPTURE

A fine, half life-size limestone statue (MMA 24.1.45)¹¹⁴ inscribed with the name and titles of Sehetepibreankh was found in several pieces in pit 6L.P 19, where it had been thrown.

Brick Buildings North of the Mastaba of Mentuhotep

(pls. 109, 111–112)

EXCAVATION

During the reign of Senwosret I the vast space between the causeway of Senwosret I and the tomb of Mentuhotep seems to have been a major construction site for the royal pyramid and therefore not open to tomb building. But even after completion of the pyramid, no tombs were built in this location, probably because the area was reserved for a large brick complex with some official function. A great number of tomb shafts were dug during the Thirteenth Dynasty, however, when official proscriptions had ceased to function.

The flattened, ruined field held little attraction for archaeologists. Some superficial activity north of the northeast corner of the Mentuhotep tomb can be assumed for the French expedition. The original Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum carried out some soundings there during the 1907–8 and 1908–9 seasons, apparently in preparation for using the area for dumping. During this work several tombs shafts were cleared,¹¹⁵ but unfortunately no plan was drawn. The Expedition excavated some parts of the area in 1989 and also located the basic corners of the enclosure, but it did not expose the whole site or empty the numerous tomb shafts.

DATE

One can assume that the brick complex was built toward the

end of the reign of Senwosret I, after the area was no longer in use for construction purposes. Since a group of Thirteenth Dynasty tomb shafts ignores the outlines of the complex, the structure must be older than the shafts.

BRICK ENCLOSURE WALL

(pls. 109, 111, 112a, c)

The main feature of the area is a 1.10 m thick brick enclosure wall measuring 47.15 m north-south (west wall) and 44.25 m east-west (south wall). The enclosure juts inward in the northeast in order to avoid a neighboring brick enclosure (the “East Tomb Enclosure,” see p. 61). The area within the enclosure was divided into four segments of different dimensions.

We located an entrance, if not the main one, behind the southwest corner of the East Tomb Enclosure. Since we did not excavate the entire length of all four walls, we are uncertain about the existence of other doorways that may have accessed the court from the north. The presumed entrance gate could be reached via a narrow lane 2.70 m wide, ascending to the south, from the king’s causeway. The doorsill was stolen by stone robbers, so that all that remained was the gate’s foundation trench. The gate opened onto a 2.70 m wide entrance passage 16.7 m long. The entrance passage probably lacked a roof. A series of four rooms, on the east side, are long and narrow and could have been roofed with brick vaults. Alternately, one could reconstruct a central open court with one roofed room in the north and another in the southeast corner.

The entrance passage leads to the second section of the enclosure, an open space or court along the eastern half of the south wall, measuring 6.85 x 22.25 m. This connecting gate must have had some significance because its frame was supported on the south by two buttresses. However, nothing is left but the foundation pit of the doorsill.

A third court of much larger dimensions (14.30 x 36.9 m) occupies much of the eastern half of the enclosure. We did not discover any building in it, only the remains of a transport road,¹¹⁶ buried under the surface of the court, from the time of the construction of the pyramid of Senwosret I. This area was covered by a heavy layer of broken brick, *tafl*, and sand, containing many potsherds of the late Middle Kingdom.

The largest segment, certainly an open court, measures (inside) 18.6 x 45 m and occupies the whole western half of the enclosure, which is dominated in the center by a mysterious brick platform measuring 6.65 x 9.30 m. A sand pit (.87 x 1.15 m) in the center of the platform may have been the foundation pit for an object or installation that stood on the brick platform.

Two diagonal test trenches cut through the northwest and southwest corners of the west court showed only that the ground had been much disturbed.

¹¹⁴ BMMA 18, pt. 2 (1924): 43, fig. 15; Hayes, *Scepter I*, p. 208, fig. 125.

¹¹⁵ According to the tomb cards, these were shafts 5000, 5003, 5004(?), and 5006(?).

¹¹⁶ Arnold, *Senwosret I*, vol. 3, p. 92, pls. 102, 103a–d.

TOMB SHAFTS

The area within the brick enclosure is dotted with intrusive tomb shafts visible at the surface in the form of wide shallow funnels narrowing toward the actual mouth of the shaft. Our expedition counted nineteen such pits, but stopped excavation after one trial because the material into which the shafts were cut is so friable that the mouths have often collapsed as a result of the activity of modern tomb robbers, producing huge crater-shaped cavities. In addition, the original excavation of the shafts and their numerous reopening phases (intrusive burials, robbers) have thoroughly disturbed the stratigraphy of the area. From potsherds amassed in the funnels of the tomb shafts, it was clear, however, that the initial cutting of the shafts must date to the Thirteenth Dynasty.

Dog Burials

A curious feature of the enclosure is the numerous small pits filled with dog carcasses. Heaps of the animals were collected in large linen bags and buried in well-cut pits directly under the surface. The carcasses are well preserved; some bodies were still partially covered with fur and smelled strongly, suggesting that the burials took place not so long ago, perhaps in the Middle Ages or even later. We located at least seven pits, each containing an estimated ten to twenty animals, totaling at least 70 to 140 carcasses. The burials are probably the result of the "dog cleansing campaigns" that were (and still are) carried out in Cairo.¹¹⁷ Most of the animals seem to have been impressively big and strong. Their distorted jaws may suggest poisoning; evidence of smashed skulls is lacking.

FUNCTION

The function of the brick complex remains unknown. It was neither a tomb nor a temple, nor could it be used for dwelling purposes since it lacked sheltered facilities. Though well executed, the architecture was constructed for short-term use, not built for eternity. The complex had a modest storage facility for housing material, obviously of no great value since the protective walls are not very strong. The main characteristics are large courts that seem to culminate in a small structure of unknown shape along the center of the west wall of the main court. This structure might have been a throne dais for a high-ranking person, perhaps a priest or judge, who received a large number of people gathered in the open court, but one would expect such a throne to be closer to the entrance building and not have its back against the western enclosure wall.

Another hypothesis suggests that the enclosure was used to perform the royal burial or statue ceremonies. The enclosure could be accessed from the causeway. The brick platform could have carried a baldachin that protected the royal coffin or statue, and the courts would have provided the space required for the performance of the elaborate ceremonies of a royal funeral. Thereafter, the funeral procession could have left the enclosure to the west or south to enter the royal pyramid precinct through that gap in the enclosure wall that we discovered behind the southwest corner of the Mentuhotep enclosure (pl. 63, lower left corner). The building would have been removed after the burial and the area leveled, offering space for extension of the private cemetery.

East Tomb Enclosure

(pls. 110, 113)

The brick complex north of that of Mentuhotep is built around a smaller brick enclosure, the so-called East Tomb, which must have been older and of some importance. Otherwise, it would have been razed for the construction of the brick buildings. We worked in this area in the 1989 season, but were unable to find a tomb shaft. We did not excavate the northern half of the enclosure, however, and the shaft may be hidden there. There was no inscribed material that would have revealed the name of the tomb owner, but we still assume that the ruin represents the remains of a tomb complex.

DATE

The date of the tomb is unknown, but it must be earlier than that of the brick enclosure to the west. One would suggest a date in the period of Senwosret I.

ENCLOSURE AND GATE

(pls. 110, 113b–c)

The east-west-oriented enclosure measures 23 x 25.55 m. The enclosure wall was 1.50 m thick and therefore at least 3 m high. A monumental gate, the stone foundation and the sill of which were still preserved, was located in the center of the east wall. It measured 2.30 m east-west and 2.52 m north-south. The groove for inserting the wood door suggests the position and width (1.30 m) of the door, which stood on the stone slabs. The movement of the wood door has scratched the doorsill, which also bears marks of a game board, perhaps cut by guards sitting in the shadow of the gate.

BRICK BUILDINGS

(pl. 110)

The eastern part of the area within the enclosure wall was occupied by the usual house-like brick structures connected with the mortuary cult or the priest's house. The floor of an entrance room or small court directly behind the main gate was covered with mud plaster. The western exit of this room is indicated by a simple limestone sill.

To the south of the entrance were two elongated rooms of 2.40 x 7.90 m. They were probably entered from the west side, from the court. Remains of an older, unexplained brick structure appeared under the south end of the eastern room. The western room had a fine mud plaster floor; the lower end of a black dado and fragments of mud plaster suggest painted walls. We found black and yellow fragments and one yellow fragment with a black band. No specific ceiling plaster was

¹¹⁷ Especially under the Fatimid Calif El-Hakim (996–1021), who among other despot practices persecuted dogs.

observed. The coloring system of the walls seems to have followed the common pattern found in domestic buildings, namely, a black dado below a yellow wall surface. These rooms were probably the remains of a priest's house. Corresponding rooms may have filled the corner north of the entrance.

CULT BUILDING

(pl. 110)

To the west of these buildings was a court in the southeast cor-

ner of which was a heap of domestic waste containing used pottery, straw, and a few scraps of papyrus.

The rear part of the enclosure is dominated by a brick structure measuring 11.65 m north-south. The east-west dimension could not be determined because the east wall is missing, but it could have been 10.50 m. The continuation of the access route in the east was flanked by two parallel walls that break off without indication of their connection with the building. The center of the chapel was emptied by tomb robbers searching for a shaft. They reached the undisturbed *gebel* surface, approximately one meter below the desert surface, but found no shaft.

PART TWO

MIDDLE KINGDOM TOMBS OF LISHT-NORTH

(pl. 114)

A *wadi* 500 meters wide separates the plateau carrying the cemetery of Senwosret I from the plateau occupied by that of Amenemhat I. The latter's pyramid is surrounded by a Middle Kingdom cemetery that was explored twice, by Joseph Gautier and Gustave Jéquier in 1894–95, and more thoroughly in 1906–8 by the Egyptian Expedition of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The work of our 1991 season at Lisht-North was limited to the pyramid complex, with its royal tomb shafts in the west, and to the settlement.

Excavators located seven major mastaba tombs in the north cemetery of Lisht, compared to sixteen in the southern cemetery. Five are located along the east side and in the southeast corner and two in the area southwest of the pyramid of Amenemhat I. Several of the tombs were built surprisingly close to the royal pyramid, in an area usually reserved for burials of royal family members. We do not know the reason for this lack of respect for the royal tomb. The inexplicable procedure coincides with other deviations from custom that can be observed in the royal pyramid complex, all of which suggest a loss of Memphite traditions and a need to regain experience after the general breakdown of the First Intermediate Period. The ill-fated building project was apparently interrupted and left incomplete. All of these tomb complexes seem to be more or less contemporary with the pyramid and may represent a major part of the royal court of Amenemhat I, but the cemetery was not confined to wealthy mastaba builders. Several hundred more modest burials in plain tomb shafts were excavated by the Metropolitan Expedition, and many more may exist. These burials seem to cluster around the southeast, south, and southwest sides of the pyramid. The north side has not been excavated.

One can assume that the pyramid cemetery was organized and that tomb building and maintenance were to some extent controlled. During the Thirteenth Dynasty, the system dissolved for unknown reasons. The cemetery was then taken over by settlers who built their houses on the slope of the pyramid as well as between and over the surrounding tombs. During this process, the pyramid casing—if it was ever completed—was pulled down, and the buildings of the pyramid complex and practically all tomb buildings were demolished and their building blocks reused for domestic structures. This “conquest” of a pyramid cemetery by settlers is unique in Egypt and certainly needs more investigation to be better understood.¹¹⁸ The excavators who explored the site 3,700 years later obviously found the original tomb structures in the same desolate condition as they were in the Second Intermediate Period, compounded by later damage. The prevailing chaos of the site confronted the excavators with the problem of how to assign these scattered, reused blocks and fragments to royal buildings or private tombs.

The contemporary archaeologist is also confronted with a problem created by the ancient workmen. The builders of the period of Amenemhat I used stone material from Old

Kingdom monuments, and the handling of these frequently decorated blocks offered an opportunity for sculptors to study and replicate the style of the Old Kingdom. They accomplished this task so well that one cannot always clearly distinguish between Old Kingdom reliefs and Middle Kingdom imitations.¹¹⁹

*Tomb 384 of Rehuerdjersen(?)*¹²⁰

(fig. 14, pls. 115–128)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gautier, *Licht*, pp. 100–103; *BMAA* 16, pt. 2 (Nov. 1921): 14–15, figs. 6–8

SOURCES:

AM 3204 (plan 1:200), 3261 (plan 1:200), 3277 (plan 1:200), 3278 (plan 1:50), 3279 (threshold 1:10)

TC N-1769–93

Photos of architecture: L20–21: 141, 173–75, 181, 186, 211, 232–36, 257–58, 263, 273–75, 282, 291–92, 294–97, 315, 324–31, 350–53, 355, 594a; L21–22: 211

Photos of decoration: L12–13: 516, 521–24; L13–14: 286–87, 320; L20–21: 142, 243, 249, 323, 595; L33–34: 258, 377

EXCAVATION

Tomb 384 was discovered within the southwest corner of the outer pyramid court by Gautier in 1894–95. Since he excavated only the central part of the tomb, his plan gives a misleading impression. The site was re-excavated in the 1920–21 season of the Egyptian Expedition, and its actual shape established. The discovery in January 1921 of some decorated Old Kingdom blocks, built into the masonry, excited considerable interest. The excavation also found the whole area built over by a dense network of house walls and silos of later settlements, which surrounded the pyramid on all sides.

As usual, the tomb harbored a great number of secondary burial shafts, at least a dozen in the court. Two were sunk through the floor of the southern brick chambers. Only one, no. 380 in the southwest chamber of the priests' house, could be dated by Janine Bourriau and seems to be from the middle of the reign of Amenemhat III.

¹¹⁸ A parallel may be the transformation of the “city of the dead” into a dwelling area in modern Cairo.

¹¹⁹ For the blocks, see Hans Goedicke, *Re-Used Blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht*, Publications of The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, vol. 20 (New York, 1971).

¹²⁰ This tomb was called the “French” mastaba by the Gautier expedition.

TOMB OWNER

No inscription found in its original position reveals the name of the owner of tomb 384, and the name [Rehu-]erdjersen appears only on fragments found outside the complex. Two fragments were found south of the tomb, while a third fragment was reused in pit 403, that is, in the area of the pyramid temple, a location that does not support a connection with tomb 384. However, the number of larger tombs at Lisht-North with inscriptions and limestone decoration is so limited that no other tomb except no. 384 can be considered as the burial place of Rehuerdjersen. We can therefore safely assume that the tomb belonged to the “royal sealer, director of the two gold houses, and master of all kilt-bearers Rehuerdjersen.”¹²¹

The reused relief, from pit 403, preserves the lower end of three columns with titles:

1. *htmtj-bjtj* “royal sealer”
2. *smr w^ctj* “sole companion”
3. *r P nb* “spokesman of every Pe-ite”
4. *hrp šndjt nbt* “controller of every kilt”
5. *[jmj-r] prwj-nbw* “[director of] the two gold houses”

The upper end of the text with a few more titles is lost. Being the first in line, those titles might have been more important.

DATE

The style of the reliefs and the foundation deposits confirm a building date in the reign of Amenemhat I. The use of Old Kingdom blocks in the tomb’s foundation (see below) also supports this date because no reuse of Old Kingdom material is known from a later period.

BRICK ENCLOSURE WALL

(pls. 115, 117a)

The tomb complex was surrounded by a massive 3 m thick brick enclosure wall measuring 27.70 m north-south and 19 m east-west, with an eastern extension of 3 m. The wall was heavily battered, plastered, and whitewashed. The tomb was not erected high up on the desert surface, but in the southwest corner of the pyramid court, which was sunk.

Within the tomb enclosure were a row of brick chambers along the south side and an open court in the north dominated by a funerary chapel of stone. The entrance gate through the eastern enclosure wall was exactly opposite the door of the funerary chapel.

Outside the enclosure wall, above the northwest corner, was found a small brick staircase that led from the pyramid court up to the desert level. It has not been established whether the staircase belonged to the design of the tomb complex or was added later for the settlement. A similar staircase leads from the sunk court of the pyramid of Senwosret II at Illahun to the surface of the desert.¹²²

DRAINAGE SYSTEM

(fig. 14, pl. 118d)

Draining the pyramid court and the buildings contained in it was a problem because the level of the desert south, west, and north of the court was higher than the court, and a heavy rainstorm would easily have flooded the pyramid court and the tomb shafts. The main objective of drainage systems would therefore have been to create an eastward inclination in order to remove water from the northwest and southwest pyramid corners. We do not know how this problem was solved by the

¹²¹ Allen, “High Officials,” p. 20; Grajetzki, *Beamte*, p. 49.

¹²² Petrie, *Lahun II*, pp. 10–11, pls. 6d, 7.

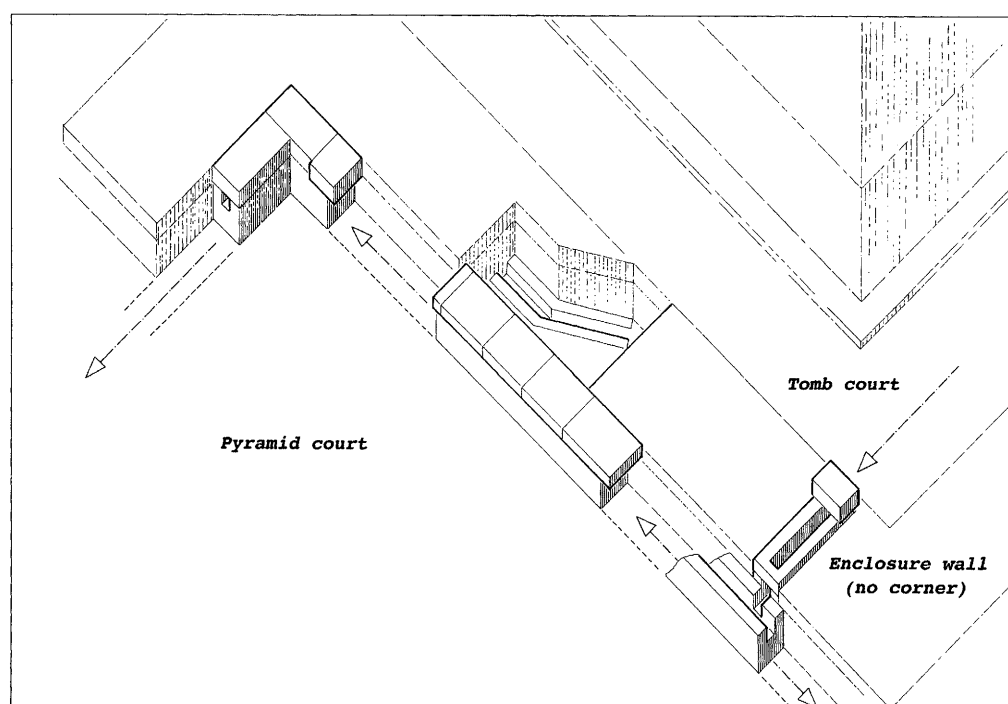


Fig. 14. The drainage system of the Rehuerdjersen complex. Draw. D. A.

pyramid and tomb builders; in the case of Rehuerdjersen's tomb complex, the builders created a separate drainage system.

Remains of two independent drainage systems were found near the northeast corner of the tomb enclosure (photos L20–21: 211, 232). They were made in the usual manner, with carefully dressed drainstones of a U-shaped cross section that were covered with flat slabs. U-shaped grooves were carved into the ends of the blocks and filled with liquid plaster in order to tighten the connection. The *modus operandi* is not fully understood because the drainage system was not sufficiently documented and no levels were measured that would have suggested the direction of the flow of the water. The main drain seems to have discharged water from the northeast corner of the tomb court of Rehuerdjersen through the east wall into the pyramid court. At the point where the drain stone reappears in the pyramid court, it branches in two directions, and the one to the north breaks off immediately. One suspects that this branch originally continued for at least 3 m, removing water from the northeast corner of the enclosure wall. This north-south direction, however, contradicts the general flow of water that one would have expected in the western pyramid court. The southern branch of the drain continues for 10 m along the outside of the east wall, at the end of which it turns east into the pyramid court.

The plan of the Egyptian Expedition suggests the existence of another drainage system, visible about 6 m south of the inlet of the first system. The drain stones seem to have been under the eastern enclosure wall and so deep that they are not visible on any photo. Lacking more information, we cannot clarify whether they were part of the original drain of the pyramid court.

CULT BUILDING

(pls. 116–117, 118b–d)

The funerary chapel consisted of a solid core of rough fieldstones, cased with beautifully dressed and battered slabs of limestone set as orthostats on edge. The lower course was still preserved on the north and west and on half of the south side, and the corner slabs were connected with dovetail cramps. Gautier's plan suggests that the casing of the north side was still complete in 1894–95, including the northeast corner. The Expedition's report followed Gautier's description:

[I]nstead of being built up in the ordinary way, [it] consisted of a solid core of bed-rock, . . . Clearly this core was intentionally left at the time that the pyramid cutting was made, and we are forced to the conclusion that the mastaba formed an integral part of the original pyramid plan, and that it was intended for the burial of some close relative of the king. It was not, however, the queen's tomb.¹²³

It is difficult to explain this misleading statement because even photos show quite clearly that the core of the northern half of the building was not bedrock but a packing of rough fieldstones. There was no rock core, and the funerary chapel was not incorporated into the pyramid complex plan.

The northern half of the core was of solid fieldstone masonry and contained the mouth of the main shaft (see below). The southern half of the stone core was occupied by the usual two interior rooms. Most of the wall blocks had dis-

appeared before 1907 but had left tracing lines on the pavement (see AM 3278). These tracing lines and two grooves for inserting the wood doors, along with Gautier's plan (here, pl. 119), which suggests that parts of the northern and southern and the western wall were still standing, help to reconstruct the layout (pl. 116).

The grooves for inserting the wood doors were not cut across the entrance opening as was common in the Middle Kingdom. Instead, they are on the right sides of the doors, as was more common in later periods.

A small entrance room, situated in the southeast corner of the tomb, was accessible from the east through a very narrow door. The room measured 2.04 m north-south and 3.42 m east-west. A block was preserved at the west end of the chamber sitting on top of the pavement level; it preserved on its upper surface the tracing lines for a niche elevated 50 cm above the pavement. The niche was 75 cm deep and 1.12 m wide, big enough for a life-size statue. Photos show a missing pavement block and a pit in front of the niche, which was presumably not the mouth of a shaft but a robbers' hole. The ceiling of the entrance room may have been formed of flat stone slabs.

At the east end of the north wall of this entrance room was a door that led into the main offering chamber. The room measured 4.97 m east-west and 2.26 m north-south. The easternmost block of its north wall, still in position, showed remains of the wall decoration (see below). All the other walls have disappeared, including the west wall, which—following common practice—should have contained the false door. However, since the crypt seems to be located to the south of the chamber, the false door might also have been positioned against the south wall. The room was probably roofed with horizontal limestone beams.

Decoration

(pls. 120–128)

That some parts of the tomb chapel were decorated and inscribed is indicated by a small section of an *in situ* wall relief and by a number of fragments in raised and sunk relief discovered in the area of the tomb. Three were taken to the Metropolitan Museum (see below); the remaining ones were apparently left in the Expedition house at Lisht and have disappeared. An attempt has been made to assign them to the following parts of the buildings.

DOOR

(pls. 122–123)

Sunk reliefs and inscriptions are generally found on exterior wall surfaces, such as the façade, door frames, and open courts. Several fragments seem to fit into the decoration scheme of the front door of the entrance room. The left outer door frame was decorated with a representation of the tomb owner seated on a lion-legged chair and facing right, with his name and titles above his head (photo L20–21: 323). Another fragment (L33–34: 258), with remains of a vertical inscription with titles of Rehuerdjersen, may have been part of this scene. The right side of the door frame must have shown a corresponding mirror image, of which nothing remains. Still another fragment (L33–34: 377) must have been part of the lintel of the same

¹²³ *BMA* 16, pt. 2 (Nov. 1921): 14.

door, again showing mirrored images of the seated tomb owner separated by a total of four text columns with the name and titles of Rehuerdjersen. The symmetrical arrangement of the left and center columns of the preserved text shows that there must have been an image of the tomb owner facing right on the left side of the lintel. On the inside of the door frame, on the left (southern) side, was the representation of the standing tomb owner facing outward (east) (fragment seen in L13–14: 286–87). Behind the standing figure, the frame is stepped back, probably forming the stop surface of the door.

The attribution of another fragment (pl. 122b, left) poses a problem because, like that seen in L20–21: 323, it must have occupied the front of a left door frame. Could it have been on the door between entrance room and offering room, or was the fragment attached to the rear side of the frame of the front door? Or was it part of a decorated door of the enclosure wall?

Relief block with standing tomb owner (pl. 123c)

Sources: L13–14: 286–87

A fragment of a less than life-size sunk-relief representation of the standing tomb owner facing left. According to the reconstruction suggested above, this block stood at a right angle to the fragment shown on L20–21: 323. The piece, found “south of the pyramid,” is now lost.

Dimensions: H. ca. 73 cm; W. ca. 21 cm

Relief block with seated tomb owner (pl. 123c)

Sources: L20–21: 323

A fragment of an inscription in sunk hieroglyphs was found “just south of the French mastaba 384” with remains of the name [Rehu-]erdjersen above the less than life-size figure of the tomb owner who is facing right and seated on a lion-legged chair. The head of Rehuerdjersen is bald. A vertical ledge along the left edge of the block shows that the wall receded to the left of the decorated part, suggesting that the seated figure once occupied the left side of the door frame. The present location of the block is unknown.

Dimensions: H. 89 cm; H. of figure above ground line 47.7 cm

Inscribed fragments (pl. 122b)

Sources: L33–34: 258

The photo shows, on the left, part of a sunk relief with the top of the head of the tomb owner facing right and the lower end of a vertical text above his head ending with [Rehu-]erdjersen. The photo also shows two joined sunk-relief fragments with remains of two columns of texts. The photo caption mentions “found south of French mastaba 384.” The present location of the block is unknown.

Dimensions: H. of the first fragment ca. 40 cm

Relief block with seated tomb owner and inscription (pl. 122a)

Sources: L33–34: 377

A large inscribed slab, probably part of a door lintel, was found reused in the burial chamber of pit 403. The sunk relief shows the seated tomb owner facing left. Preserved are his front arm holding a staff, his legs, and the front part of his lion-legged chair. In front of him, three text columns in sunk hieroglyphs preserve his name and titles, followed by his name, Rehuerdjersen. The text columns are 16 cm wide. The outermost text column at the left is reversed (facing right) suggesting a mirror image to the left. A reconstruction would show Rehuerdjersen seated at the left and right edges of the scene with two symmetrical text columns in front of each represen-

tation. The total width of the lintel can be estimated at 200 cm. The recess along the top edge was certainly made for reuse. The present location of the block is unknown.

Dimensions: H. 83 cm; W. 83–89 cm

ENTRANCE ROOM

(pls. 124–126)

Since the west wall was occupied by a statue niche, the entrance room of the chapel offered only two walls for relief decoration: a south wall 3.40 m long, and a north wall 2.30 m long. The relief decoration in this room must have been raised. No relief blocks were left in situ, but one large block (pl. 124) might belong in this room. It shows part of a double scene of spearing fish and hunting fowl with a boomerang. Remains of both boats are preserved. Judging from the width of the existing block, both long walls would have accommodated the scene.

We also have a block (pls. 125–126) that corresponds stylistically to the Rehuerdjersen reliefs. It preserves parts of two registers showing a scribe supervising the filling and sealing of wine jars. The right end of the scene is marked by a block border that certainly indicates the corner of the room. The left side ends with a simple vertical divider that possibly indicates a scene transition. Was there a door, or did another scene follow? The block is only 145.4 cm wide, not enough to fill one of the walls.

Relief block with a marsh scene (pl. 124)

[MMA 22.1.5]; now Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 54.643

Bibliography: Hayes, *Scepter I*, p. 177, fig. 108

Sources: AM 244; L20–21: 148

This block with the lower part of a boat scene also originates from the tomb of Rehuerdjersen. The tomb owner is shown, accompanied by his son Nefery, gliding on a papyrus skiff through a waterway rich in birds, fish, and plant life. Of the principal figures only the front of one foot is preserved at the right edge of the block. To the left—separated by a strip of water—is the front part of the juxtaposed papyrus skiff. This double scene would have depicted spearing fish and hunting fowl with the boomerang. Both scenes together would have been 2.3–2.4 m wide. The text in front of the tomb owner ends with “//f n st jb.f” (at the place of his heart). The representation of the fish drifting through the water plants is especially remarkable, a true work of art. The representation was part of the lowermost register, as indicated by the stripes of the wall base.

Dimensions: H. 79.5 cm; W. 107.5 cm

Relief block with jar-filling scene (pls. 125–126)

MMA 16.3.1

Sources: AM 237–38; L7–8: 523, 525

About eight fragments of a rectangular relief block are now united in a plaster frame. At the left end the relief shows an official recording the filling and sealing of wine jars by workers standing and squatting in front of him. Dorothea Arnold points out that the subject has a long tradition in Egyptian art but that some of the jars are of a Canaanite type with handles dating to Middle Bronze Age IIA.¹²⁴ The style of the relief corresponds to the other Rehuerdjersen reliefs, suggesting that

¹²⁴ Ca. 2050–1710 B.C. See Ruth Amiran, *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land: From Its Beginnings in the Neolithic Period to the End of the Iron Age* (Jerusalem, 1969), pl. 31 no. 4.

the block originates from that tomb. Alternately, since the block was found in pit 614, off the southwest corner of the Senwosret tomb complex, together with three blocks that certainly belong to the Sobeknakht tomb (pls. 162–164), it could have belonged to that tomb.

Dimensions: L. 145.4 cm; H. 59.4 cm

OFFERING ROOM

(pls. 120, 127–128)

The offering room certainly had a false door occupying the 2.30 m wide west wall, or perhaps the south wall (p. 65). The two remaining walls would have depicted the traditional scene of the tomb owner seated at the offering table receiving rows of offering bearers approaching him from the east. The center of the wall would have been dominated by an offering list. This reconstruction is supported by one in situ block at the east end of the north wall showing the lower part of a procession of four men leading a goat and calves (L20–21: 595, 595A; pl. 127a). Gautier published other relief fragments showing a procession of three offering bearers, which he found in the same room (MMA 22.1.6; pl. 127b).¹²⁵

Two large pieces found by the original Expedition but left at Lisht (L33–34: 253 a + b; pl. 128) are tentatively included here in the relief decoration of the tomb of Rehuerdjersen. One represents parts of four offering bearers, and the other parts of the titles of four offering bearers located above the heads of the figures. Stylistically both fragments would be compatible with Rehuerdjersen. The titles of the offering bearers on the second fragment are separated from each other by dividing lines that do not appear on relief block MMA 22.1.6.

Relief in position with man leading animals (pl. 127a)

Sources: L20–21: 595, 595A (detail)

A block in position at the east end of the north wall of the offering chamber showed the lower part of a procession of four men leading a goat and calves. The relief was preserved into the 1970s, but has since been defaced.

Relief block with offering bearers (pls. 120–121, 127b)

MMA 22.1.6a–d

Bibliography: Gautier, *Licht*, fig. 124

Sources: AM 245; L20–21: 142

A relief fragment with a procession of three offering bearers—the tomb owner's brethren—was found by Gautier in the same room. It is now in the Metropolitan Museum, along with three adjacent pieces. The relief was also probably part of the procession along the north wall of the offering chamber and would have stood to the left of the previously discussed relief. The offering bearers have the names Ipi, Ias, and Khenty-khetyhetep. An attempt was made in ancient times to chisel out the figure of the calf. The remains of paint, visible on the photo, have since disappeared.

Dimensions: H. 87 cm; W. 95 cm

Relief block with offering bearers (pl. 128, above)

Sources: L33–34: 253a

A large fragment of a relief block appears in the photo without further information. Two registers are indicated. The feet of the persons in the top register—probably offering bearers—move to the left. A rough band separates the groundline of the figures from the horizontal line of the titles of the offering bearers below, who are mostly destroyed. Only a part

of the first head to the left remains. Five titles, separated by vertical dividers, are preserved:

1. *hrj-hbt tpj* “chief lector-priest”
2. *smr htmjtj-bjtj* “companion and sealer”
3. *smr w^ctj* “sole companion”
4. *///špss*
5. *s////*

The relief style is so close to the other examples above that one can assume that the block belonged to the offering scenes of Rehuerdjersen. Provenance and location of the piece are unknown.

Dimensions: L. ca. 99 cm

Relief block with offering bearers (pl. 128, below)

Sources: L33–34: 253b

The photo shows, without further information, a large fragment of a relief block, with the torsos and legs of four offering bearers marching left. The second person pulls three ducks from a cage below, the third carries lotus flowers, and the fourth leads a small goat-like animal. Behind him appears a raised block border, indicating the right end of the wall. The relief style is so close to the examples described above that one can assume that the block belonged to the offering scenes of Rehuerdjersen. The provenance and location of the piece are unknown.

Dimensions: L. ca. 98 cm

A stela of Rehuerdjersen in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (12.182.1) is said to be from Abydos.¹²⁶ The stela shows a Rehuerdjersen seated at an offering table and being offered a goose by his brother. Below the representation are the names of twenty-one family members. The style of the stela is considerably later, and if it depicts the same Rehuerdjersen, it was dedicated posthumously.¹²⁷

REUSED OLD KINGDOM BLOCKS

(pl. 118c)

Tomb 384 was, after the core of the pyramid of Amenemhat I, the second major source of reused relief blocks from Old Kingdom monuments. At least three of the protruding foundation stones of the cult chapel were reused temple blocks of the Old Kingdom (in situ photos L20–21: 315–16, 324, 324A). They were arranged at the north end of the west side of the foundation platform with their faces outward (facing west). The (decorated) upper edge was chamfered. The excavators assumed that all the foundation stones of the tomb were reused blocks and excavated a large portion of the foundation blocks, but did not record any details. Two of the reused blocks came to the Metropolitan Museum, while a third was left in place.

The in situ photos show the following arrangement of foundation blocks (from north to south):

Relief block with estates

[MMA 22.1.4]; now Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 58.322

¹²⁵ *Licht*, fig. 124.

¹²⁶ Hayes, *Scepter I*, p. 333, fig. 221; Grajetski, *Beamte*, p. 49.

¹²⁷ Allen, “High Officials,” p. 20.

Bibliography: Hans Goedicke, *Re-Used Blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht*, Publications of The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, vol. 20 (New York, 1971), pp. 13–16

The block shows parts of two scenes: personified estates bringing offerings, and the corner of a structure that might have been the royal palace.

Relief block

Sources: L20–21: 315, 324

The only available photos are not clear enough to determine whether there was a procession of oxen.

Relief block with cattle

MMA 22.1.3

Bibliography: Hans Goedicke, *Re-Used Blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht*, Publications of The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, vol. 20 (New York, 1971), pp. 18–19; *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, exh. cat. (New York, 1999), pp. 222–23.

Sources: L20–21: 315

This corner block, in situ in L20–21: 315, shows a procession of three oxen and short, unexplained inscriptions containing the cartouches of Khufu.

Relief block with men and cattle

Sources: L20–21: 315

The block, showing a procession to the left of the sequence ox-man-ox-man, was reused upside down. Unfortunately it was unrecorded and apparently left in position. From the available photos one can recognize that the block probably joined the previous block (MMA 22.1.3) to the right. The block is now destroyed.

THE FOUNDATION DEPOSITS

In 1921, the Egyptian Expedition discovered all four foundation deposits of the tomb under the cornerstones of the foundation platform. They were rectangular pits, carefully cut into the bedrock and filled with pottery covered by white sand. According to Dorothea Arnold, the pottery of the deposits of Rehuerdjersen is so similar to the pottery found in the deposits of the pyramid of Amenemhat I that there can be no doubt that they represent concurrent productions.

Southeast Corner

[MMA 22.1.1457–1480]¹²⁸

Sources: L20–21: 291–92 (in situ)

The pit was 44 x 44 cm and 48 cm deep and contained twelve saucers in dull brown ware and one pointed jar.

Southwest Corner

[MMA 22.1.1432–1455]

Sources: L20–21: 293–94 (in situ)

The pit was 40 x 42 cm and contained twenty-four saucers and one tiny vase with a stopper.

Northwest Corner

Sources: L20–21: 295–97 (in situ)

The pit was 34 x 38 cm and 37 cm deep and contained twenty-four reddish brown saucers and one jar. The pots are probably in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

Northeast Corner

[MMA 22.1.1481–1504]

Sources: L20–21: 298, 298 A (in situ)

The pit was 54 x 53 cm and 37 cm deep and contained twenty-four reddish-brown saucers and one jar.

Another foundation deposit was discovered under the west wall of the offering chamber (TC N-1785; photo L20–21: 181). A small hole, which was cut into the bedrock under the wall, was filled with six cups and two dishes of dull, red pottery.

UNDERGROUND APARTMENTS

(pl. 119)

The passage to the crypt is unusual: it was built into the core masonry of the northern half of the tomb building and was entered—as in the Giza mastabas of the Old Kingdom—through a short, vertical shaft from the roof of the tomb. The passage slopes to the south and is long and extremely steep (ca. 47°!). Underground water prevented the excavators from reaching and exploring the actual burial chamber. According to Gautier's description, the water began after 9.5 m, but on his section it appears at a depth of 17.7 m below the pavement of the tomb. The latter figure seems more accurate, because the water table under tomb 493, which is much farther to the east, is already 13.2 m high. A corridor of the length shown in Gautier's section, however, would lead far beyond the southern outline of the tomb.

The small dimensions and the inclination of the passage exclude the possibility of introducing casing blocks and a stone sarcophagus into the tomb chamber. The importance and size of the aboveground buildings would certainly have suggested a larger shaft leading into a monumental crypt with a stone sarcophagus. Perhaps after the passage reached solid limestone bedrock, it was considered sufficient to carve a safe chamber. Or is there another construction shaft farther to the south hidden under the foundation?

PRIEST'S HOUSE

(pls. 115a, 117a, 118a)

Along the south side of the brick enclosure is a series of brick chambers with walls over two meters high still standing. Some walls still retained plaster and whitewash. The rooms were certainly vaulted, though remains of the vaults were not preserved. The chambers were entered from the court by means of two or three doors with limestone frames. The westernmost door, indicated by a huge threshold, leads into two connected chambers, one used for a secondary tomb shaft. A second door is confirmed by a large threshold slab in the center of the row of chambers. This door, leading into two or three chambers, was later walled up, possibly to block access when a tomb shaft was sunk into one of the chambers or when another entrance

¹²⁸ The pottery deposits from the southeast, southwest, and northeast corners were deaccessioned in 1953 and transferred to the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Full publication is forthcoming.

was built at the eastern end of the row of chambers. Since this eastern part is poorly preserved, it remains unclear whether this last entrance was added later or existed from the beginning. A huge square pit cut into the *gebel* might indicate the location of the door's foundation block.

The bricks of all walls were separated by extremely wide gaps, apparently to save building material. The quality of the brickwork was very good, however, and the walls were rather thick (ca. 1.05 m = 2 cubits).

An irregularly shaped copper tank (H. 21 cm; diam. at top 34.3 cm) with a perforated upper edge, found under the floor of one of the rooms, was perhaps used to sprinkle liquids (MMA 22.1.1013).¹²⁹

Brick chambers are characteristic for a group of tombs of the earlier part of the Twelfth Dynasty, for example, the tomb of Mentuhotep at Lisht-South (see p. 46) or the nearby tomb no. 763 (housing Senebtisi) at Lisht-North (see p. 80). After the mortuary cult ceased to be observed, burial shafts were dug by intruders.

Tomb 400 of Antefiker

(fig. 15, pls. 129–133)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gautier, *Licht*, pp. 97–100, figs. 115–21 (with plans and decoration); Obsomer, *Sesostris I^{er}*, pp. 594–95; Stephen Quirke, *Cultura y arte egipcios* (Caracas, 1998), pp. 34, 106; Grajetzki, *Beamte*, pp. 12–13, 86–87

SOURCES:

AM 3202 (overall plan 1:200), 3251 (plan 1:100), 3254 a/b (plan and sections 1:50)
L6–7: 11–12, 15–17, 23, 25, 67, 70, 72, 74, 79, 84, 87, 89, 103–4, 106, 110–11, 123–24, 131–33, 143, 145–47, 195, 206, 220, 237, 339–40, 341–43, 346–48, 351, 353–54, 360, 366–68, 385, 388, 390, 395, 401, 406, 408, 411, 418, 469, 477, 487–90, 492, 847, 873, 884, 889; L8–9: 46; L13–14: 411–14 (figure of Antefiker)

EXCAVATION

The middle-sized stone tomb of the vizier Antefiker is situated within the pyramid complex of Amenemhat I, between a large, unexplained stone building south of the pyramid temple and the larger tomb 493, directly in front of the south end of the east side of the pyramid platform. The tomb was discovered and excavated by Gautier in 1894–95, but poorly recorded, and reexcavated in 1906–7 by the Egyptian Expedition.

TOMB OWNER

The names and titles of the vizier Antefiker, son of Senet, appeared on inscriptions on a tomb wall as well as on loose fragments and the broken statue found by Gautier, mentioned below. He held the following titles:

1. *jmj-r njwt* “mayor of the pyramid city”
2. *t3tj* “vizier”
3. *hrp wshyt* “controller of the broad hall”

DATE

Antefiker was the son of the lady Senet, who is well known for her supposed ownership of a beautifully painted tomb at Qurna (TT 60).¹³⁰ His long career is relatively well attested. He mainly served as a vizier under Senwosret I, at least to regnal year 24.¹³¹ Because his tomb at Lisht occupies such a prominent position, he must have had free choice in the selection of his burial ground, which indicates he had already reached a high rank under Amenemhat I. His decision to build at the site of the pyramid of Amenemhat I and not of Senwosret I demonstrates an attachment to the earlier king, a relationship that might be explained by their common Theban background. This connection might also explain why Antefiker was satisfied with a rather modest tomb at Lisht-North and chose not to build in his later years a more monumental complex at Lisht-South.

Antefiker, son of Senet, was apparently not the only high official of that name. A statue found at Lisht-North belonged to a *hrj-tp n t3-r-dr.f*, Antefiker, son of Nebit (see below). He may have been a relative of Antefiker, son of Senet, and may also have been buried at Lisht. Another official named Antefiker, son of Nebit, is attested by a statue and possibly by pieces of an inscribed door frame in the city of Kahun.¹³² He was not a vizier but a “royal steward.” He may have owned a house at Kahun and a tomb in the nearby cemetery of Illahun but was certainly not the person represented by the statue found at Lisht.¹³³

COURT

The interior of the tomb complex was divided into a transversal open court and a funerary chapel to the west. The court was formed by a 1.5 m thick brick wall. Remains of the south wall attached to the tomb chapel show that the interior of the brick wall was cased with limestone. The stone casing was carefully built of regular courses 19–22 cm high.

The distance between the east front of the tomb and the eastern court wall is unknown, but the court walls probably enclosed a wide shaft near the southeast corner. The entrance gate was also probably located in the east wall. The court wall somehow continued into the retaining wall of the cult chapel (see below).

Not only is the construction of the court wall (and of the wall surrounding the main building as well) of mixed stone

¹²⁹ Photos L20–21: 173–74, 257–58.

¹³⁰ See Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Antefiker, Vizier of Sesostris I, and of His Wife, Senet* (No. 60), The Theban Tombs Series, 2nd Memoir (London, 1920).

¹³¹ Franke, *Personendaten*, dossier no. 146; Allen, “High Officials,” pp. 23–24; Obsomer, *Sesostris I^{er}*, pp. 207–22; Grajetzki, *Beamte*, pp. 12–15.

¹³² W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara* (London, 1890), pl. 11[15]; idem, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob* (London, 1891), pl. 12[1].

¹³³ As was suggested by Grajetzki, *Beamte*, p. 86[III.12].

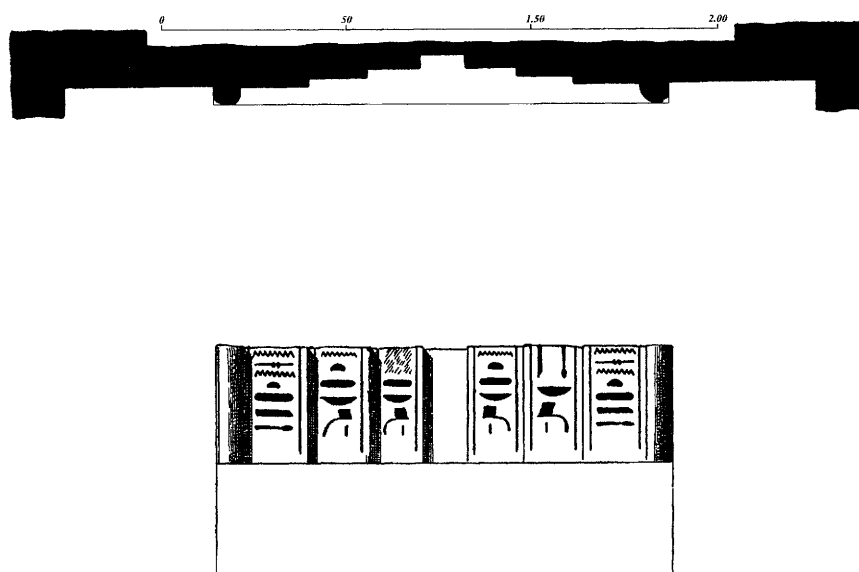


Fig. 15. The southern false door of the cult chapel of Antefiker. Gautier, *Licht*, figs. 116–17.

and brickwork unusual, but the documentation by the Egyptian Expedition also raises some questions. The section drawings show the outer face of the brick coat as being vertical, but the upper edges of vertical exterior walls are generally articulated by torus-cavetto moldings. Since such an element could not easily have been produced in brick, it must be asked how the brick exterior walls were terminated on top.¹³⁴ One would therefore like to know whether the drawings reflect the actual wall construction, or whether they represent an incomplete or misunderstood state of the brickwork.

CULT BUILDING

(fig. 15, pls. 129–132)

Behind the court rose the better-preserved cult building with a 9.20 m wide stone façade. Against all expectations, the front was not inclined. Was it embellished by a columned portico? A door 1 m wide opens into a north-south-directed transversal corridor or broad room. The corridor leads into two cult chambers. In the photos an enormous limestone slab is visible, standing upright in the corridor. Was it part of a ceiling block of the southern room?

The southern chamber was oriented east-west and measured 2.10 x 5 m. The lower end of a 1.25 m wide false door in its west wall reveals that this was the main offering room. The false door had three text columns on each side of the central recess and was surrounded by a torus. The remains of the six text columns all end with “[born by] Senet, justified,” suggesting that the stela addressed Antefiker himself and also confirming that Senet was his mother (fig. 15).

The northern chamber, 2.70 x 3.35 m, is entered through the west wall of the corridor. This chamber gave access to the burial shaft in the pavement. A second false door is located directly above the shaft in the south wall of the chamber. Again, only its lower end was preserved, and nothing remains of its inscription. Since the wall decoration consisted of sunk relief (see below), one suspects that the room was not covered but was an open court.¹³⁵

The arrangement of chambers and false doors reflects the

traditional layout of mastaba tombs, with the main cult niche in the south and the secondary one in the north, but it also mirrors that of the royal pyramid cult places, with the main false door in the east and a secondary one above the entrance in the north.

The stone and brick walls of the tomb were preserved to a height of one to two meters. Dovetail cramps were frequently applied, in both directions, parallel and at right angles to the wall direction. Several blocks were even connected by parallel pairs of cramps. This abundant application of cramps is unusual for the Twelfth Dynasty and attests to the special concern of the builders to secure their masonry.

Decoration

(pl. 133)

Some excavation photos from 1906–7 show that the west and north walls of the north chamber were found complete up to the third block course, with an additional two blocks of the fourth course at the west end of the north wall. Since the decoration started at the joint between the second and third block course, the lower part of the first register should have been completely preserved along the west and north walls. Unfortunately only a small, probably better preserved part of these reliefs was photographed (L6–7: 145–46). We must rely therefore on these photos and a small sketch in Gautier’s publication (*Licht*, fig. 118) because all walls have been destroyed in the meantime.

At the west end of the north wall, above the dado line, appears a slaughtering scene, anchored on the left by two standing men. The eastern person purifies dead oxen with water streaming from a *hes*-vessel. An inscription in front of the western person says, “the mayor of the pyramid city, the vizier Antefiker.” The lower part of three offering bearers appears around the corner, at the north end of the west wall (visible on photo L6–7: 147). They probably carried parts of

¹³⁴ Torus elements made of unbaked mud were found in the area of the Imhotep mastaba and the East Tomb at Lisht-South. They would, however, have been inadequate for a monumental tomb.

¹³⁵ Interior rooms do occasionally have sunk relief, for example, the square antechamber of the pyramid temple of Senwosret I. See Hayes, *Scepter* I, p. 88.

the slaughtered oxen and other items in the direction of the false door. One may reconstruct the right half of the scene with the figure of Antefiker facing left, sitting at the offering table beneath the offering list, receiving the goods brought to him. The decoration of the room apparently followed the usual decoration program of Old and Middle Kingdom offering chambers.

Photo L6-7: 145 (pl. 133c), labeled “on chamber wall of mastaba,” depicts a block with the left end of a horizontal inscription *///t3tj hrp wsh.t///* “the vizier and controller of the broad hall . . .” Since the block does not connect to the walls (visible on photo L6-7: 195), it is doubtful that the block remained on a standing wall; instead, the block probably originated from the exterior east wall of the chapel. Another photo (pl. 133d), labeled “covering stone of pit,” shows a similar piece with the remains of an inscription “Antefiker.”

Sculpture

Three statues found at Lisht-North were attributed to the tomb of Antefiker, son of Senet. The first, the lower half of a seated figure, was found by Gautier.¹³⁶ The long offering formula and the name and titles of Antefiker inscribed on the base certainly represented our tomb owner. The present location of the figure is unknown.

The lower half of a second seated life-size limestone figure was found in front of the tomb. It seems not to have preserved inscriptions but could well have belonged to the tomb owner Antefiker, son of Senet.¹³⁷ The present location of this figure is also unknown.

The lower half of a third seated figure, of granodiorite, was inscribed with the name of another Antefiker, son of Nebit. The piece was originally in The Metropolitan Museum of Art [15.3.1156] before its transfer to the Museo de Bellas Artes, Caracas (R 58.10.35).¹³⁸ The figure is not identical with the statue found by Gautier and certainly does not represent our tomb owner.

UNDERGROUND APARTMENTS

(pl. 130)

A large, rectangular shaft opened in the floor of the north chamber. Its dimensions (1.70 x 3.00 m) point to the existence of a crypt built from large blocks or at least to a large sarcophagus. The shaft disappears, however, in the groundwater at a depth of about 12.5 m and could not be explored. The mouth of the shaft was carefully built of limestone blocks down to a depth of 3 m, where the bedrock starts. The core masonry of the tomb covered the southern part of the shaft, but the mummy could still have been lowered through the accessible northern portion of the shaft.

There is a second shaft in the southeast corner of the forecourt. The mouth measures 1.20 x 1.50 m. This shaft could also not be excavated because of the groundwater. Photos show that the mouth of the shaft led through a thick packing of blocks, which seemed to produce the foundations for the forecourt. This enormous subfoundation was rather elaborate for a relatively modest private tomb and more appropriate for a royal building. Was it part of the foundation of an unknown structure of the pyramid complex?

Tomb 470 of Senimeru

(pls. 134–135, 161)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *BMA* 9 (Oct. 1914): 218

SOURCES:

AM 3266 (plan 1:200), 3319–20 (plan and section of burial chamber, 1:50)

TC N-2143–45

L13–14: 383, 503, 731

EXCAVATION

Mastaba 470, located at the eastern end of the south pyramid platform, was completely excavated in the 1913–14 season. The documentation of the work is insufficient, however, leaving basic questions unanswered.

TOMB OWNER

According to the inscription on the lid of his sarcophagus, Senimeru had the following titles, which, unfortunately, record only his rank, not his career:

1. *jrj-p^ct* “member of the elite”
2. *h3tj-^c* “high official”
3. *smr w^ctj* “sole companion”
4. *htmtj-bjtj* “royal seal bearer”

Janine Bourriau assumes that the tomb dates to the period from Amenemhat I to Senwosret I. Such a date is supported by the shape of the sarcophagus (pl. 161), which represents type 2, typical for this period.¹³⁹ Senimeru built his tomb extremely close to the royal pyramid enclosure, an approach not feasible during the construction time of the pyramid and only possible after the death of Amenemhat I. A date within the reign of Senwosret I would therefore seem more convincing.

BRICK ENCLOSURE WALL

The mastaba was surrounded by a sturdy brick enclosure wall, remains of which were recorded in the eastern half of the south side and at various places on the east side. No entrance could be located. The wall was 1.60 m thick in the east and west and, for unknown reasons, 3.20 m in the north and south.

¹³⁶ Gautier, *Licht*, pp. 99–100, fig. 121.

¹³⁷ Unpublished. See photo L6-7: 143.

¹³⁸ Stephen Quirke, *Cultura y arte egipcios* (Caracas, 1998), p. 106.

¹³⁹ Sarcophagus types will be discussed in the forthcoming volume on Middle Kingdom tomb architecture at Dahshur.

CULT BUILDING

(pls. 134–135)

The brick core of the cult building was apparently much damaged when houses of the settlement were built over it, particularly when beehive-shaped cellars were sunk into it from a higher debris level.

The only two available excavation photos and a sketch plan show that the mastaba-like cult building had a rectangular shape of 9.8 x 13 m. The building has an unusual east-west orientation, probably due to the crowded conditions in the cemetery, and had thick brick walls. The photos show no bricks in the interior, but otherwise we do not know whether it consisted of an open, empty space or whether there was a massive mastaba-like structure filled with rubble (as reconstructed on plate 134). We only know that there was a shaft in the center of the building, oriented north-south, in contrast to the orientation of the mastaba. If the mastaba had been filled with rubble, it would have been necessary to extend the shaft to the roof of the structure and fortify this section of the shaft with a brick wall. Mastabas of this type are well known from the Old Kingdom. If instead there was no mastaba but an open court, a stone cult chapel would be expected. In that case it would have been necessary to cut a doorway through the thick brickwork. Since the available space seems rather narrow for a chapel and since an entrance through the brick wall would probably have left some remains, the first solution, a massive core mastaba, is preferable.

The relation of the mastaba to the pyramid platform is unclear. According to the plan, the center of the mastaba stood on the edge of the pyramid platform and pyramid court. To build half of a tomb complex on top of the platform and the other half in front would have been structurally unsound and can only be explained by the pressing need for a building site. The pyramid platform does not appear on the photos, however, and one wonders whether it was ever excavated or its existence established in this area. The mastaba disappeared after 1914.

UNDERGROUND APARTMENTS

(pl. 134)

The huge, rectangular shaft (1.3 x 2.65 m), which has a ledge around the mouth for a brick casing, leads vertically down 13.1 m before opening into a sloping passage. Because the existing drawing is not oriented, we do not know whether the passage leads north or south. The general practice was to build the passage and chamber to the south of the shaft. A north passage cannot be excluded, however, because the sarcophagus normally stands in the western half of the crypt. According to the drawings, if the passage had led south, the sarcophagus would have stood on the “wrong” side of the chamber.

The 5.4 m long and steeply sloping passage was sealed with two courses of huge blocks. The three blocks of the bottom course and the uppermost block of the top course were still in position. The largest block measured 55 x 85 x 230 cm. Though the material is not recorded, the blocking was certainly limestone. The drawing suggests the tunnel through which the tomb robbers evaded the blocking.

The chamber, 2.25 x 3 m and 1.75 m high, was found half filled with groundwater, to somewhat below the top of the red granite sarcophagus, which stood half open in the left half of the chamber. A niche was cut in the two small sides of the chamber for the handling of the sarcophagus.

Sarcophagus

(pl. 161)

The bottom of the red granite sarcophagus is box-shaped. The inside was plastered (for decoration?). The lid, a thin slab with a rounded top, has on its underside a 4 cm deep projection for fitting the lid onto the sarcophagus. The two square knobs had been smashed off. H. E. Winlock was able to copy a black-ink inscription down the middle of the top of the lid that revealed the name and titles of the owner. The sarcophagus seems to be an early representative of type 2, typical for the reign of Senwosret I.

Dimensions:

Box:

Outside L. 240 cm

Outside W. 75 cm

H. 81.5 cm (not including battens that may be under water)

Lid:

H. 23 cm in center, 15 cm at sides

Tomb 493 of Nakht

(figs. 16–18, pls. 136–146a)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gautier, *Licht*, pp. 99–100; *BMAA* 9 (Oct. 1914): 210–18

SOURCES:

AM 3255 (plan 1:25), 3256 A/B (plan 1:100), 3257 (plan 1:100), 3259 (plan and section of pits inked), 3260 (plan and section of pits 1:50), 3321 (main pit), 3322 (west passage), 3323 (secondary pit)

TC N-2225–50

L13–14: 32, 61, 63–64, 67–80, 84, 92, 94, 102–5, 128–35, 143–56, 171–72, 405–8, 504–5, 507, 705–13, 732; L20–21: 170–71, 370

EXCAVATION

Tomb 493 is situated at the southeast corner of the pyramid plateau, within the royal enclosure, and leaning with its western (rear) side against the rock platform of the pyramid. The tomb stands parallel to the mastaba of Antefiker, which—in spite of its much smaller size—actually occupies a more desirable location, closer to the royal temple. The site of tomb 493 was surrounded and probably covered by the houses of the Thirteenth Dynasty settlement, which may have contributed to the heavy damage to the tomb complex. The aboveground walls were all found destroyed; only foundation courses of the brick and stone constructions had survived, but enough was left to suggest that the tomb complex must have resembled a terraced temple, like that of King Mentuhotep at Deir el-Bahari.

The tomb was first discovered by Gautier in 1894–95 and excavated more thoroughly in the 1913–14 season of the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum. In spite of extensive pumping efforts, not all underground chambers could be emptied of groundwater, and the main chamber of the tomb owner could not be reached. The water table at that time was at 13.20 m below the pavement level of the mastaba.

TOMB OWNER

(fig. 16, pl. 146a)

The royal seal-bearer and chief steward Nakht can be established as the owner of tomb 493 by a statue found by Gautier “*parmit ces décombres*,” meaning the ruins of tomb 493 (see p. 75). There can be little doubt that the statue represents the owner of the mastaba. The inscription on the base of the statue calls Nakht *s St-Ḥt-ḥr* “son of Sithathor” and *jmj-r pr wr* “chief steward.”¹⁴⁰

DATE

As Felix Arnold has shown, a relative date for Nakht in the reign of Senwosret I is provided by a control note on one of the blocks of the pyramid of Senwosret I at Lisht-South.¹⁴¹ The control note is not dated to a year¹⁴² but can be placed with some certainty between years 11 and 14 of Senwosret I and probably in year 12. Nakht therefore was the successor of Heru who served as chief steward in years 1 to 10 of Senwosret I. Nakht himself was followed by Intef, perhaps the owner of the Grand North Mastaba at Lisht-South (p. 27), who held this office to the end of Senwosret I’s reign. The central part of Nakht’s career may therefore be dated between regnal years 10 to 20 of Senwosret I.

A burial in shaft 465 (pl. 137) could be dated with the help of pottery to the period of Senwosret III to Amenemhat III. This later date indicates how long the original tomb enclosure was used for additional burials.

RAMP

(pls. 137, 142c–d)

Because of earlier inadequate excavation and recording methods, the rather complicated structure of tomb 493 can no longer be completely understood. There are basically two brick enclosures. A low one opens in the front in the east, and is followed to the west by a higher enclosure containing the actual tomb.

A 20 m long brick ramp or causeway, which ascends the plateau from the east, passes through the front enclosure. It is constructed of two long side walls linked with connecting walls to form a series of nine chambers, which were probably filled with debris (L13–14: 405, 706, 710). The ramp apparently had sloping sides. It widened with increasing height, from 2.3 m at the foot in the east to 3.5 m at the western end. The ramp was later built over by the east wall of the front brick enclosure.

Since the gradient from the foot of the ramp to the interior

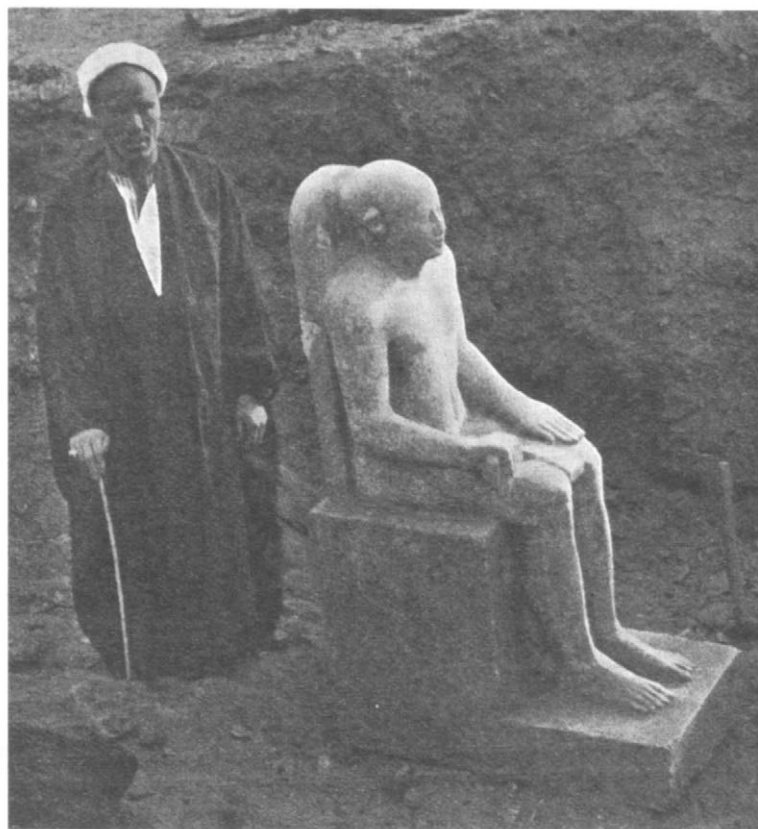


Fig. 16. The discovery of the statue of Nakht by the French expedition. Gautier, *Licht*, fig. 122.

stone building is only 1.30 m, over a distance of 30 m, it is unclear why such a monumental ramp was needed, especially since the western section of the tomb is practically flat. Though the tomb of Nakht contains a considerable amount of stonework, it is doubtful that such a huge ramp was needed for the construction of the stone building and the underground apartments. One possibility, unfortunately not verified by the excavators, was that the ramp was originally built for the construction of the king’s pyramid and later reused for building mastaba 493.

BRICK ENCLOSURE WALL

(pls. 137–138)

The lower eastern enclosure was originally 12 m wide and certainly served as a forecourt to the upper western enclosure. It was later enlarged on the north and south sides, extending the enclosure to a total width of 22.5 m. The southern portion of the extension continued westward and formed a kind of substructure to the higher, western enclosure. Two sinoid brick walls found within the extensions probably marked the construction site of the original 12 m wide enclosure.

The upper western enclosure is formed by 1.9 m thick brick walls, which abut the rock platform of the royal pyramid. The walls may have been 2.5–3 m high. Judging from the foundation courses—which are the only preserved parts—the east front of the enclosure was ca. 2.5 m thick, from which it

¹⁴⁰ Allen, “High Officials,” p. 20; Grajetzki, *Beamte*, pp. 82–83, 246–47.

¹⁴¹ Felix Arnold, “The High Stewards of the Early Middle Kingdom,” *GM* 122 (1991): 9–14.

¹⁴² The note reads “Third month of inundation, day 24. The royal seal-bearer, the [chief] steward Nakht.” See F. Arnold, *The Control Notes and Team Marks*, p. 110[N 219].

may be concluded that the east wall was higher than the north and south walls and was probably a pylon. The outline of the pylon's east and west sides is very irregular. The Expedition drew irregular foundation courses, probably because the aboveground brickwork had disappeared. The exact dimensions of the pylon can therefore no longer be determined. Remains of the foundation of a stone gate are preserved, which suggest a stone door frame. These remains represent the foundation course that would have carried the actual doorsill, which would have been level with the court behind. The ramp ascending to the pylon ends at that higher level. The thickness of the pylon suggests a height of at least 5 m. Of course, nothing is known of the pylon's shape, corner articulation, or the kind of gate, which may have had a stone architrave or a brick vault.

CULT BUILDING

(figs. 17–18, pls. 136–138, 141, 142a–b)

The inner court formed by the second brick enclosure was dominated by the stone chapel at its western end. The cult building is oriented east–west and measures only 6.7 x 11.90 m. It was built so far to the south of the court that one might think that brick chambers were built or at least planned in the north, leaning against the northern enclosure wall, but no traces of such rooms were found (L13–14: 732). The interior of the enclosure, especially the northern half, was occupied by secondary burials and later house constructions. Seven tomb shafts are aligned in front of the north wall, and three more are in the south and west.

Only in the eastern part of the cult chapel and along the north and south sides were parts of the limestone foundations and paving slabs preserved. These paving slabs were bedded not in the bedrock but in debris and some bricks. Shallow grooves in the paving slabs, well defined by sharp edges, preserve the outlines of the building. The grooves suggest that the wall was 53 cm thick (1 cubit).

The eastern, pylon-like front wall was 1 m thick and included the entrance, which is still indicated by the grooves for the doorjambs. The front wall might well have been 3.15 m high. An orthostat-like slab, standing in the southern half of the front of the court, can be seen on some photos. This stone is the last in situ block of the entire building. Its upper edge was heavily damaged but still preserved remains of an inscription in large, sunk hieroglyphs (L13–14: 64, 134–35), suggesting an inscribed façade. Parts of the formula *dj.n.(j) n.[k]* “I have given to [you]” were left, together with traces of a second column north of it.

Photos show a round socket in the pavement in front of the northeast and southeast corner blocks of the surrounding wall. They were apparently intended for attaching the rounded dowel of an upright standing stone object, perhaps a small obelisk at each corner.

According to marks on the pavement inside the building, a pair of 53 x 60 cm thick pillars must have carried the roof of a portico in front of the chapel. They cannot have been very high, no more than 2 to 3 m. The pillars were certainly connected by an architrave running north–south. The plan of the interior of the chapel is unknown. There was apparently a large room of 3 x 5.80 m. The rear part probably contained a

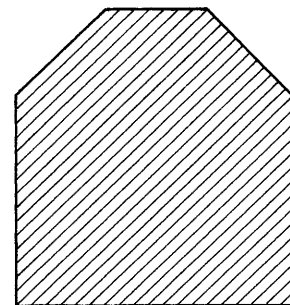
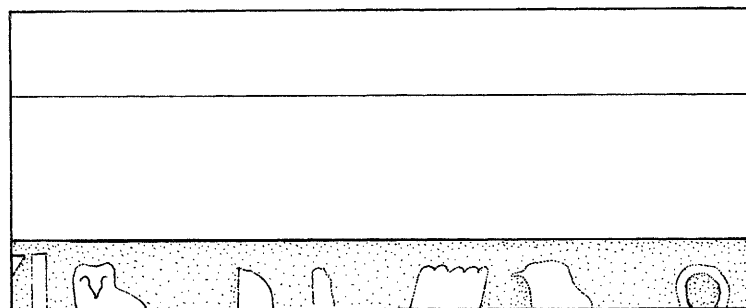


Fig. 17. Block from the parapet wall of the tomb of Nakht. Scale unknown. Draw. D. A.

niche for the life-size statue of Nakht, found by Gautier (see below), and was probably decorated with wall reliefs; no traces are left, however. A second space along the south side of the main room could have been either an open passage or a passage-like narrow chamber. Both possibilities and the consequences for the portico construction are shown on figure 18.

The small court in front of the portico was bordered on the north and south by walls topped with chamfered coping stones. One such block was found in pit 465 (L13–14: 32). The stone had two steeply chamfered upper edges and carried an inscription, probably on the exterior (fig. 17). If the space south of the main chapel (fig. 18) was an open passage (as suggested on pl. 136), the south wall with the chamfered top edges would have continued westward and turned around the southwest corner before joining the main chapel.

Under the roof of the portico was a square water basin, cut into another pavement block, with a drain leading south (L13–14: 103–5). The continuation of this drain under the stone enclosure wall is still preserved. From there, it must have drained the water further to the south (see below). The location of the water basin is not practical since it would have been a hazard for visitors to the chapel who could have stumbled into it.

Stone robbers removed the pavement slabs in the center and at the west side of the building, exposing a well-defined, lower limestone foundation platform that was limited to the northwest portion of the interior space (L13–14: 128–35). The huge limestone blocks sit on an unusually deep brick sub-foundation that was at least 8–10 courses deep. The southern edge of the foundation course, which is well defined, stops short of the southern enclosure wall. This raises the question of why this ridiculously narrow segment was not integrated into the massive foundations of the chapel. One might, therefore, conclude that the stone foundation belonged to an earlier—probably royal—structure, perhaps with some relation to the long brick ramp in the east. The existence of such a building must be considered in conjunction with the complex building history of the pyramid temple of Amenemhat I.

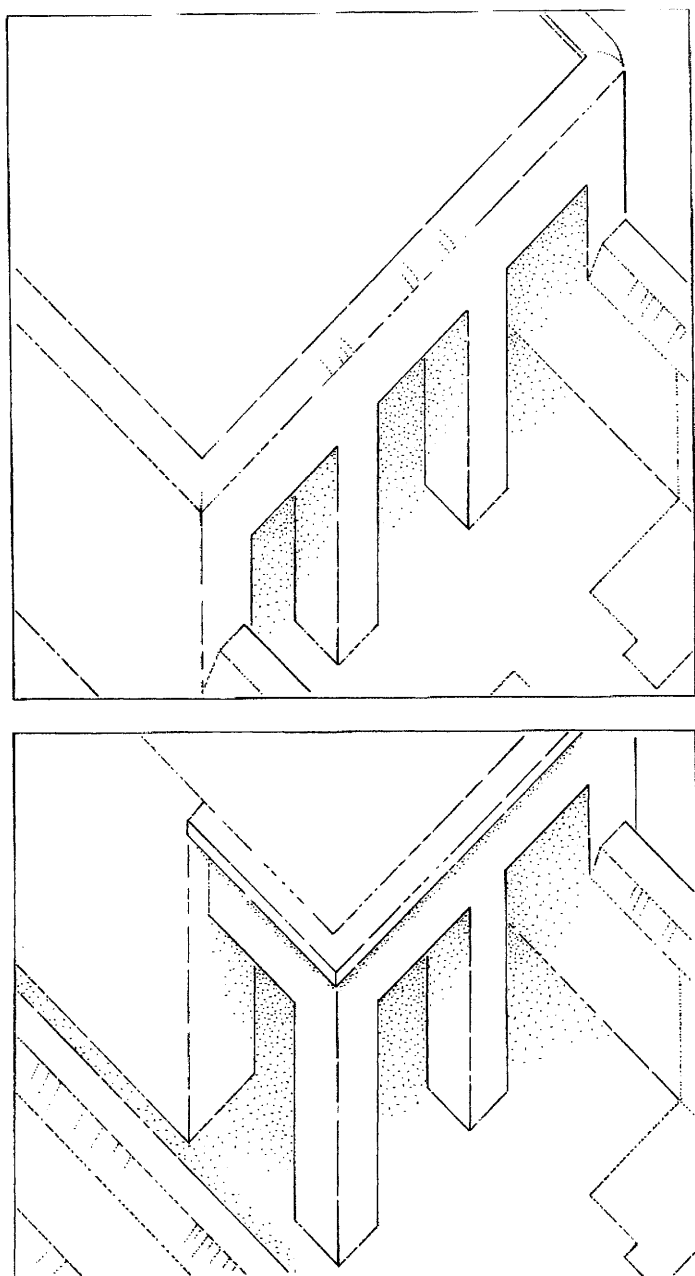


Fig. 18. Alternative reconstructions (unscaled) of the front of the funerary chapel of Nakht. Draw. D. A.

Decoration

(pls. 144–145, 146a)

The in situ block mentioned above confirms the assumption that Nakht's funerary chapel was decorated with reliefs and inscriptions, of which, however, few pieces remain. One may also add to this group two additional inscribed pieces, including one with the name of Nakht.

Block with an ointment vessel (pl. 146a)

Sources: L33–34: 108

A block with part of a sunk inscription and raised figures was found at Lisht-North by the old Expedition. The left half of the block originates from the side wall of a small wall niche (38 cm deep) and preserves two registers. In the upper one a male figure stands in front of a huge oil jar. The head of another male figure is preserved in the lower register. Both registers are separated by a text band according to which the male figure in each represents *jmj-r pr wr Nht* "chief steward Nakht." To the right are remains of three text columns in sunk relief with parts of the offering formula. Traces of a 5.6 cm thick separation wall between the two scenes are visible. The block was left at Lisht and has disappeared.

Dimensions: H. 43 cm; W. ca. 90 cm

Relief block with cattle and fowl preparation (pls. 144–145)

MMA 15.3.1164

Bibliography: *BMMA* 9 (Oct. 1914): 219–20, fig. 12; N. E. Scott, *The Home Life of Ancient Egyptians: A Picture Book* (New York, 1944), fig. 7; L. Klebs, *Die Reliefs und Malereien des Mittleren Reiches* (Heidelberg, 1922), pp. 102–3, fig. 71; H. G. Fischer, "Flachbildkunst des Mittleren Reiches," in *Das alte Ägypten*, ed. Claude Vandersleyen (Berlin, 1975), pp. 295, 300–301, pl. 270B; P. F. Houlihan, *The Birds of Ancient Egypt* (Warminster, England, 1986), p. 73, fig. 103

Sources: L12–13: 406

The relief depicts in the upper scene the plucking and roasting of duck and prepared food hanging from the rafters. The lower register shows a herdsman leading cattle out of the marshes. He is followed by a calf and carries another one over his shoulder. The inscription reads: "Coming out of the marsh, guiding the herd." One hieroglyph was deliberately removed in ancient times. The quality of the relief is of the highest rank. The destroyed surface beneath the cattle contained the wall base.

Despite some stylistic similarities with the previous block (L33–34: 108), an attribution to the tomb of Nakht is purely hypothetical. It is regrettable that the provenance of the block is not known. Found reused "in a door of a later house by the modern cemetery near the pyramid," the block had been damaged by the insertion of a pole shoe and door posts.

Dimensions: H. 95.2 cm; W. 71.7 cm

Sculpture

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gautier, *Licht*, p. 100, figs. 121–22; Ludwig Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo*, pt. 2, Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, nos. 1–1294 (Berlin, 1925), pp. 20–21, no. 409, pl. 67; Hans Gerhard Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein* (Munich, 1929), pl. 22

As mentioned above, Gautier found a completely preserved, life-size statue of Nakht (fig. 16) "parmit ces décombres," meaning in the ruins of tomb 493. The 1.45 m high statue of red granite, now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JdE 31880), shows a seated Nakht with a high, rounded back pillar. His names and titles are inscribed on the front of the seat and on the top of the base. The style of the statue seems to point to the reign of Amenemhat I.

Two very damaged heads were found near the northwest corner of the mastaba (L13–14: 420–21). The smaller one (H. 15 cm), of red granite, was probably left at Lisht; the larger one (H. 18.7 cm), of limestone, is now in the Metropolitan Museum (MMA 15.3.165). Both show a man with short hair. The expressive features, especially the wide, open eyes of the larger head, are unusual and seem to indicate that foreigners are being depicted. Can we assume that the figures were not private statues from tomb 493, but sculpture from the royal pyramid temple?

A limestone statuette (MMA 15.3.574) found thrown into additional shaft 449 was dated by Janine Bourriau to the early Twelfth Dynasty. The statuette might have belonged to the original equipment of the cult chamber of Nakht.

DRAINAGE SYSTEM

(pls. 136–137, 141a, 142a–b, 143b–c)

The stone cult building was provided with a carefully designed drainage system. The building was surrounded on three sides by a drainage channel, which carried the water of the surrounding court away from the walls to the east and south. Only the drain stones around the northwest corner and on the north side were preserved (L13–14: 132, 134). The stone robbers apparently had no use for the awkwardly shaped blocks. Only the southern outlet of the channels is preserved.

Water from the interior of the building was also drained to the outside, from the basin in front of the chapel, with a channel leading south, through the south wall and further south under the brick enclosure wall (L13–14: 705, 707, 709, 712). Beyond the wall, after a destroyed section, more drain stones were preserved leading south into the cemetery, ending with a slight bend to the southeast. The last preserved stone was a reused slab with a long inscription. After another gap, the drain continued, built more crudely and leading into a huge, brick-lined pit. It is not clear whether this north-south channel connected with the east-west drainage that surrounded the stone building or whether it dipped under it.

UNDERGROUND APARTMENTS

(pls. 137, 139–140)

Due to the existence of a construction shaft as well as considerably later extensions and insufficient recording, the system of the underground apartments is somewhat puzzling. For the most part, the groundwater prevented the proper exploration of the main chamber and may even have destroyed all remaining evidence of the burials. It must be stressed, however, that the use of stone lining for the passages and most certainly for the (undiscovered) crypt suggests that the underground apartments of Nakht were, from the beginning, constructed on an unusually monumental scale and at great expense.

The arrangement of the underground apartments is complex. The burial chamber was apparently located under the stone building, but for unknown reasons the entrance shaft was not dug, as expected, north of the chapel, but far to the northeast. This arrangement created a remarkable discrepancy in the locations of the chapel and the tomb.

For reasons of clarity, the following description records the tomb arrangement room by room, as shown on plates 139 and 140. It does not correspond to the chronological sequence of building phases.

(A) A square burial shaft (493) is located within the inner enclosure wall, 5.25 m north of the northeast corner of the cult building. It is only 1.05 x 1.05 m and descends to a depth of 14 m. The upper 2 m were cased with brick, and the mouth was hidden under the paving slabs of the chapel court. The shaft originally ended in a shallow chamber (A), probably used by the builders for their activities. Three elongated blocks were found at the bottom of this space, probably the plugs of the following passage B. Only one block was used, but it had probably been moved by the robbers. The shape of the top of this chamber is uncertain because the later addition of five loculi (see below) destroyed the original arrangement.

(B) A 6 m long, slightly sloping passage leads southwest from chamber A, in the direction of the center of the cult building. This passage or, better, tunnel was lined with limestone slabs on both sides and at the top, reducing its width and height to 55 cm, barely enough to allow the mummy to be introduced. As mentioned above, the passage was prepared for blocking.

(C) Passage B opens into a portcullis chamber, with shallow extensions to the east and west, in which blocking stones were stored. Each held two heavy blocks. Similar to the plugs of the sloping corridor, either the portcullises were not pushed into the closed position (i.e., they were left in their niches), or they were pushed back by the robbers. The floor of the portcullis chamber is 14.8 m below the pavement of the mastaba court. The roof of the chamber opens into a construction shaft (D) that descends from the center of the mastaba.

(D) Construction shaft D was apparently found untouched. Its mouth, which was cased with bricks, is 1.10 x 2.63 m, and it descends from the center of the stone building to a depth of 12.75 m. The lower end of the construction shaft had to be blocked by three slabs (in two courses of 35 and 28 cm thickness), in order to prevent its fill from falling into the portcullis chamber and blocking passage for the funeral. After completion of the work, the mouth of the shaft was closed with a brick vault and hidden under the pavement of the cult chapel with a covering of boulders.

(E) In the southwest, the portcullis chamber C opens into sloping passage E, which is again cased with limestone and descends in the direction of the presumed crypt, disappearing after a few meters in water. Bottom, side walls, and ceiling were lined with blocks. This passage is only 60 x 60 cm.

(F) The crypt of Nakht could not be reached by archaeologists because of groundwater. The chamber cannot be much farther because it should be located within the parameters of the mastaba above, which ends after another 4 m. The slope of the stone-filled breach in the southwest wall of the construction shaft also indicates that the crypt must be nearby.¹⁴³

That the chamber was built or cased with heavy blocks and must have been of considerable dimensions can be deduced from the size of construction shaft D and the huge breach above passage E, which had to be enlarged for the movement of large blocks. The stone lining of the crypt had to be brought in first, together with the presumed stone sarcophagus, after which passage E could be lined and the breach above filled with a great number of stone blocks. (The construction shaft was wide enough for the lowering of a stone sarcophagus.) Unclear is whether the chamber's longitudinal axis followed the oblique northeast-southwest orientation of sloping passages C and E, or whether this flaw was corrected by realigning the chamber in the traditional north-south direction.

Some changes were carried out during the construction period, while some took place considerably later. For that purpose, burial shaft A was reopened several times for the cutting of additional burial chambers and subsequent burials. The following changes can be recorded (pl. 140):

(G) Deep down in the southeast wall of construction shaft D, just above the three slabs, an elongated niche, 1 m high and 2.4 m long, was cut into the wall. The niche may, of course,

¹⁴³ Our reconstruction on plate 139, which suggests a chamber with a western side niche for the sarcophagus and a gabled roof, is purely hypothetical.

belong to the original plan, perhaps intended for storing blocking stones, but it might also have been added later.

(H) A new corridor was cut in the northwest wall of construction shaft D, at the level of the three slabs. The slightly sloping passage (H) is 12.3 m long and leads southwest into a rock chamber of 1.9 x 2.6 m. The lower end of the passage and the adjoining chamber were found under water and could not be properly explored, but the sides and the floor of the chamber were rough and irregular and apparently left unfinished. Both extensions G and H must have been undertaken after the lower end of the construction shaft was sealed with three blocks but before it was filled and the stone chapel built on top. Neither niche G nor tomb H could have been used, however, after the back-filling of the construction shaft. It may be that a second tomb was prepared, perhaps for a family member, early in the construction period of the tomb, but was abandoned before completion. The entrance into passage H, however, was sealed by a heavy brick wall that was penetrated by thieves.

(I) A group of five loculi or coffin niches was added to the main burial shaft (A). They branch off, like fingers, at the bottom end to the east and west, just above the space in front of the sloping passage to Nakht's tomb. Four of the loculi have a narrow ledge on one side wall, too narrow for the placement of a coffin. The coffins must have stood in the lower part of the loculi, and the ledges must have been used for the funerary outfit.¹⁴⁴ A 6.5 m long tunnel continues to the north and might have been intended for additional chambers that were never completed. This extension in the form of branching chambers is typical of shafts that were later added in both cemeteries of Lisht. This tomb type seems to date to the late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period.

Tomb 758 of Senwosret

(pls. 146b, 147–158)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *BMMA* 2 (Oct. 1907): 164–69; *BMMA* 3 (Oct. 1908): 188; Felix Arnold, *The Control Notes and Team Marks*, Publications of The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, vol. 23 (New York, 1990), pp. 34–35, pl. 13

SOURCES:

AM 3204 (plan 1:200), 3337–44
TC N-2844–2909 (some with important sections)
L6–7: 576–79, 580–81, 583, 605, 610, 612, 788; L7–8: 2–6, 7–8, 21–23, 30, 35–44, 46–47, 49, 56, 60–62, 86–88, 96–99, 107, 112, 114–15, 136–42, 144, 154–58, 160–64, 170–72, 206–7, 229, 244

EXCAVATION

The large tomb complex 758 is located on the desert plateau 50 m southwest of the pyramid of Amenemhat I. The much destroyed and eroded tomb was discovered by Gautier, but it was not completely excavated by the Egyptian Expedition until the 1906–7 and 1907–8 seasons. The most spectacular result was the discovery of the undisturbed burial of the lady

Senebtisi (no. 763) in one of the sixteen subsidiary shafts inside the tomb enclosure. This discovery overshadowed a precise study of the main tomb. Heavy destruction, different building phases and alterations, but mainly hasty excavation activity further hampered the interpretation of the complex.

TOMB OWNER

On the basis of “inscribed blocks and the torso of a gray granite statue found in it,” H. E. Winlock and A. C. Mace attributed tomb 758 “to a XIIth Dynasty official named Usertesens-Senwosret.” There seems to be little doubt that they were right. Fragments with the name Senwosret appear in the photo archive and may be identical with these “inscribed blocks.” The statue torso is uninscribed, however, and cannot be used to identify the tomb owner.¹⁴⁵

Who was Senwosret? The large dimensions and the monumental shape of the tomb complex suggest a high-ranking official. Remains of a biographical inscription contained the name of Senwosret and the following titles:

1. *hrj-ḥ3bt hrj-tp* “superior lector priest”
2. *jmj-r k3///* “overseer of works”
3. [*jmj-r*] *pr-nsw* “[overseer of] the king’s house”
4. *jmj-r ḥkrt-nsw [nbt]* “overseer of [all] royal jewelry”
5. *hrp šndyt [nbt?]* “controller of [every?] kilt”

Photo L12–13: 552 shows a limestone fragment in sunk relief with remains of the titles “[mayor of the pyramid] town” and [*t3ytj*] *t3tj* [*z3b*] “he of the curtain, vizier and dignitary,” and a second piece in low relief with remains of [*t3ytj*] *t3tj* [*z3b*] (pl. 154b). The photo is labeled “North Pyramid Cemetery.” The fragments could have originated from tomb 758. If that is the case, the owner of tomb 758 may have been the well-documented vizier Senwosret,¹⁴⁶ whose tenure spanned the end of the reign of Senwosret I and the beginning of the reign of Amenemhat II. He is mentioned in an inscription in tomb 2 of Ameny at Beni Hasan¹⁴⁷ and had a stela at Abydos dated to year 8 of Amenemhat II.¹⁴⁸ The location of his tomb is unknown. The titles of Senwosret on the Abydos stela are as follows:¹⁴⁹

1. *jtj-p^ct* “member of the elite”
2. *ḥ3tj-^c* “high official”
3. *ḥtmtj-bjtj* “royal seal bearer”
4. *smr w^ctj* “sole companion”
5. *jmj-r njwt* “mayor of the pyramid town”
6. *t3ytj t3tj z3b* “he of the curtain, vizier and dignitary”

¹⁴⁴ It probably consisted of food offerings in pottery containers.

¹⁴⁵ The torso is now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JdE 40481). See photo L6–7: 800–801.

¹⁴⁶ M. Valloggia, “Les vizirs des XIe et XIIe dynasties,” *BIFAO* 74 (1974): 130; Franke, *Personendaten*, dossier no. 490; Obsomer, *Sésostris I^{er}*, pp. 192–93, 224–25; Allen, “High Officials,” p. 25.

¹⁴⁷ The text shows that he was a contemporary of nomarch Amenemhat (time of Senwosret I). See Percy E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, pt. 1 (London, 1893), pl. 8 (first column from left).

¹⁴⁸ Paris, Musée du Louvre (C4). See Obsomer, *Sésostris I^{er}*, p. 559.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

DATE

The location of the tomb at the western edge of the Amenemhat I cemetery, 50 m from the pyramid, can only be explained by the fact that locations closer to the pyramid were already occupied by the time Senwosret chose the site for his tomb complex.

According to Dorothea Arnold, a date for the tomb at the end of the reign of Senwosret I or at the beginning of the reign of Amenemhat II is suggested by pottery recorded from the innermost burial chamber (see p. 81). This date is also supported by the discovery of the famous head and arm from a wood statuette of a woman found in the shaft of Senebtisi (no. 763, see below).¹⁵⁰ If one assumes that the statuette was originally placed in the cult chapel of Senwosret, the date of the head—mid-Twelfth Dynasty—could apply to the cult chapel as well.

Secondary shaft 763 (that of Senebtisi) was dated by Janine Bourriau to the middle of the reign of Amenemhat III, which would not contradict an earlier date for the construction of the main tomb complex. For a problem created by the presence of shaft 805, see the discussion below.

BRICK ENCLOSURE WALL

(pls. 147, 150–151)

The tomb complex was surrounded by a 30.4 x 35.8 m enclosure wall of mud brick, with an original thickness of 1.45 m. The west wall is for reasons unknown slightly longer than the east wall, somewhat distorting the almost square plan of the enclosure. A limestone foundation block was preserved at the southwest corner. The northwest corner was built over an older brick structure of unknown nature (L7–8: 55).

The wall was strengthened at a later point along all four sides by a 90 cm thick outer reinforcement, which was elaborately paneled and coated with white plaster.¹⁵¹ The base or foundation of the enclosure wall, which seems to have protruded considerably, was apparently never properly excavated. Most of this outer layer has decayed, and only a few short stretches of the paneling were preserved in the south and along a short stretch at the south end of the east side. The same pattern probably also articulated the north side, but we cannot be sure about the west side, which might indeed have been left plain (as shown on pl. 147). The paneling system consisted of projections and recesses with the usual two vertical grooves on the front of both. This method of articulating an enclosure wall, well known from the royal funerary precincts of the Twelfth Dynasty,¹⁵² probably has a parallel in the enclosure wall of Senwosretankh at Lisht-South (p. 15). Besides reinforcing the original thin wall, the paneling must have some symbolic value, perhaps reflecting an advance in Senwosret's career. Since the east wall is pierced by an entrance ramp, it is hard to imagine how an architecturally satisfying connection of the paneled wall and the ramp was achieved.¹⁵³

The east wall is interrupted, 11 m from the north corner, by two rows of limestone foundation blocks, which were carefully laid and connected with dovetail cramps. A photo shows that the upper surface of the blocks bore the marks for the aboveground masonry of the gate or the protruding façade of

the funerary temple (see below), but details remain unknown because of inadequate records. Stone foundations in front of the gate suggest a ramp ascending from the east. Judging from the section sketches, the interior of the enclosure was higher than the surrounding cemetery by half a meter or slightly more. The tomb complex was apparently built on top of an artificial embankment of debris.

The open space between the enclosure wall, cult building, and priests' house was occupied by sixteen smaller tomb shafts, probably the tombs of relatives or retainers of the owner of the tomb complex; most of these shafts are in the north court. One of these shafts (no. 763) contained the untouched burial of Senebtisi (see below). In addition, dozens of surface burials were dug in the area outside the tomb enclosure wall.

DRAINAGE SYSTEM

(pls. 147–148, 151c–d, 152b)

The enclosure wall was surrounded by a wide gutter intended to prevent rainwater from destroying the wall. Since the gutter was much disturbed by later tomb shafts, the only visible remains were in the southwest and southeast corners; one assumes, however, that the gutter extended around the other sides as well.¹⁵⁴ The sloping gutter was composed of five rows of bricks laid in one course: one row formed the horizontal bottom, and two inclined rows formed the two sloping sides (L7–8: 35, 44, 60). The gutter channeled the water into stone drains, two of which, in the center of the north and west sides, were still in place. A similar drainage system surrounded the slightly later pyramid of Senwosret II at Illahun.¹⁵⁵

Another drain, found near the center of the south side, has survived, and one may assume that the central cult building inside the court was also surrounded by a system of limestone drains through which water was carried under the brick wall. Since the court level was half a meter higher than the desert surface outside, the drain stones outside the enclosure wall had to be placed on top of a sloping brick foundation.

CULT BUILDING

(pls. 147, 148, 152c–d, 153)

The central cult building was badly destroyed; only the lowermost course of the subfoundation was preserved, consisting of irregularly shaped slabs, which suggest a funerary chapel about 12 m north-south and 26 m east-west, that is, about 20 x 50 cubits. A few foundation or paving blocks were still in position in the eastern half. The cult building was located so far to the east that its front touched the enclosure wall. It probably con-

¹⁵⁰ See Mohamed Saleh and Hourig Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum Cairo* (Mainz, 1987), no. 89.

¹⁵¹ Parallels will appear in the forthcoming volume on Middle Kingdom tomb architecture at Dahshur.

¹⁵² Arnold, *Senwosret III*, p. 19, n. 22; Arnold, *Amenemhet III*, p. 68, fig. 33.

¹⁵³ The joining of the causeway with the enclosure wall of the Senwosret III complex created a similar problem. See Arnold, *Senwosret III*, p. 95, pl. 152.

¹⁵⁴ The gutter was not drawn in the plans of the original Expedition; it appears only on a few photos.

¹⁵⁵ Petrie, *Lahun II*, p. 4, pls. 4 (above), 5.

sisted of a large forecourt, with the north-south-oriented chapel in the western third. The forecourt probably had side exits to the courts north and south of the cult building.

A round limestone column base, the last standing above-ground building block, was found in situ, roughly in the center of the building (photos L7-8: 41, 43, 46-47). The column suggests a portico either surrounding the court on three sides or at least articulating the front of the cult chapel. The column base has an unexpectedly large diameter of 1.2 m. The type of column remains unknown, but the size of the base suggests a short and sturdy multifaceted pillar about 3.30 m high; the diameter of the base is too large and the height too great for a more slender papyrus or lotus column. The dimensions of the base indicate in any case that the building was of considerable dimensions, only slightly smaller than the chapel of Mentuhotep at Lisht-South (14 x 29 m). There is also evidence that the cult chapel was decorated (see below).

A platform-like brick construction protrudes from the center of the north side of the cult chapel subfoundation. The brickwork reaches about ten brick courses below the stone subfoundation and may stand on the original desert surface. The bricks are carefully laid, as if they were meant to be visible, and the southwest corner has a sharply set edge. The structure apparently does not extend under the stone court of the mastaba and does not reappear south of the court foundations. Though it is certain that the structure antedated the cult chapel of Senwosret,¹⁵⁶ the Egyptian Expedition unfortunately ignored this interesting and unusual feature.

Decoration

(pls. 154-155)

Since the tomb complex of Senwosret was a major monument, actually the largest tomb at Lisht-North, and had a stone building in its center, exterior and interior walls decorated with reliefs and inscriptions can be expected. There are indeed indications that many relief fragments were found in 1906-7 and 1907-8, but an evaluation of the wall decoration is hampered by the lack of documentation of the fieldwork. The only evidence is photo L6-7: 670 (pl. 154b, nos. 1-8) depicting a group of eight raised relief fragments, labeled "Fragments from surface early in work—tomb 758," which belonged to offering and agricultural scenes, certainly from the interior of the chapel. They were in excellent condition, their brilliant paint preserved, and characterized by a strong articulation of the outlines of forms.

1. Relief fragment with man

Upper part of a man bending to the right. The beautiful piece was brought to the Metropolitan Museum (without being accessioned) but discarded in 1950 without having been properly recorded.

2. Relief fragment with offerings

Small fragment with offerings (grapes and a papyrus flower). The piece was probably left at Lisht.

3. Relief fragment with calf and inscription (pl. 155)

MMA 07.227.20

Sources: L6-7: 669-70

Part of a scene in two registers. The upper register shows a calf lying down and the outstretched hand of a man feeding the animal. The lower scene has only remains of the hieroglyphs

𓆎 𓆏. The calf, outlined in black, is white with a red eye; the hand is red, the 𓆎 sign green; the 𓆏 brown and black; the 𓆏 red; the 𓆏 green(?). The background was painted white. At the right is a masonry edge.

Dimensions: H. 27 cm; W. 13 cm

4. Relief fragment with offerings

Sources: L6-7: 670

Small fragment, probably with offerings. The piece was probably left at Lisht.

5. Relief fragment with papyrus flower

Sources: L6-7: 670

Small fragment of a papyrus flower with many fine leaves. The piece was probably left at Lisht.

6. Relief fragment with hieroglyph

Sources: L6-7: 670

Small fragment with the hieroglyph 𓆎 in the center, probably from an offering list. The piece was probably left at Lisht.

7. Relief fragment with offering bearer

Sources: L6-7: 670

Part of an offering bearer facing left carrying ducks, probably in both hands. The figure was considerably smaller than the one on fragment no. 1. The piece was probably left at Lisht.

8. Relief fragment with bird's wing

Sources: L6-7: 670

Wing of a bird, probably from an offering scene. The representation of the bird must have been considerably larger than those on fragment no. 7. The piece was probably left at Lisht.

In the 1912-13 season, a few years after the excavation of the Senwosret complex and other tombs, the storeroom of the Egyptian Expedition at Lisht was so overcrowded that an unfortunate decision was made, namely, to bring some chosen pieces to the Metropolitan Museum and to dispose of the rest.¹⁵⁷ During this operation a photo campaign was carried out to record significant fragments, and dozens of photos were taken with hundreds of "Lisht fragments" arranged in groups. They were not properly labeled, however, and we can no longer determine their provenance. For example, five of the above-mentioned pieces were rephotographed, together with fragments not depicted on the older photo L6-7: 670. Did these additional fragments also originate from the Senwosret tomb? Based on stylistic similarities, the following piece might also belong to the same group:

Relief fragment with heron (pl. 155)

MMA 13.235.9

Sources: L12-13: 542

A papyrus thicket with a crested heron, buff-backed egret(?), and part of some nets. The papyrus is red, green, yellow and black; the heron has traces of blue and black; the egret is brown and green, and the net is red and black. The painter added corrections in red on the heron.

Dimensions: H. 17.5 cm; W. 25 cm

¹⁵⁶ A similar stone structure beneath the foundations of the mastaba of Nakht could also not be explained (see p. 74).

¹⁵⁷ These pieces may have been buried somewhere near the Expedition house.

Exterior inscription fragments (pl. 154a)

Sources: L12–13: 516–19, 521–25

During the photo campaign of 1912–13, about twenty fragments of a sunk inscription were photographed that mainly contain remains of titles and perhaps of a biographical text, certainly from an exterior inscription (the major ones are united here on pl. 154a). Three other fragments (see pl. 154b, nos. 9–11) also show parts of the name Senwosret in raised and sunk relief, strongly suggesting that this was the tomb owner's name.

Any attribution of other fragments to Senwosret from photos labeled "Lisht-North Cemetery" would be pure speculation (and has been avoided here), but these fragments deserve critical study in the future.

Sculpture

Pit 758 contained fragments of three granite statues of male figures. Only one was recorded on photos, representing the torso of a squatting, male person, perhaps Senwosret (L6–7: 800–801). The fragment was probably thrown into the shaft when the cult chapel was destroyed. Following common practice, the head of the figure and the seat were carried off as usable material, whereas the torso was left behind as worthless. The person depicted wore on the breast a weighty Hathor-head pendant that hung from a bead necklace ending in the back in one single strand with a tassel at the end. In addition, Senwosret wore a sash over the necklace and across the left shoulder. This outfit seems to represent Senwosret as a priest of Hathor. The left front arm was steeply raised on top of the elevated knee; the right front arm was lower and probably rested on the lower leg.

PRIESTS' HOUSE

(pls. 147, 150c–d, 156c–d)

The southern third of the enclosure was occupied by a brick building probably used for the storage of cult utensils and the accommodation of a funerary priest. The brick walls were only a few courses high when excavated. The structure, built against the southern wall of the enclosure, consisted of four rooms. One entrance was located in the center on the north side of the building and led into an entrance room or court (C on pl. 147). The entrance door had a carefully dressed stone threshold of several limestone blocks with two pivot holes and a central bolt (AM 3295; L7–8: 160). The adjoining room (B) to the west had an additional entrance from the west, again confirmed by a carefully dressed stone threshold with a pivot hole. The lower end of the door frame was worked from the same block (AM 3294; L7–8: 39–40). The eastern part of the building included two rooms, a corridor along the north side (E) and an inner room in the south (D) to which storage bins made of thin brick walls were later added.

A few remains of walls suggest that the building was enlarged to the east and west (A). Remains of yellow painted stucco were found in rooms A and C. In C an original black surface with red and white decoration was later painted black and still later plastered over, suggesting a long period of occupation. The sturdy walls of the building indicate that the

rooms were covered by brick vaults. Two vaults would have run north-south and two east-west. The roof of the central room was carried by a (wood?) column standing on a round limestone base. The column base was probably not found in situ (L7–8: 22, 207), unlike a stone container, filled with domestic rubbish, which was sunk into the floor (TC N-2879).

A smaller brick building, probably part of the later settlement, was built outside the brick enclosure against its eastern wall. It cuts deeply into the enclosure wall and must therefore have been added later.

UNDERGROUND APARTMENTS

(pls. 146b, 147, 149, 156b, 158)

In the 1906 season, the main shaft (pit 758) of the tomb complex was discovered in the western part of the chapel. The shaft was obviously reopened several times, not only by robbers but also by people who added side chambers to the original tomb.

Shaft

The seemingly small mouth of shaft 758 (.7 x 1.05 m) was found by the Egyptian Expedition covered with one or two densely fitted limestone slabs that gave the false impression of an original sealing. Since the tomb has no other entrance, and all burials—including the final ones of the Late Period¹⁵⁸—were found plundered, this mystifying covering can only have been put in place after the last robbery.

The upper two meters of the pit were lined with limestone blocks, beneath which the shaft widened to 1.50 x 1.70 m. According to the Expedition records (TC N-2898): "Near mouth of pit on surface a limestone shrine(?) lying on its back, face up, face covered with white cement." This shrine appears on photo L6–7: 612. The shrine may have been part of the funerary chapel of Senwosret, but it could also have belonged to an older building and been reused in the foundation of Senwosret's chapel.

The shaft was reported to descend to the amazing depth of "seventy feet" (21.34 m).¹⁵⁹ The nature of the lower end of the shaft, for example, whether it was unfinished, or unexcavated, was not recorded.

Among the objects found in the shaft were "half an alabaster kohl pot, fragments of a granite statue, and an obsidian eye pupil." Another tomb card (N-2898) lists the following: "Fragments of much rotted black granite, from a statue; Two grooved mauls—20 cm long each; Fragment red granite statue; Fragment relief, coloured 10 x 5 cm; Fragments of pottery including lip of bowl 20 cm dia; Torso granite statue in NE corner depth 18.05 m from curb, lying on back."

¹⁵⁸ A jar from one of these burials ([MMA 15.3.1332]) is dated by Dorothea Arnold to the Late Period.

¹⁵⁹ It is not known from which point the measurements were taken. The entrance into the east passage is said to be 21.50–21.75 m deep, while the south rooms were perhaps 20.75 m below the chapel level. This confusion means that the depth of the shaft indicated on plate 149 may be slightly incorrect.

Four openings branched off from the shaft. From top to bottom they are:

1. A rough opening seems to lead into a small pit on the west side. It is unclear whether this “small pit” is identical with a tomb sketched on TC N-2892, where it is called “758 second pit.” It consists of a 6.25 m long sloping passage ending with a pit of uncertain dimensions.¹⁶⁰

2. An upper north chamber was ca. 1.5 x 2 m and 80–90 cm high and contained three bodies (one male, two females). All were buried with their heads to the north and in anthropoid wood coffins. The chamber and its burials were certainly added later, but the date of the burials is not known.

3. A lower north chamber opens opposite the entrance into the main tomb and may have been used as a storage area during construction of the main tomb.

4. The entrance into the main tomb opens one meter above the bottom of the shaft in the south wall.

Tomb Chambers

(pls. 146b, 149, 156b, 158)

At the bottom of the main shaft was a passage that sloped slightly 5.8 m south and led into a 3.15 x 4.5 m first chamber. Besides two niches in the south wall, a sarcophagus pit measuring 1.20 x 2.70 m with a depth of 1.20 m was sunk into the floor of the chamber. The pit was large enough for a stone sarcophagus, but clearly it contained—in the Old Kingdom tradition—only a wood coffin. The chamber’s plan is rather similar to that of Mentuhotep at Lisht-South (see pp. 47–48), especially the arrangement of the two alcoves in the south wall. The crypt was enlarged to the west by the addition of a second chamber, which was 3.35 x 3.25 m and had a stone-cased sarcophagus chamber in the north wall.

The stone-cased sarcophagus chamber is 4.20 m long, 1.22 m wide, and 1.55 m high. The floor consists of eight slabs, the walls were cased with three courses of slabs, and the ceiling was made of eight slabs. The wall blocks still preserved an interesting system of setting marks, revealing the technical procedure of the tomb builders.¹⁶¹ The chamber walls were prefabricated, constructed aboveground, and inscribed with the setting marks, after which they were lowered into the shaft following a predetermined order and reassembled with the help of the setting marks. The end wall has preserved rows of black measuring strokes made for dressing the surface.

The limited space of the chamber would not have permitted the handling of a sarcophagus lid. One has to assume that the burial was carried out in the following steps:

1. Mummy, wood coffin, and canopic chest were lowered into the shaft in an upright position¹⁶² and, with the mummy probably carried on a bier, transported to the room in front of the stone-cased chamber.

2. The mummy was placed in the wood coffin, and the lid closed.

3. The canopic chest was pushed into the stone-cased chamber.

4. The coffin was pushed in.

5. The front of the chamber was sealed with three limestone slabs.

6. Funerary offerings were deposited in front of the limestone slabs, where excavators found masses of potsherds and a cow femur from a food offering. Some potsherds were used by the plasterers who sealed the chamber.

The entrance to the chamber was opened by thieves who left only the lowermost of three blocking stones in position. Marks of decayed wood seen in the stone-cased chamber probably originated from the wood coffin.

SENEBTISI BURIAL

(pls. 147–148, 156a, 157)

A shaft between the brick building and the pillared court of the cult chapel contained the burial of the lady Senebtisi (pit 763). The main importance of the burial was its nearly complete state of preservation, which prompted a splendid publication by Arthur Mace and Herbert Winlock. This outstanding book has set the standard for tomb publications and has become a much-used reference work on classical burials of the Middle Kingdom. Winlock noted that “One of the most surprising things about this burial, in view of the value of the objects which it contained, was the cheapness of the tomb itself.”¹⁶³ The 1.38 x 2.8 m east-west-oriented shaft was certainly dug from the level of the court surface of the Senwosret tomb, that is, after the construction of the court. One can conclude from the only existing photo showing the location of the shaft (L7–8: 170) that the tomb was built in a careful way, respecting the arrangement of the surrounding architecture, but the photo does not indicate whether the shaft was planned from the beginning or cut into an already existing brick floor. The mouth of the shaft was lined with bricks (L7–8: 170, 242) covered with a heavy coating of plaster. The shaft, only 6.85 m deep, terminated in a roughly cut, irregular shallow cavity comprising a square entrance space and an elongated section for the coffin behind, altogether a length of about six meters.

The burial outfit was so rich that it might be assumed that Senebtisi was the wife of the owner of the main tomb, Senwosret. It could also be that elaborate burial outfits were more common in the Twelfth Dynasty and that their almost total destruction distorts our picture of grave goods during this time. We are unable to decide, however, whether her shaft was built together with the mastaba complex, or whether it was added much later. If there is a chronological relationship with the main tomb, not only her burial but also the entire tomb complex of Senwosret would have to be dated to the later part of the Twelfth Dynasty, which is contradicted by the style of the wall reliefs of the cult building.

According to Winlock, “The upper part of the pit-filling consisted of rubbish and blown sand, and in the mouth of the pit, about a meter below the surface, there were the broken remains of two or three wooden statuettes, which had been thrown out by plunderers from a neighboring grave.”¹⁶⁴ Strangely enough, he neglects to mention the main find, the famous head of a woman wearing a heavy wig adorned with

¹⁶⁰ TC N-2893 lists numerous finds in blue glaze from a “small pit.”

¹⁶¹ See F. Arnold, *The Control Notes and Team Marks*, pp. 34–35, fig. 2, pls. 1b, 13. The wall blocks of crypt 306 at Riqqa seem to have been numbered in a similar way; see Reginald Engelbach, *Riqqa and Memphis VI*, British School of Archaeology and Egyptian Research Account, Nineteenth Year, 1913 (London, 1915), p. 9, pls. 3[2], 4.

¹⁶² Many shafts are so narrow that the mummy had to be lowered upright and inserted in its wood coffin in the burial chamber.

¹⁶³ Mace and Winlock, *The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht*, p. 8 (see note 1).

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

tiny gold squares, a marvelous piece of wood carving that is featured in every book on Middle Kingdom art.¹⁶⁵ Since the head represents the style of the middle Twelfth Dynasty, it may have had no connection with the burial of Senebtisi, but may have originated from the cult chapel of Senwosret and been thrown into the half-open Senebtisi shaft. Farther down in the fill were the remains of a wood box, which probably once contained a wig.

SHAFT 805

(pl. 147)

The north court contained eleven burial shafts of square and rectangular plan, which were certainly added from the late Twelfth Dynasty onward. Since one shaft, no. 805, was located half inside the court and half under the northern section of the paneled east enclosure wall, it seems to have been dug before the wall was built. The excavators recorded the following comments (TC N-3382): "The pit seems to be contemporary with mastaba: it was open at the time of the mastaba erection because the mastaba foundation is plumb with S wall and the facing of the foundation and the brick work received a uniform coat of plaster and plugging; the brick curb of the pit is earlier than mastaba + enclosure wall. The pit was at least started before erection of mastaba + enclosure wall, but it may have been unfinished and may have been open when mastaba was begun."

The correctness of this conclusion is supported by the section drawing of the shaft. The chamber contained two burials that were robbed in the New Kingdom period. According to Janine Bourriau, the date of the objects is consistent with burials from the period of Senwosret III to the middle of the reign of Amenemhat III, seemingly contradicting an early date for the tomb enclosure of Senwosret. The digging of the shaft, however, was not necessarily contemporary with the burial. Since the shaft must have been open when the enclosure wall was built, it was probably left unused. Undertakers may have rediscovered the unused pit at the end of the dynasty and buried two bodies in its chamber.

CANOPIC JAR OF AMENY

MMA o8.200.3

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hayes, *Scepter I*, p. 325

SOURCES: TC N-2909; L6-7: 621, 673, 685

The broken but complete alabaster canopic jar of a person named Ameny was found in the desert, 5 m west of the tomb enclosure of Senwosret. The vessel was inscribed in black ink with the name of Duamutef and its owner, "the Osiris Ameny." It is impossible to determine from which tomb the jar originated, but it certainly dates to an important Twelfth Dynasty burial in the area of the tomb complex of Senwosret. Photos L7-8: 162, 171, and 244 show that another larger tomb complex, with thick brick walls, lay along the western half of the south side of the Senwosret tomb enclosure. Only parts of

its north wall were exposed in 1907, and the tomb itself remained unexplored.¹⁶⁶ It could well be that this tomb complex belonged to Ameny.

Since canopic inscriptions rarely report the titles of the owner, we do not know who Ameny was, but, judging by the apparent importance of the tomb and the proximity to Senwosret, we may speculate that Ameny was a vizier of the period of Senwosret I and Amenemhat II to Senwosret II.¹⁶⁷

Tomb 954

(pls. 159-160)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *BMMA* 17 (Dec. 1922): 6-10

SOURCES:

AM 3202, 3222, and 3224 (plans 1:200)

TC N-3809-36 (burials only)

L21-22: 76-77, 90-91, 123-25, 128

EXCAVATION

Two rather large and similar tombs, 954 and 956, were found directly north of the construction ramp of the pyramid of Amenemhat I, apparently carefully lined up and neatly fitted into what may have been the northeast corner of the pyramid enclosure.¹⁶⁸ Tomb 956 was excavated by Gautier, and tomb 954 explored by the Egyptian Expedition in the 1921-22 season. Since both expeditions concentrated on the discovery of shafts, a study of the superstructure was not included. In spite of a detailed description of the burials in the preliminary report, the documentation remains scarce.

DATE

The date of tomb 954 is uncertain. At least one of the burials of the main shaft could be dated by Janine Bourriau into the early Twelfth Dynasty. Such a date would correspond with the location of the tomb, directly in front of the terrace of the pyramid, certainly a valued location that did not remain long unoccupied.

¹⁶⁵ JdE 39390. See *BMMA* 2 (Oct. 1907): 163, fig. 2; Mohamed Saleh and Hourig Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum Cairo* (Mainz, 1987), no. 89.

¹⁶⁶ The main shaft of the tomb may have been no. 604, one of the very few shafts of Lisht-North that were numbered; unfortunately it was not documented by the Egyptian Expedition.

¹⁶⁷ Obsomer, *Sésostri I^{er}*, pp. 193-97.

¹⁶⁸ Evidence of a pyramid enclosure wall in this part of the cemetery, as indicated on the old MMA plans, is purely hypothetical.

BRICK ENCLOSURE WALL

(pl. 160)

The tomb was surrounded by a 2.90 m thick brick enclosure wall, measuring 18.50 x 22.20 m. The enclosure was bounded by a steep slope in the north, where the heavy brick walls were best preserved, still standing several meters high in 1921–22. In the south, the preserved height of the walls decreased to about 1.5 m. The entrance would have been from the south or east, but no gap in the brickwork was recorded. One wonders whether the enclosure wall of this tomb (and of 956 as well) had a paneled exterior, but apparently no traces of it were seen. The excavators did not record any traces of an interior structure, such as a mastaba or cult chapel, which should have existed there.

UNDERGROUND APARTMENTS

(pl. 159c–e)

In the center of the north side of the enclosure was an unusually large shaft, 2.8 x 3 m, obviously made to accommodate a thick brick lining that would keep the desert sand from flowing down during construction work. After only 3 m this section of the shaft ended, and two openings were found at its bottom.

(a) A narrow passage in the southwest corner of the shaft sloped down at an acute angle and disappeared after a considerable distance in groundwater and could therefore not be further investigated. Since no chamber could be reached, this corridor was not recorded in the plan of the complex, and we do not know whether it was lined with limestone or dug into the *gebel*. We also do not know whether it was wide enough for the passage of a stone sarcophagus. The same shaft arrangement reappears in the tombs of Antefiker and Rehuerdjersen: a wide, vertical shaft passing through the unstable surface layers before making a sharp turn into a corridor. One can assume that corridor and the unexplored chamber were the original burial apartments of the tomb complex.

(b) At a later date another shaft was added to the east wall at the bottom of the vertical entrance shaft. This later shaft, drawn by the Egyptian Expedition, measured 1 x 2.15 m. It was 15.70 m deep and had six coffin niches on three different levels, altogether room for eighteen burials. The coffin niches were arranged in the peculiar star shape that was nonetheless typical of the communal tomb shafts of the Thirteenth Dynasty.¹⁶⁹ Groups of niches branched off from the short sides of the central shaft, three to the north and three to the south. The two upper levels of niches, at 10 and 13.50 m below ground, were labeled by the excavators as A–F and G–L, respectively. The blocking and burials of these two upper levels were still undisturbed, and the contents of the twelve burials deserve a study of their own. The six coffin niches at ground level remained unused.

Janine Bourriau assumes that burial M dates to the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty. Such an early date certainly corresponds to the construction of the main tomb, but the overall picture of the shaft—tombs arranged on several floors and in cubicles radiating from the shaft—suggests a later date, in

the Thirteenth Dynasty. The conflicting evidence concerning the date of the shaft and the burial awaits further study.

Tomb 956

(pl. 161)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gautier, *Licht*, p. 103

SOURCES:

AM 3202, 3222, and 3224 (plan 1:200)

There were no tomb cards.

No photos were taken, but the tomb is visible in the distance on L21–22: 124–25, 128.

EXCAVATION

The tomb was discovered by Gautier:

Au nord-est de la pyramide, dans une position symétrique à celle du tombeau d'Antef-Aker, devait exister un mastaba similaire; le puits seul en fut retrouvé; il avait les mêmes dimensions que celui du précédent et, comme lui, était à demi engagé sous un dallage. Ici encore le déblaiement en fut interrompu par l'invasion des eaux du sous-sol.

There were no plans or photos. Because Gautier had already excavated the shaft, the Egyptian Expedition did not return to the site except to draw a surface plan, which was unfortunate since the tomb seems to have been of greater importance and to represent a greater architectural outlay than tomb 954. A site photo shows in the background a big pile of limestone that may have been the stone core of mastaba 956.

BRICK ENCLOSURE WALL

The tomb was surrounded by a 3.30–3.40 m thick brick enclosure wall, measuring about 16 x 22.60 m. It must have been at least 6.30 m (12 cubits) high, unless it was a paneled wall of different proportions. Part of a sinoid brick wall was preserved along the eastern side, apparently marking the excavation pit for the enclosure wall. According to Gautier, the interior space was paved with limestone slabs.

SUPERSTRUCTURE

The western part of the interior was completely occupied by a stone building, which left only a 3.30 m wide passage along the east side. Whether the building—certainly a cult chapel—reached the north end of the interior is unclear.

¹⁶⁹ For parallels, see Arnold, *Senwosret I*, vol. 2, pp. 41–46, pls. 52–54, and Gautier, *Licht*, figs. 44–45, 98.

SHAFT

The shaft was in the northern part of the cult chapel, and Gautier could not excavate it completely because he seems to have reached the water table. The existing plan does not show whether the shaft was covered by the building or whether it was beyond its northern edge, in the court. The mouth of the pit was half covered by a stone slab. Beneath, the shaft is rectangular and measures about 1.30 x 3.20 m, wide enough for lowering both a stone sarcophagus and blocks for lining a burial chamber.

PART THREE

UNIDENTIFIED MIDDLE KINGDOM

TOMBS OF LISHT-NORTH

(pls. 125–126, 162–169)

During the excavations of the Egyptian Expedition a considerable number of relief blocks, fragments, and small shrines was found, either amid the debris outside specific tombs or reused in the settlement that later came to occupy the area. Judging from the format and quality of their decoration, the majority may have belonged to architecturally simple memorials erected above minor tomb shafts.¹⁷⁰ Quite a number of blocks, however, indicate that they originated from larger buildings. Most do not include the name of an owner, while a few contain a name that cannot be connected with a known tomb. The main examples are blocks with the names of Sehetepibreseneb, Sobeknakht, and Inherethetep. Since the blocks were probably not imported from another cemetery as building material, we must conclude that at least five major tombs at Lisht-North have not yet been found or excavated. The possibility of an unexcavated tomb complex south of the tomb of Senwosret certainly exists (see above p. 82).

This rich material—we are speaking of hundreds of fragments—may be mixed with fragments of reused Old Kingdom reliefs as well as with royal relief fragments from the pyramid complex of Amenemhat I, a situation that complicates our understanding of the material. Distinguishing between these groups requires serious future study.

Tomb of Sobeknakht

(pls. 162–164)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hayes, *Scepter I*, p. 178, fig. 109; Grajetzki, *Beamte*, p. 81

SOURCES: AM 228–29, 2568–69; L7–8: 526

Four relief blocks were found, in the 1907–8 season, reused in the stone-lined pit of tomb 614, off the southwest corner of the Senwosret tomb complex. The largest block preserved the name of the tomb owner: Sobeknakht. Judging from the dimensions and the high quality of the relief, the tomb must have been of some significance. The location of pit 614 suggests that the Sobeknakht tomb was located nearby, in an area that indeed seems to contain unexplored tomb structures.

OWNER

Sobeknakht served as a royal chief steward in the later part of the reign of Amenemhat I. He is known from a statue found in the Theban necropolis and a stela from Abydos.¹⁷¹

DATE

James Allen describes Sobeknakht's activities as follows:

Sebeknakht's construction of a mastaba near the pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht North dates his death to Amenemhat's third decade at the earliest, when construction of the pyramid itself was begun. The style of low relief used in this mastaba is quite similar to that of the pyramid chapel, which was carved during the same ten year period, and unlike the higher relief found in the pyramid temple of Senwosret I at Lisht South. Orthographic features of the inscriptions on Sebeknakht's monuments also point to a date in the earlier reign, though probably not as early as that of Tjebu. Sebeknakht therefore served as steward during the later years of Amenemhat I, perhaps as successor to Tjebu, and he died not later than Year 9 of Senwosret I, Amenemhat's Year 29. The apparent Theban origin of his statue suggests that he was in office during the second decade of Amenemhat I, before the transfer of the capital to Lisht.¹⁷²

Relief block with family of Sobeknakht (pls. 162–164a, b)

MMA 09.180.111

The block was found in the 1908–9 season in pit 614 north of the pyramid of Amenemhat I. The relief retains the lower end of three large-scale text columns with exquisitely executed hieroglyphs. Below are remains of two registers showing a procession of Sobeknakht's family members facing to the right, all in extremely fine and low-raised relief. The text columns preserve remains of Sobeknakht's titles. The main titles, at the top, are now lost, but the following remain:

1. //rt hrj-tp ꜥ3 n smrw "... chief of the friends"
2. //jmr-r pr wr "chief steward"

Dimensions: H. 125 cm; W. (restored) 40 cm

Relief block with female figure and child (pl. 164d)

Sources: L7–8: 528–29

Upper right corner of a block showing the torso of a woman and, in front of her, the head of a child facing left, followed by the inscription, "[his] beloved [wife] Dejet-nub." Behind the woman is the block border indicating the right end of the wall. There is little doubt that the piece is from the same tomb as blocks (a) and (c), probably from the right end of the same scene. It was left at Lisht, and its present location is unknown.

Dimensions: L. ca. 49 cm; H. 18 cm

¹⁷⁰ See TC N-706 to N-725.

¹⁷¹ Franke, *Personendaten*, dossier no. 567; Allen, "High Officials," p. 17.

¹⁷² Allen, "High Officials," p. 17.

Relief block with female figures (pl. 164c)

Sources: L7-8: 530

Upper left corner of a block, with the transition between two registers. In the upper register facing right are the legs of two women; the second woman has the epithet "possessor of honor." Below are the remains of inscriptions above two more figures facing right, which could be understood as "[his] beloved sister" and "[his] beloved father." At the left edge is the block border indicating the left end of the wall. The fragment seems to be the left continuation of the first block (above). The block was left at Lisht, and its present location is unknown.

Dimensions: L. ca. 59 cm; H. ca. 21 cm

Relief block with jar-filling scene (pls. 125-126)

MMA 16.3.1

The scene of the filling and sealing of wine jars was attributed for stylistic reasons to the tomb of Rehuerdjersen (pp. 66-67), but there is always the possibility that the block belonged to the tomb of Sobeknakht.

Tomb of Inherethetep

(pl. 165)

Sources: AM 240-41; L20-21: 322

OWNER

The existence of another, apparently major, tomb is suggested by a large inscribed block. The inscription gives the following titles of an Inherethetep. It should be kept in mind that several titles, probably important ones, at the top of the text columns are lost.

1. *h3tj*-^c "high official"
2. *hmuw ntr m* "[...] of the priests in [...]"
3. *hmtj-bjtj* "royal seal bearer"
4. *smr w^ctj* "sole companion"
5. *[jmtj-r] nwy* "[overseer of] a law-court"

Relief block with inscription and top of head of tomb owner

MMA 22.1.2

The block was found during the 1920-21 season, reused in the threshold of a door in a house west of the pyramid. The decoration shows the lower end of five text columns and the top of the head of the tomb owner wearing a diadem. Remains of a painted block border at the left side show that the piece was positioned at the left (west) end of the north wall of a cult chamber. The inscription ends with the name of the tomb owner, Inherethetep. The quality of the carving is very good. The large format of the representation and inscriptions, suggesting a correspondingly large tomb and chapel wall, also makes it difficult to understand how a structure of such dimensions could have escaped discovery. For this reason, the block was originally thought to be a reused Old Kingdom relief from another cemetery that offered more possibilities for lost tombs than the relatively well explored cemetery of Lisht-North. The style of the relief, however, suggests a Twelfth Dynasty date.

Dimensions: L. 104 cm; H. 57 cm

*Tomb of Sehetepibreseneb*BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gautier, *Licht*, p. 104, fig. 127; Hayes, *Scepter* I, p. 177

SOURCES:

TC N-707-9

L7-8: 18; L8-9: 16, 44; L12-13: 155; L13-14: 312, 321; L33-34: 262

Gautier (in 1895) and the original Expedition (the 1908-9 season) found at least five inscribed limestone blocks originating from the tomb of a Sehetepibreseneb with the priestly title *w3b*. One block came to The Metropolitan Museum of Art ([09.180.2564]); the whereabouts of the other four blocks are unknown, as is the location of the tomb. For provenance we only have Hayes's report:

Between the tombs of In-yotef-okre and Nakhte, and probably associated in some way with the latter, lay a small tomb chapel built for a man named Sehetep-yeb-Re-sonbe, whose official title is not known. Included among the architectural elements from this little building is a limestone doorjamb bearing, in three columns of incised hieroglyphs, an excerpt from the Pyramid Texts . . .

Since the tombs of Antefiker and Nakht directly adjoin each other, the missing tomb cannot have been in the location suggested by Hayes, but was instead either east of the tomb of Antefiker or in the northern court of the Nakht complex. On the other hand, some blocks were found farther away. One therefore wonders whether Hayes's description can be used to locate the original building.

The fragments suggest a small funerary chapel, in which the north and south walls were decorated with a representation of Sehetepibreseneb sitting at the offering table. Three blocks inscribed with vertical text columns seem to have been part of a door inscription. Since they all face right, one would expect that they belong to the same door post. All three, however, have different numbers of text columns (2, 3, or 4), while two of the blocks differ stylistically.

Since James P. Allen will publish all the blocks in detail in his forthcoming book on the religious texts from Lisht, they are not discussed or illustrated here.

Anonymous Tomb

(pls. 166-169)

Sources: TC N-2195

A group of six blocks with scenes and inscriptions in sunk relief certainly originated from the same tomb, probably from the same wall. They were found around the tomb of Nakht, in pit 480,¹⁷³ and reused in a house north of the pyramid temple. This wide range of find spots does not allow us to offer any suggestion regarding the original location of the tomb, though the small format of the decoration and the weak composition suggest that the tomb was a modest structure, probably only a small chapel. The execution of the figures is not done without skill, however, and shows the individual, slightly peculiar, style of the sculptor. All the blocks

¹⁷³ Pit 480 is located at the northeast corner of the forecourt of the tomb. A detailed map with all known shaft and pit numbers will appear in Janine Bourriau (forthcoming).

are part of the representation of a funerary meal with the family members of the deceased. The reliefs date presumably to the Thirteenth Dynasty.

Relief block with tomb owner and family members
(pl. 166)

MMA 15.3.1141

Sources: AM 3628 A-B; L13-14: 289-90

The block, found in pit 480, shows the tomb owner leaning on a staff while facing right, watching family members who kneel in two registers to the right.

Dimensions: H. 46 cm; W. 78 cm

Relief block with kneeling men and women (pl. 167b)

[MMA 15.3.1142], now Montreal Museum of Fine Arts

Sources: L13-14: 325

The block is broken in two. It shows remains of two registers of kneeling men and women arranged in groups facing each other.

Dimensions: H. 59 cm; W. 43 cm

Relief block with funeral meal (pl. 167a)

[MMA 15.3.1143], now Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington, 58.25

Sources: L13-14: 291

Scenes of a funerary repast are shown in two registers. Above, a person seated in a carrying chair(?) is presented with flowers and birds by three small figures. Below, two men and a woman face each other. The block was found in pit 480.

Dimensions: H. 65 cm; W. 46 cm

Relief block with male figure and inscription (pl. 168b)

[MMA 22.1.8]

Sources: L20-21: 255 and MMA photo 59654

A block, half the size of the previous ones, shows a man in a long dress facing left and holding an ointment vessel. Behind him are two text columns facing right. The block was found in the debris west of the pyramid.

Dimensions: H. 48 cm; W. 38 cm

Relief fragments with seated tomb owner (pl. 168a)

[MMA 22.1.10a,b]

Bibliography: Hayes, *Scepter I*, p. 68

Sources: L20-21: 238 and MMA photo 63643

Two fragments, when fitted together, show the seated tomb owner facing right and holding a staff. The fragments were found west of the tomb of Rehuerdjersen.

Relief block with family members (pl. 169)

Sources: TC N-718-21; L21-22: 206-7; L33-34: 254

The relief shows more family members arranged in two registers, each topped by two horizontal text lines. In the upper register kneel three ladies, facing right; in the lower register are several squatting men, also facing right. Each figure is labeled with a short text of two horizontal lines. On the left short edge of the block are parts of two text columns,¹⁷⁴ indicating that the stone originates from a left-hand corner or door frame (seen from outside) or from the entrance wall into the cult chamber. The block was reused in a house north of the pyramid temple as a doorsill, as can be seen from the roughly cut hole for the pole shoe and the socket of the door frame. The texts were copied and translated on TC N-720-21. It is hard to believe that this interesting block was not brought to the Museum, but was apparently left at Lisht. Its present location is unknown.

Dimensions: L. 69 cm; Th. 14 cm

Anonymous Tomb Mentioning Senwosretankh

(pl. 170)

OWNER

In the 1908-9 season a relief block was discovered "near the top of the causeway" to the mortuary temple of Amenemhat I. It is included here because it depicts the figure of a person named Senwosretankh with remains of the inscription "son of the king's body." Despite lack of supporting evidence, this Senwosretankh could be identical with the famous owner of the huge tomb complex at Lisht-South (p. 13), although he is not called the king's son in his tomb there.

The small size of the relief suggests an origin in a private tomb, either one not yet discovered, like those of Sobeknakht and Inherethetep, or from one of the identified tombs, such as that of Antefiker or Nakht. Stylistically Sobeknakht is closest to the Senwosretankh block. It is possible, however, because of its find spot, that the relief was part of the pyramid temple of Amenemhat I, rebuilt in its final phases under Senwosret I. Because the relief shows the king's son as an adult, one could conclude that the pyramid temple was not built before the middle of the reign of Senwosret I.¹⁷⁵ Still, the question remains why a son of Senwosret I would have been depicted in the pyramid temple of Amenemhat I.

Relief block with figure of Senwosretankh (pl. 170)

MMA 09.180.125

Bibliography: Hayes, *Scepter I*, p. 173

Sources: L7-8: 520

The block shows Senwosretankh with the inscription "son of the king's body." In the incomplete register above are the remains of another kneeling person with the name of ///-*ḥnh* who—according to the remains of the words "///of his body"—would have been another royal child. Senwosretankh kneels, with his left arm elevated in the gesture of devotion, as if in front of the honored person, certainly his father.¹⁷⁶ The black and red ground lines show that the scene was located above the wall base. Remains of color are preserved in several areas. The background was a light bluish gray. The male figures have the usual colors: red, white, and black with a green collar. The cartouche was white inside framed with green, the ♀ and △ were blue, the ⊙ green. A thief tried in ancient times to chisel out the goose hieroglyph to the right of the cartouche, an example of the ancient "antiquities' trade." The block has a masonry edge at the left side.

Dimensions: Maximum H. 38.5 cm; maximum W. 32.5 cm. Distance between the two ground lines is 23.7 cm.

¹⁷⁴ To be published by James Allen.

¹⁷⁵ Blocks showing Senwosret I together with Amenemhat I were buried in the foundations of the later phase of the pyramid temple, suggesting construction work during the coregency of the two kings. See Gautier, *Licht*, pp. 96-97, figs. 111-13; *BMAA* 16, pt. 2 (1920-21): 6; Obsomer, *Sésostris I^{er}*, pp. 88-94.

¹⁷⁶ According to Adela Oppenheim, a piece from a similar scene was found southwest of the pyramid of Senwosret III (Dahshur reg. nos. 94.54+94.323).

LIST OF TOMBS

LISHT-SOUTH

Tomb of Senwosretankh	Sen. I – Am. II	pp. 13–24
Tomb of Senwosret	Sen. I – Am. II	pp. 24–26
Grand North Mastaba	Sen. I – Am. II	pp. 26–30
French Tomb	Sen. III	pp. 31–32
Tomb of Imhotep	Late Sen. I – Sen. II	pp. 33–38
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South- <i>Khor</i> Tomb A	?	pp. 50–51
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Tomb A (South Area)	?	pp. 51–52
Tomb B of Djehuty (South Area)	Sen. I (late) – Am. II	pp. 52–54
Tomb C of Ip/// (South Area)	Sen. I (early)	pp. 55–57
Tomb D (South Area)	Sen. I	pp. 57–58
Tomb F (South Area)	Sen. I	p. 58
Tomb of Sehetepibreankh	Am. II	pp. 58–60
East Tomb Enclosure	Late 12th, early 13th Dyn.	pp. 61–62

LISHT-NORTH

Tomb 384 of Rehuerdjersen	Am. I	pp. 63–69
Tomb 400 of Antefiker	Am. I – Sen. I	pp. 69–71
Tomb 470	Am. I – Sen. I	pp. 71–72
Tomb 493 of Nakht	Am. I – Sen. I	pp. 72–77
Tomb 758 of Senwosret	Am. II – Sen. II	pp. 77–82
Tomb 954	Am. I	pp. 82–83
Tomb 956	?	pp. 83–84
Tomb of Sobeknakht	?	pp. 85–86
Tomb of Inherethetep	?	p. 86
Tomb of Sehetepibreseneb	?	p. 86
Anonymous Tombs	?	pp. 86–87

APPENDIX

THE BIOGRAPHICAL INSCRIPTION FROM THE MASTABA OF INTEF(?)

by James P. Allen

The fragments of text on plates 33–34 belong to one or two biographical inscriptions that were carved on the façade of the mastaba (see p. 28). Tomb Cards (1170–73) indicate that the fragments are of two different styles, one rather shallowly incised, the other more deeply. For the purposes of discussion, the shallowly incised fragments are designated here as Text A and the others as Text B. The former consists of the upper group of nine columns on plate 33, the thirteen fragments at the top of plate 34 (a–m), and the fragment at the lower right of plate 34 (s); the remaining pieces on plates 33–34 belong to Text B.¹

Although the two different styles of carving suggest that the fragments come from separate texts, it is also possible that they were part of a single text carved by different sculptors.² The two large groups can in fact be read as a single autobiographical inscription, with Text A preceding Text B. The order is suggested by the preserved text in the first four columns of the large group of Text A, which describes the beginning of the deceased's career. The uninscribed area to the right of the large group of Text B may indicate that this piece came from the left side of an opening, presumably that of one of the two cult niches on the mastaba's east side (see p. 28). Text A would then have stood on the righthand side, and the different styles of carving reflect the work of two sculptors working on opposite sides of the opening.

TEXT A: THE LARGE GROUP

(pl. 33, upper right)

1. . . .] *nb šp[s]w* [. . .] *s mn* [. . .
 2. . . . *wn*.] *j m hwn-t3z-mdh dj.n w(j)* [. . .
 3. . . .] *hn m3.j n qbh njs (j)t*.] *j* . . .
 4. . . . *h3b*]-*sd jst w(j) m rnpwt 1[+x* . . .
 5. . . .] *nb n pr-(n)swt jr mnw nb jrrw nswt* [. . .
 6. . . .] *tjw.t j pw gs.j pw mnt jm* [. . .
 7. . . .] *whm.n.f pw ddt.f nwdt b3q-(n)swt m3t nb d(w)* [*nb* . . .
 8. . . .] *h3w sšrw nb hwt.f hr.f q zrh mn* [. . .
 9. . . .] *f wd[b] j[m] n b3wj s* [. . .
1. . . .] every fine . . . (grain) [. . .
 2. . . . when] I [was] a child-who-tied-on-the-headband, [. . .] made me [. . .
 3. . . .] ordain that I look at death. [My] father was summoned [. . .
 4. . . .] Sed-festival when I was 1+x years (of age) [. . .
 5. . . .] every [. . .] of the king's house. As for all the monuments that the king makes [. . .
 6. . . .] it is my . . . s. What remains there is my half [. . .
 7. . . .] it means that he has repeated what he gives: the pressing of oil from the king's moringa, every granite vessel, [every] *d(w)*-vessel [. . .

8. . . .] thousands of all kinds of linen. His fires are with him. When the repelled one enters [. . .

9. . . .] his [. . .], which reverted thereby to the Coptite nome [. . .

Notes to the Translation

1. The first preserved word was almost certainly a kind of grain, but the identity of the sign above the “grain” determinative is unclear; it is not *f* or *r*. For *špsw* “fine” modifying plants, see *Wb.* IV, 447, 2–3. The sign following *nb* is the “seated dignitary” (A 50) of *špsw*. The damaged area below it most likely contained a *p* centered in the column; in the group following, an *s* or *sw*-sign stood before the quail-chick; and the lost half group below this may have contained plural strokes. The last two preserved signs are a “tall *s*” at the left of the column and a *mn*-sign at the end.

2. The tall sign to the right of the seated child is the “head-band” *mdh*: see the determinative in *Wb.* II, 189, 11. The partially-preserved sign at the end is not *mw*.³ It looks like a *g* but is rather small for that sign; it may be the top of some vertical sign. In any case, it is undoubtedly the first sign of the nominal subject of *dj.n*. The sentence evidently indicated the first office to which the tomb owner was appointed; for *rdj* in this meaning, see *Wb.* II, 467, 26.

3. The sign to the right of the *h* looks like *p*, but there seems to be no known word that suits the grouping: a sign must have stood above the *p*; *ph* “reach” seems impossible. The context suggests *hn* “ordain,” with the trace before *h* being the bottom of the *hn*-sign (V 36), although the arrangement is somewhat irregular. The word following is *m3.j* “that I see” (cf. *Wb.* III, 101, 13): the trace above the reed-leaf of the suffix pronoun is not the tip of the *m3*-hoe but the right side of the eye-sign; for *m3 n* “look at,” see *Wb.* II, 9, 2. The object of the preposition is clearly the infinitive of *qbh* “die” (*Wb.* IV, 30, 11). There is a trace of the head of the “seated dignitary” (A 50) at the end, indicating that the two preceding signs are part of the word *tj* “father.” The passage as a whole seems to record the tomb owner's early experience of a death “ordained” by some god: perhaps that of his father, although the use of the passive *njs* “was summoned”—evidently to the presence of the gods—seems to be unparalleled in this context.

4. This passage clearly refers to the celebration of a Sed-festival during the tomb owner's youth. There is a trace of one

¹ The fragments on pl. 34 are referred to as *a* through *v*, beginning at the top of the plate and reading from right to left. Fragments *a*–*k*, *n*–*o*, *q*, and *u*–*v* were transcribed by W. C. Hayes, TC 1172–73. Hayes transcribed frag. *r* together with the smaller fragments of Text A on TC 1173, but it displays the deeper carving of Text B.

² See Pascal Vernus, “Un edifice cultuel *hwt km wr*,” *GM* 13 (1974): 36; W. K. Simpson, “Sesostris I.,” *LÄ* 5 (1984): 896.

³ Pace Elisa Fiore-Marochetti, “Un frammento di iscrizione proveniente dalla grande ‘Mastaba du Nord’ a el-Lisht,” *Vicino Oriente* 11 (1998): 123.

stroke at the right of the column below the *m npt* group, almost certainly part of a numeral designating the tomb owner's age at the time; the *npt*-sign has three projections instead of the usual one, perhaps for the plural *npt*. The numeral must have been at least "3" or "4" and could have been as much as "9"; a number between 4 and 9 seems likeliest. The chronological implications of this passage and the identity of the king whose Sed-festival it mentions are discussed at the end of this appendix.

5. The signs between the *j* of *jr* and the word *jrww* are now lost but were recorded by Gautier (*Licht*, fig. 75); a trace of the right side of the eye-sign and *r* of *jrww* remain.

6. The identity of the three signs below the first group, and therefore that of the word they determine, is unclear. The first group probably represents the last consonants of the word, and can be read either *tjt* or *tjtj*; the top right sign could also be *km* rather than *t*—i.e., *kmjt* or *kmjtj*: for the *km* sign, see col. 3 of the large group of Text B. The signs below *pw* are now lost but were recorded by Gautier (*Licht*, fig. 75); a trace of the *p* of the first *pw* remains. The passage may refer to the tomb owner's assumption of his inheritance; if so, the uncertain initial word may be a synonym of *gs* "half."

7. There is a clear trace of the hoof of the *whm*-sign at the top right of the column. The space to its left was undoubtedly occupied either by a complementary *m* or by *m* above a *t*. In the latter case, the sentence would read "what he gives is what he has repeated (*whmt.n.f*)," which seems less probable than the reading adopted above. The reading of the tree-sign in the group after *mudt* is uncertain; *b3q* "moringa" seems likeliest, since oil from this tree is well attested (*Wb.* I, 424, 5–9). The final jar-sign in the column, now lost, was recorded by Gautier (*Licht*, fig. 75); with the preceding sign, this probably represented a spelling of the word *dw*, a kind of vessel (*Wb.* V, 549, 24). The sense of the passage as a whole is obscure.

8. The first group seems to represent *h3w* "thousands" rather than the end of a word determined by the three bag-signs, since the *Wb.* contains no obvious candidate for the latter. The last two signs are now lost but were recorded by Gautier (*Licht*, fig. 75). The first of these seems to be a determinative of the preceding word, which is apparently a variant arrangement of *hsr* "repel" (*Wb.* III, 338). The passage as a whole may describe tribute given to the king and his actions against an enemy; in the sentence (or clause) *hwt.f hr.f* "his fires are with him," the first pronoun may refer to the king and the second to the enemy. This could reflect the early Twelfth Dynasty policy against Asiatic incursions into the Delta.

9. The word after the initial suffix pronoun word is clearly a form of *wdbj* "revert, return." The traces below the following *n* are those of a bird above some object; a form of the double-falcon standard representing the name of the Coptite nome seems likeliest.⁴ It is tempting to read the reed-leaf after *wdb* as part of the group used in this text for the first-person suffix pronoun, yielding "that I return," possibly after a verb such as [*wḏ.n*].*f* "he commanded," but *wdb* "return (to a place)" is construed with *hr* rather than *n* (*Wb.* I, 408, 3). The passage therefore probably describes the "reversion" of something—[...].*f* "his [...]"—"to the Coptite nome" (for *wdbj n*, see Pyr. 1908b *wdb n.k* "wt.k" "your limbs have reverted to you"). The group with the initial reed-leaf is then perhaps the adverb *j[m]* "thereby" or *j[r(j)]* "thereof," although the sense of either of these is unclear.

TEXT A: THE SMALLER FRAGMENTS

(pl. 34, a–m and s)

a. The first column contains an *n* and, below it to the left, a vertical with curved top, which may be the "rush with shoots" (M 22): read perhaps *n [n]n* "to those." The second column preserves part of a compound expression *nw[...]-ntr*, possibly *nw[d]-ntr* "god's oil"; if so, this may belong to col. 7 of the larger group. At the top are two fairly widely spread legs with feet, probably of a bird.

b. The initial traces seem to be those of the scribe's kit (Y 3–4). With the following group it may represent the title *zh3 tm3* "cadastral-scribe" (with the sign on the left representing a box used to store cadastral records), or perhaps part of the word *tmst*, referring to some "red" object. The two final signs are those of the participle or relative form *dd*.

c. The first column preserves the tails of two birds, probably *wr* and *z3*; the second, the signs for *s*, *n*, and *q*.

d. This fragment comes from the left side of a block. The first column contains the plural address *m.jn [...].s mmṯ [...]* "Look, its [...] is among [...]" In the second are a centered quail-chick followed by the *šms*-sign, probably in a group with [*s*]. After a gap of half a group are the right tips of the eye and *n*, probably reading *jr.n* or *jr n*, since the gap is not large enough for the *m3*-hoe.

e. Only the righthand column is preserved. It shows the word *st*, with the determinative of a portable seat (Q 2), followed by the top of the double-crown (S 5 or 6).

f. The first column reads *m ht hm.[f]* "in the following of [His] Incarnation." According to Hayes's drawing, the top of the second column preserves the bottom of a "dotted h" sign, on the right, with a small ^c-arm to its left. Next to the clear *m* in the following group Hayes shows the ^c*h*-sign (T 24), and the signs at the end read *n.j*. It is tempting to take the top two signs as part of the verb or noun ^c*h* "net," but this is impossible with the intervening *m*. Read perhaps *h[n]^c m^c h.n.j* "therewith [*Wb.* III, 111, 5], as one that I have netted," taking the ^c*h*-sign as an ideogram.

g. In the righthand column are the feet of a centered *m*, the negative arms, and the man with hand to mouth at the left of the column. These may represent a form of the verb *hm* "not know"—perhaps [*h*]*m[t.n ...]* "which [...] does not know"—or the negative imperative *m [wnm]* "don't eat." The lefthand column preserves the *hm*-sign and sitting man (A 3) of the verb *hm[s]* "sit, dwell."

h. Only a single reed-leaf is preserved.

i. Although it is not evident from the photograph, Hayes's drawing shows the signs *n.f*.

j. This fragment comes from the bottom of a block. In the first column is the word *nfrw* "beauty, perfection."

k. The word *hm.f* "His Incarnation" is preserved, followed by the "flat *m*."

l. The first column shows the centered signs *m*, negative arms, and *t3*: read *m t3j* "don't take," *m t3w* "don't steal," or *m t3 [jb]* "don't be presumptuous" (*Wb.* V, 342, 8). The second column preserves the word *mdt* "speech," with bookroll determinative.

⁴ See Henry George Fischer, *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome, Dynasties VI–XI* (Rome, 1964), 45–46.

m. The signs for *t* and *n* are visible with a rectangular sign between them, either *š* or the canal determinative (N 36). At the bottom is the top of another rectangular sign.

s. This fragment comes from the right side of a block. The first column preserves the ideograms or determinatives of the word *m3jw* “lions” at the top. Below are the consonantal signs *mšt* and two of three triangular garments with ties. This may be the same word as *mšt* in Percy E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, part II (London, 1894), pl. 7 (top register, fourteenth man from the left), apparently a kind of tasseled garment (*Wb.* II, 158, 11). The second column shows the end of the word *špsw* “noble” and the beginning of a clause *jw c b. [n ...]* “[...] has assembled [...]].”

Discussion

A few of these fragments preserve what is obviously a direct address: *m.tn* “look” (d), *m t3* “don’t take/steal/be presumptuous” (l), and perhaps *m [wnm]* “don’t eat” (g). The lack of context makes it difficult to determine their relationship to the rest of the biographical inscription of Text A. The text of fragment l seems to be part of an instruction of some sort, and this could suit the other two fragments as well. If so, it might belong with the text in cols. 5–8 of the larger group, although the latter is more likely part of the autobiographical narrative. As it is addressed to more than one person (frag. d), it is not an instruction received by the tomb owner from his father. Instead, it may be the speech of a king to his court, perhaps at the end of Text A (see the Analysis at the end of this appendix).

TEXT B: THE LARGE GROUP

(pl. 33, lower left)

1. ... *rn.f z3 s^ch pw n t3 šm^cw ms pw [n ...]*
2. ... *] n mrwt sqd.s hmst. [j ...]*
3. ... *m3t rn.f m] htm-[...] m s^ch^c htm-km-wr m dp p m3t rn.f m htm-[...]*
4. ... *m] (n)swt bjt zm3.n.f t3wj qd htm m jnb-hd m3t rn.f htm-m3[3wtj]-r^c [...]*
5. ... *] m (n)swt bjt zm3.n.f t3wj qd htm m mdnjt m jmnt nw[t m3t rn.f m ...]*
6. ... *] w^c wr hb hr(j) tp n h^cw-bjt (j)m(j) r zš[wj ...]*
7. ... *] hr(j)-[tp]-(n)sw sdm sdm^c w^c hrw whm-mswt [...]*
8. ... *] s tjf [...]*

1. ...] whose name is [...]. He is the son of a man of privilege of the Nile-Valley land, he is the child [of ...]

2. ...] for the sake of having it built. [My] place [...]

3. ... whose name was published as] Fortified Enclosure of [...] when the Fortified Enclosure of the Great Black in Dep-Pe was erected, whose name was published as Fortified Enclosure of [...]

4. ... When Horus X appeared as] Dual King and united the Two Lands, there was built a fortified enclosure in the White-Wall nome, whose name was published as Fortified Enclosure of the Sun’s Eye[s ...]

5. ... When Horus Y appeared] as Dual King and united the Two Lands, there was built a fortified enclosure in the Oxyrhynchite nome to the west of the flood(land), [whose name was published as ...]

6. ... appointed me as [...], unique [...], chief of the catch,

head of the hereditary king’s boat, overseer of the [two] marshes [...]

7. ...] king’s familiar, sole judge, [... of the ... of] Horus Repeating Birth [...]

8. ...] it [...]

Notes to the Translation

1. The uninscribed area to its right indicates that this column is the first of Text B. The independent sentences *z3 s^ch pw n t3 šm^cw* and *ms pw [n ...]* do not suit the usual string of clauses with participles or relative forms modifying the deceased’s name at the beginning of an autobiographical inscription. Instead, they seem to be part of an address describing someone to someone else—in the context, perhaps recommending the tomb owner to the king for the task described in col. 2.⁵ The initial *f* in the column probably belongs to the phrase *N rn.f* “whose name is N.”

2. The first-person narrative probably resumes in this column, although the reading is not quite certain. The expression following the “seated dignitary” determinative (A 50) could be the epithet *n(j) mrwt* “worthy of love,” but the text following seems impossible to read as participial epithets of the tomb owner. More likely, *n mrwt* is the prepositional phrase meaning “for the sake of,” governing the passive *sqd.s*.⁶ The final word is almost certainly the noun *hmst*, perhaps referring to the deceased’s “place at court.”⁷

3. This is the first of three similar passages (cols. 3–5) that describe building activities. The top of the column preserves the lower left side of a large crenellated wall such as that surrounding the name *km wr* just below and the name at the bottom of col. 4 (not the smaller horizontal ideogram that follows *qd* in cols. 4–5). The latter name suggests that the text lost above was probably the same as that preceding the structures named at the bottom of col. 3 and in col. 4. If so, the prepositional phrase *m s^ch^c* cannot specify the preceding clause but must be additional to it; *s^ch^c* is probably the infinitive (literally, “in the erection”). The name following has been read as *hwt km-wr*,⁸ but the pronoun of the following *rn.f* points to a masculine referent such as *htm* “fortified enclosure.” The same reading applies to the ideogram following *qd* in cols. 4–5. At the bottom of the column is the top of a crenellated wall that surrounded the name of the structure.

4. The second *t* of *[(n)swt-bj]t* is preserved above the *zm3-t3wj* sign, as in col. 5. The lost text above probably contained a phrase such as *h^c.n hrw X m* “when Horus X appeared as.” The verb *qd* here and in col. 5 is probably the passive *sdm.f* rather than the active with unwritten first-person subject, because the first-person suffix pronoun is regularly written out (with reed-leaf plus seated man) in this inscription. Although the tomb owner undoubtedly directed the building activities in question, the passive is used either out of decorum

⁵ Cf. the introduction to the Prophecy of Neferti: “And they said before His Incarnation, lph: There is a chief lector-priest of Bastet, sovereign our lord, named Neferti. He is a man of the gentry who is brave of arm, a scribe skilled of fingers”: Wolfgang Helck, *Die Prophezeiung des Nfr.tj* (2nd ed.) (Wiesbaden, 1992), 12.

⁶ Alan Henderson Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs* (3rd ed.) (Oxford, 1957), §181.

⁷ *Wb.* III, 99, 3. The space at the lower right of the group, under the *hm* sign, may have been occupied by a *t*.

⁸ Vernus, “Un edifice cultuel,” 31–36.

(acknowledging the king as builder) or because the tomb owner did not actually “build” the structures himself.⁹

5. The tip of the knife-sign used in the ideogram for the Oxyrhynchite nome, *mdnjt*, and the base of the standard are preserved on either side of the break in the column. The prepositional phrase *m jmnt nw[t]* must be a further specification of the structure’s location rather than an additional locale; *nw[t]* “flood” (*Wb.* II, 221, 14) evidently refers here to the western limit of the annual inundation. Below this phrase, the preserved empty space at the right of the column suits the *m3*-hoe of the phrase *m3t m.f m* “whose name was published as,” as in the two preceding columns.

6. This column and the next evidently describe the tomb owner’s promotion to additional offices. The trace at the top is probably that of the modifier *w^c* “unique,” as in the column to the left. For the titles *wr h3b* “chief of the catch” and *jmj-r zš* “overseer of marshland,” see William A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* (Beirut, 1982), nos. 726 and 350; for *hrj tp n h^cw-bjt* “head of the hereditary king’s boat,” see Henry George Fischer, *Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom, a Supplement to Wm. Ward’s Index* (New York, 1985), no. 1074b. These titles all refer to the royal hunt in the marshes.

7. The Horus name of Amenemhat I here is apparently in honorific transposition, either as part of another title or as the initial or preposed subject of a following verb form.

TEXT B: THE SMALLER FRAGMENTS

(pl. 34, frags. n–r and t–v)

n. The preserved signs in the righthand column are two of three vertical bookrolls (without ties) over an *n*.

o. Hayes notes that this fragment displays a horizontal line “apparently separating two registers” (TC 1172). Since no evidence exists elsewhere that Text B (or Text A) was divided into registers, this fragment may come from a separate inscription, deeply carved like Text B. Alternatively, and more likely, it belongs to a part of Text B that stood below an upper register containing an image of the tomb owner. In that case, it probably belongs to the left end of the inscription, near the end of the autobiographical text. The first column contains the end of an *f* above the sign of a seated dignitary. As Hayes surmised, this may be the end of the tomb owner’s name, perhaps *[jn-t].f* “Intef.” If the horizontal register line extended across this column, the name must have spanned two columns, with *[jn]* at the bottom of the preceding column: there would have been room only for a small sign such as *t* above the *f* in this column. It is also possible, however, that the upper register began to the left of this column. Column 2 contains the word *h* “net”; Hayes recorded a trace of the forward horn of an *f*-snake below it, yielding the phrase *h.f* “his net” or “that he might net.”

p. Only the trace of a *sw*-sign is visible at the right of the column, in a group probably with either complementary *w* or the *t* and *n* of *nswt* “king.”

q. This fragment preserves the right side of a standard on which sits a horizontal above a convex curve (like the sail of the *t3w*-sign). It may be a variant form of the ideogram for the third Upper Egyptian nome, *nhn*.

r. The righthand column has an *m* above *š*. The lefthand

column preserves the beginning of the verb-phrase *jw jr.[n ...]* “[...] made.”

t. This fragment has three columns from the top of a block. The righthand column contains the phrase *jr.j* “that I might make.” In col. 2 are an *c*-arm above *r hpr*; the horizontal trace at the top is not another *c*-arm. In the lefthand column, read *r w3* (not *w3t* “path”: the *w3*-sign is centered).

u. The righthand column preserves the tail of an *m*. In the lefthand column is the end of the phrase *[t3 p]n r dr.f* “this entire land.”

v. The first column has the final consonant and determinative of the word *m3t* “was pronounced” and may therefore join the end of col. 5 of the larger group of Text B. In the second column are two “canal” signs with an illegible sign between them, perhaps part of the “marshland” titles of col. 6 of the larger group.

ANALYSIS

The fragmentary nature of the inscription makes it impossible to draw any certain conclusions about the text as a whole. There is no firm evidence for the height of the columns or the total length of the inscription,¹⁰ or indeed whether the fragments come from a single text. Nevertheless, the discussion above suggests a few conclusions that are well within the realm of possibility.

Despite their two different styles of carving, the fragments can be read as part of a single autobiographical inscription, carved by two different sculptors on either side of the northern niche on the east façade of the mastaba. The content suggests that Text A came from the beginning of the narrative, and therefore to the right of the opening, while the unscribed area to the right of the larger group of Text B indicates that Text B began to the left of the opening. The register line in frag. o suggests that the final (leftmost) columns of Text B stood beneath an image of the tomb owner, undoubtedly facing to the right, like the hieroglyphs, in a position to utter the first-person text before him, meant to be read by visitors who came to leave offerings within the niche.

The larger group of Text A describes the beginning of the tomb owner’s career, with appointment to his first office as a “child-who-tied-on-the-headband” and perhaps the death of his father shortly thereafter. A Sed-festival was celebrated when he was between the ages of three and nine, probably closer to the latter age than the former. The larger group ends with what appears to be a description of tribute to the king and his actions against enemies, perhaps Asiatics “repelled” from the Delta.

The smaller fragments of Text A contain portions of an address to an audience of more than one person. Neither the speaker nor the audience is identified in the surviving fragments, but the speech may have been that of the king to his courtiers, in the course of which he asked them to recommend an official to oversee a royal building project. The inscription then moves to Text B, which begins with the courtiers’ answer, nominating the tomb owner as “the son of a man of privilege of the Nile-Valley land.” This qualification

⁹ For the name of the structure in this column, see Fiore-Marochetti, “Un frammento,” 127–28.

¹⁰ The larger group of Text B may well have stood in the recess noted on p. 28, above. If so, it represents the first eight of the final twenty or so columns of inscription.

suggests that the king in question was himself of Theban origin and therefore likely to appreciate the tomb owner's southern pedigree.

Text B goes on to describe the construction of three "fortified enclosures" in Buto, the Memphite nome, and the Oxyrhynchite nome, respectively, the last two of which took place under subsequent rulers. The Buto project may be the same as the one for which the tomb owner was initially recommended, although the similarity of the wording in col. 3 to that in cols. 4–5 could point to a different project, perhaps under a different king. The larger group of Text B ends with a list of the tomb owner's further promotions. The nature of the end of the inscription, which seems to have stood under an image of the tomb owner, is unclear.

The primary interest in the inscription lies in what it may reveal about the chronology of the early Middle Kingdom. This has been the subject of some discussion.¹¹ Archaeological evidence indicates that the mastaba was constructed during the second half of the reign of Senwosret I and that the tomb owner died during the reign of that king or his successor, Amenemhat II (see above, p. 27). The mastaba's inscription notes several chronologically significant events in the tomb owner's life: celebration of a Sed-festival between his third and ninth year of age; nomination to his first royal commission and a building project in Buto, perhaps one and the same commission; and building projects in the Memphite and Oxyrhynchite nomes under two subsequent kings. These archaeological and textual data provide the framework for the inscription's chronology.

The text clearly indicates that the tomb owner served under a minimum of three kings and a maximum of five: three if the Sed-festival, first commission, and Buto project all took place under a single predecessor of the king who commissioned the Memphite project; four if the description of the Buto project was preceded by the same formula as those of the Memphite and Oxyrhynchite projects;¹² and five if the king of the Sed-festival was not the same as the one who commissioned the tomb owner's first building project. The only ruler named in the preserved text is Amenemhat I, whose Horus name appears after the description of the tomb owner's last building commission. This sequence may not be chronologically significant, because the name occurs in a passage concerned with the tomb owner's titles and may only be a part of one of these titles.

The chronology of the early Middle Kingdom contains six rulers under whom the tomb owner could have lived or served:¹³ Mentuhotep II, who celebrated a Sed-festival in his fourth decade (probably in regnal year 39) and reigned for twelve more years thereafter; Mentuhotep III, who ruled for twelve years and may have celebrated a Sed-festival; Mentuhotep IV, who reigned for part or all of a seven-year period at the end of the Eleventh Dynasty and celebrated a Sed-festival in his second regnal year; Amenemhat I, who ruled for twenty-nine years and celebrated, or prepared to celebrate, a Sed-festival toward the end of his reign; Senwosret I, whose forty-four years on the throne overlapped with the last ten years of Amenemhat I and the first three of his successor and who celebrated a Sed-festival in regnal year 31; and Amenemhat II, the last king under whom the tomb owner could have lived.¹⁴ Within this sequence, the Sed-festival mentioned in the inscription provides an anchor for the beginning of the tomb owner's own chronology.

The Sed-festival could not have been that of Senwosret I's

regnal year 31, because the tomb owner's service to at least two subsequent kings followed it. Since the Sed-festival of Amenemhat I took place, if at all, near the end of his reign,¹⁵ it cannot have been the one mentioned in the mastaba inscription, because the tomb owner would not have been old enough by the end of that reign to carry out the first and Buto commission(s). If the Sed-festival was that of Mentuhotep IV's regnal year 2, those two projects must have been commissioned by Amenemhat I, under whom the tomb owner would have reached adulthood. The Memphite and Oxyrhynchite projects would then have been undertaken for Senwosret I and Amenemhat II, respectively, during whose reigns the tomb owner would have been from twenty-eight to at least seventy years of age—the last almost certainly too late in life for a royal commission.

If these three chronologies are ruled out as impossible or improbable, the Sed-festival must have been either that of Mentuhotep II's regnal year 39 or the one that is less securely attested for Mentuhotep III. In the first case, the tomb owner would have reached his eighties by the middle of Senwosret I's reign, and it is not inconceivable that his mastaba was built and inscribed that late in his life (possibly replacing an earlier Theban tomb). The kings of the three or four commissions mentioned in the inscription would then have been Mentuhotep III (in whose reign he would have reached his middle or late twenties), Mentuhotep IV, Amenemhat I, and possibly Senwosret I (at the beginning of whose reign he would have been in his mid-fifties). The second case is possible only if a Sed-festival was held at the very beginning of Mentuhotep III's reign. The three kings of the tomb owner's building commissions would then have been Mentuhotep IV (by the end of whose reign he would have reached his early twenties), Amenemhat I, and Senwosret I (in whose early years he would have been in his forties); by the time the mastaba was built and inscribed the tomb owner would have been in his seventies.

Of these five possible scenarios, the last is the most feasible chronologically, although it depends on the questionable celebration of a Sed-festival early in the reign of Mentuhotep III. None of the possible chronologies is without problems. All rely on uncertain evidence and conjecture: the reconstruction of the fragments as a single autobiographical inscription, with Text A preceding Text B; the existence and date of a Sed-festival of Mentuhotep III; and the length of the tomb owner's active career. The only thing that remains certain is that the tomb owner's career spanned the reign of at least three kings. In any case, the last of these could only have been Senwosret I.

¹¹ See Fiore-Marochetti, "Un frammento," 122, with references; see also the discussion on p. 27, above.

¹² I.e., [*h^c.n*] *hrw N m (n)swt bjt zm3.n.f t3wj* "[When Horus N appeared] as Dual King and united the Two Lands."

¹³ Not including three ephemeral kings of the late Eleventh Dynasty: Qakare Intef, Se(?)khenetibre, and Menekhkare Segerseny; see Jürgen von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen* (2nd ed.) (Mainz, 1999), 80–81. Since these ephemeral rulers do not seem to have been officially recognized in later king-lists, however, it is perhaps unlikely that the tomb owner would have recorded his service to them on a mastaba erected in the royal cemetery of the Twelfth Dynasty.

¹⁴ This is the royal chronology currently accepted by The Metropolitan Museum of Art. For the Sed-festivals, see Erik Hornung, *Studien zum Sedfest* (Basel and Geneva, 1974), 26–27; and Dieter Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahari*, vol. 1: *Architektur und Deutung* (Mainz, 1974), 66 and n. 178.

¹⁵ See Hornung, *Studien zum Sedfest*, 78.

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58.25	Relief block	87, pl. 167a
[MMA 15.3.1143]		
58.34	Wood funerary model	52
[MMA 32.1.125]		

BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

54.643	Relief block	66, pl. 124
[MMA 22.1.5]		
58.322	Relief block	67
[MMA 22.1.4]		
1980.173	False door	38

CAIRO, EGYPTIAN MUSEUM

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CG 42044	Statue of Mentuhotep	39
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JdE 39390	Wood carving	82
JdE 40481	Torso	77
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JdE 58907	Boat model	52
JdE 60249-58	Mud figures	16
JdE 60267	Lintel	18
JdE 60270	Relief fragment	28, pl. 33 bottom
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JdE 63861-63	Faience dolls	26
JdE 63897-98	Jewelry	26

CARACAS, MUSEO DE BELLAS ARTES

R58.10.35	Seated figure	71
[15.3.1156]		

CHICAGO, ORIENTAL INSTITUTE MUSEUM, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

1967.28283-306	Pottery	68
[22.1.1432-1455]		
1967.28308-356	Pottery	68
[22.1.1457-1504]		

MONTREAL, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

[MMA 15.3.1142]	Relief block	87, pl. 167b
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NEW YORK, THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

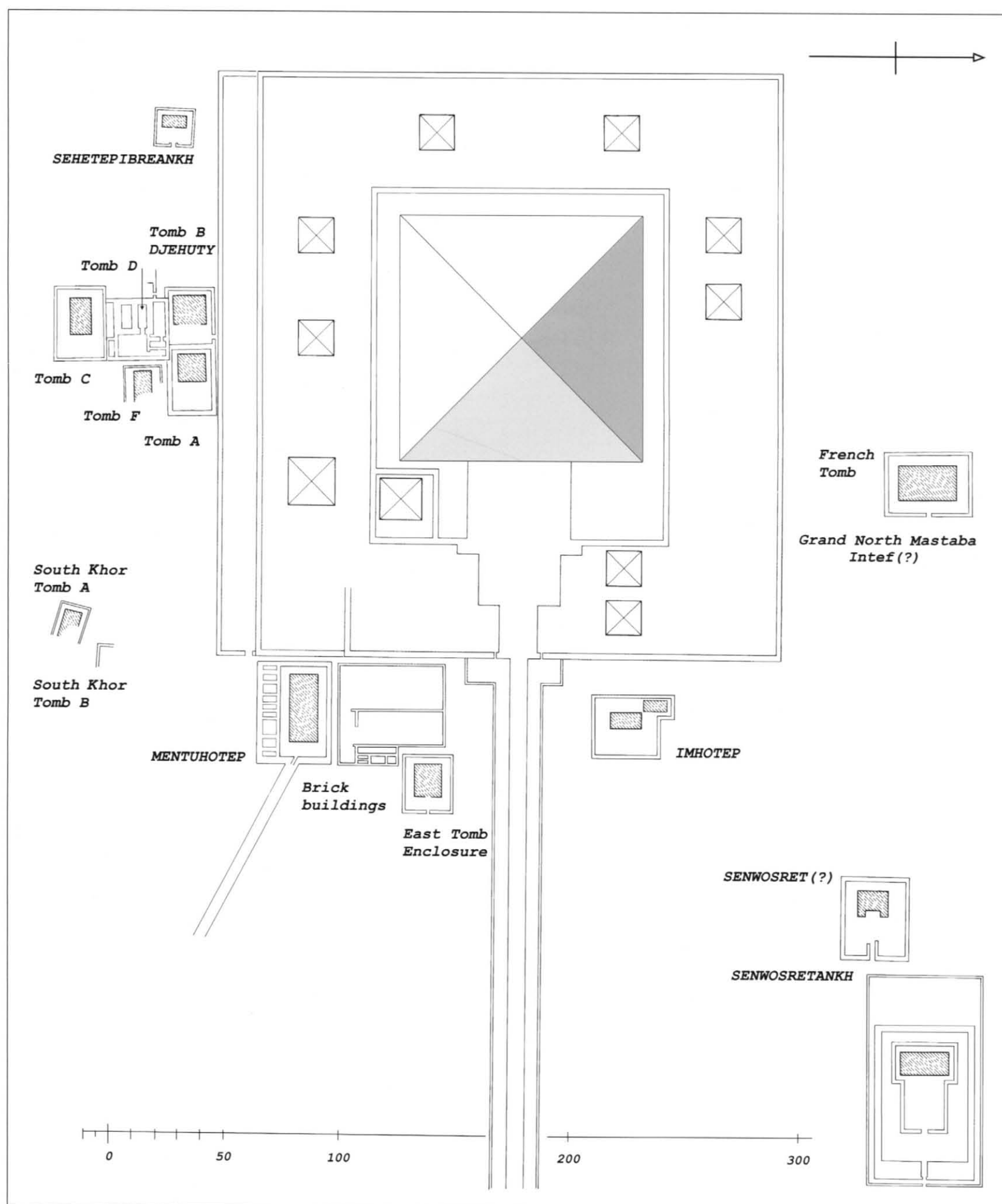
07.227.20	Relief fragment	79, pls. 154b (3), 155 right
08.200.3	Canopic jar	82
08.200.57	Relief fragment	43-44, pls. 80a, 81a
08.200.58	Relief fragment	44, pls. 80b, 81c
09.180.12	Statue of Antefiker	39 (n.87), 45-46
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09.180.125	Relief fragment	87, pl. 170a,b
09.180.528a	Sarcophagus	30, pls. 36, 37c
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13.235.9	Fragment of relief	79, pl. 155 left
14.3.1	Door jamb	28, pl. 33 above
14.3.17	Wood statue Senwosret I	35, pl. 47 right
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[15.3.1142]	Relief fragment	87, pl. 167b (see Montreal)
[15.3.1143]	Relief fragment	87, pl. 167a (see Bloomington)
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[22.1.1432-1455]	Bowl fragments	68 (see Chicago)
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24.1.30	Bead	59
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[33.I.16]	Toilet jar	52	[MMA 34.I.180]		

TORONTO, ROYAL
ONTARIO MUSEUM

PLATES 1–170



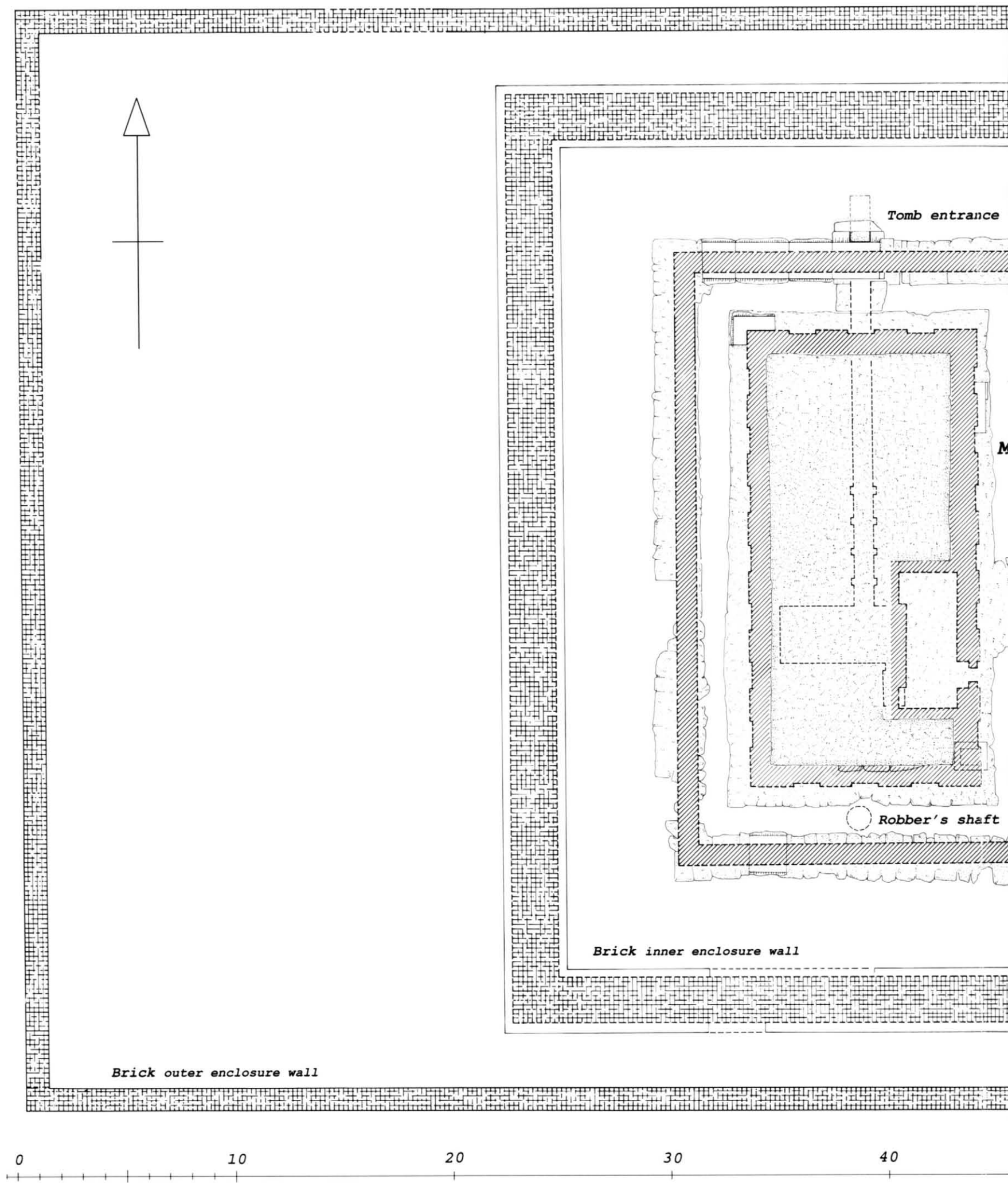
Pl. 1. Map of larger private tombs around the pyramid of Senwosret I at Lisht-South. Scale 1:2000. Draw. D.A.



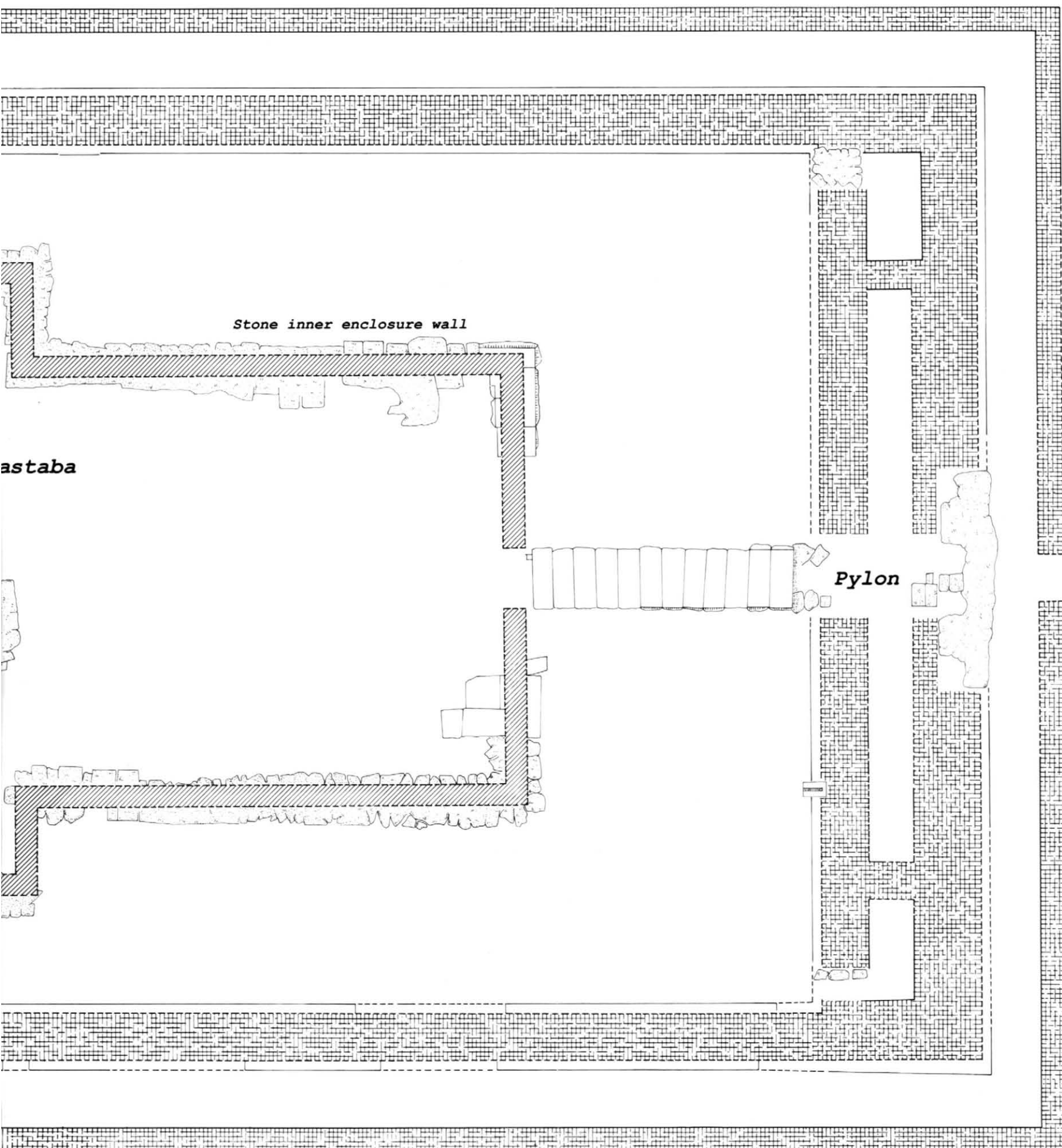
Pl. 2a. South end of east wall of the Senwosretankh mastaba at Lisht-South. Computer modeling by David Johnson.



Pl. 2b. Detail of the east façade of the Senwosretankh mastaba at Lisht-South. Computer modeling by David Johnson.



Pl. 3. Excavation plan of the tomb complex of Senwosretankh. Scale 1:200. Draw. D.A.



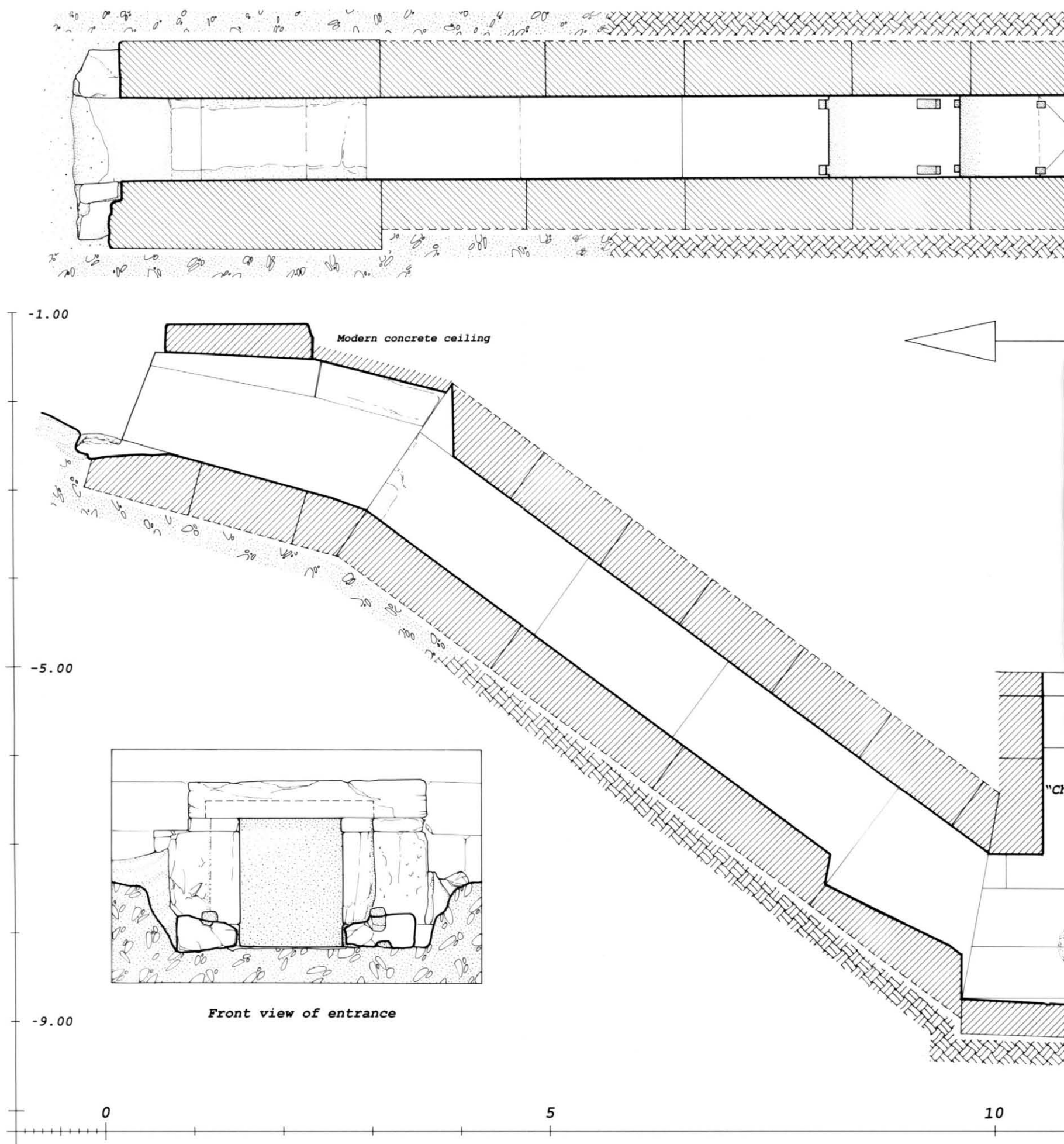
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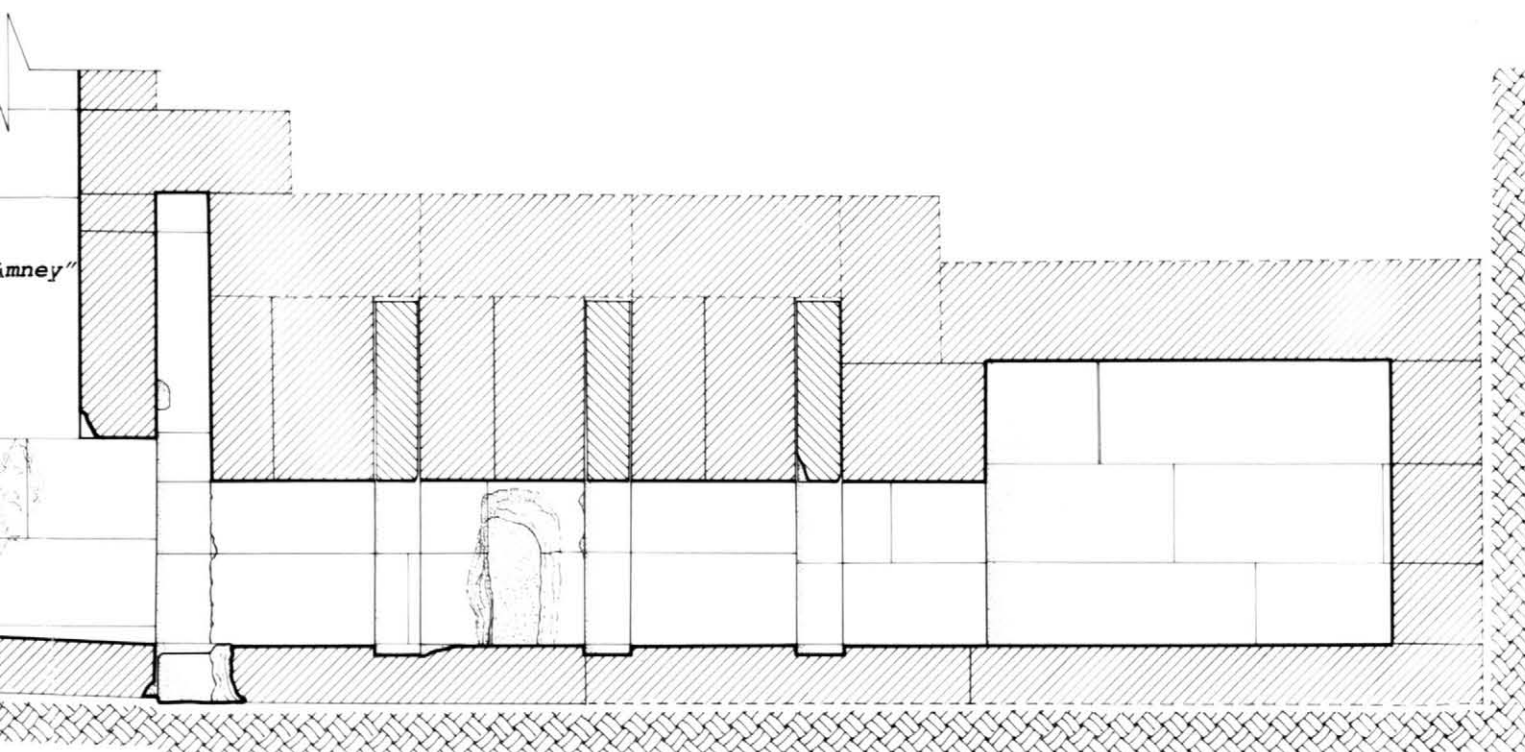
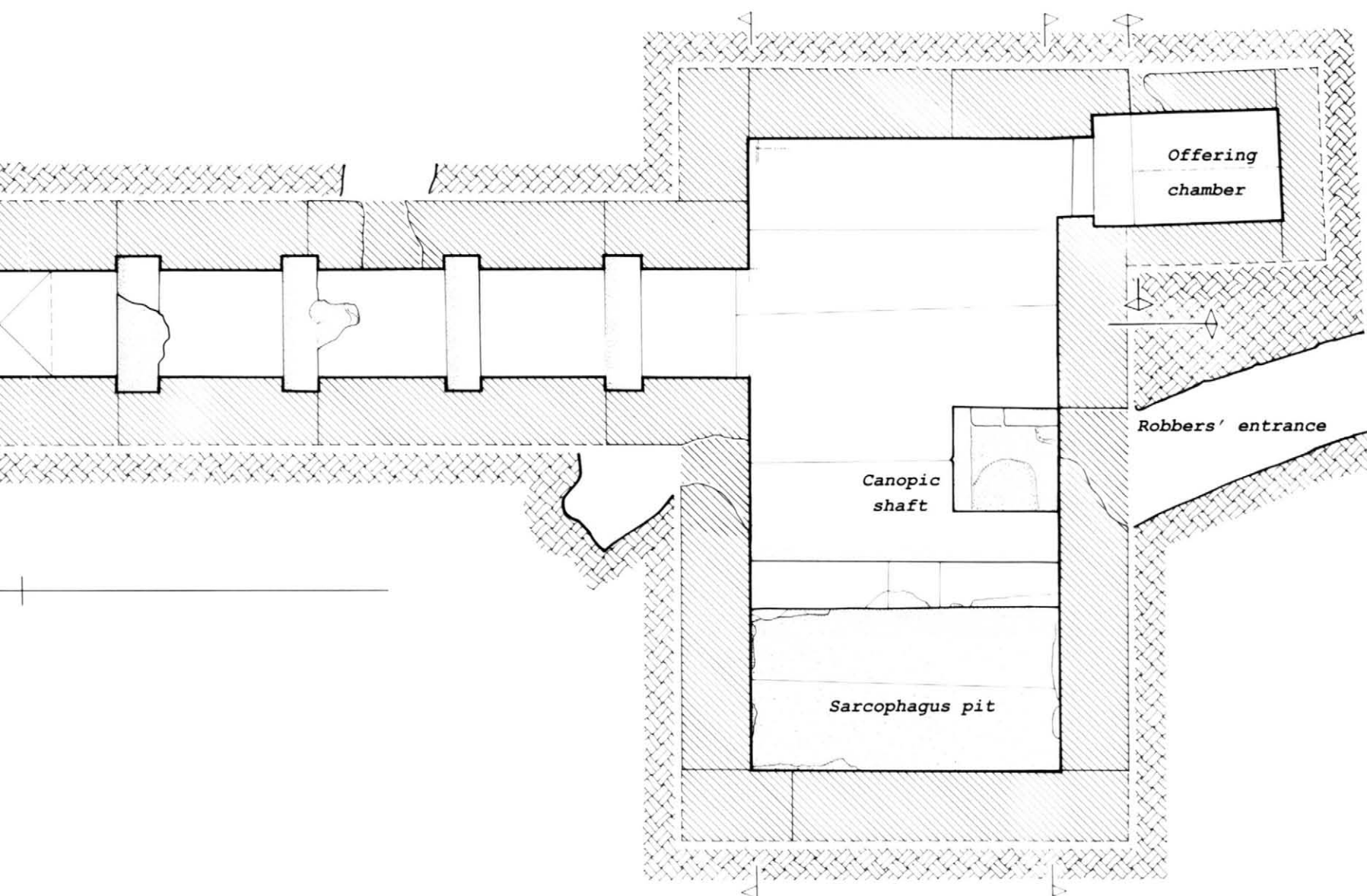
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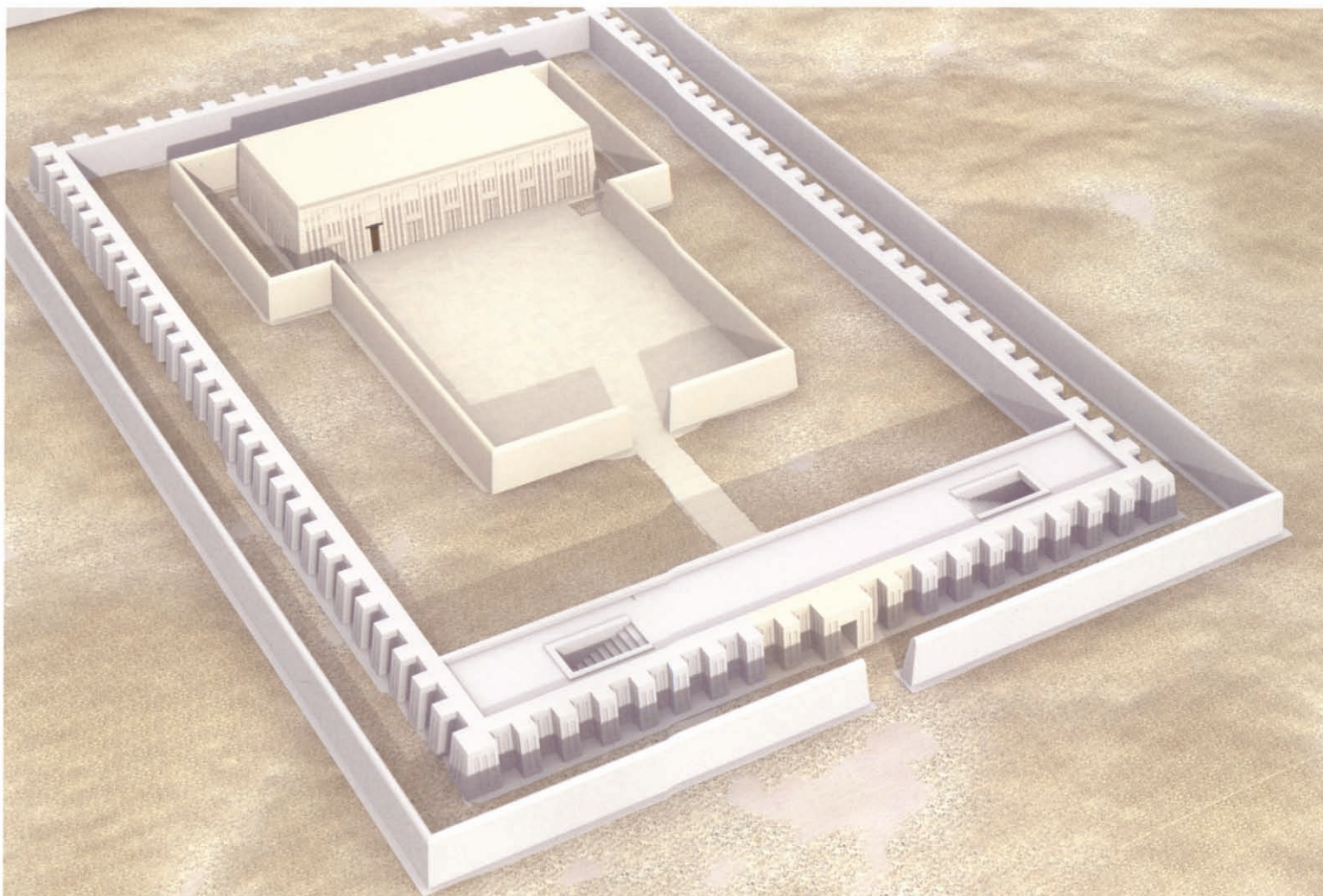
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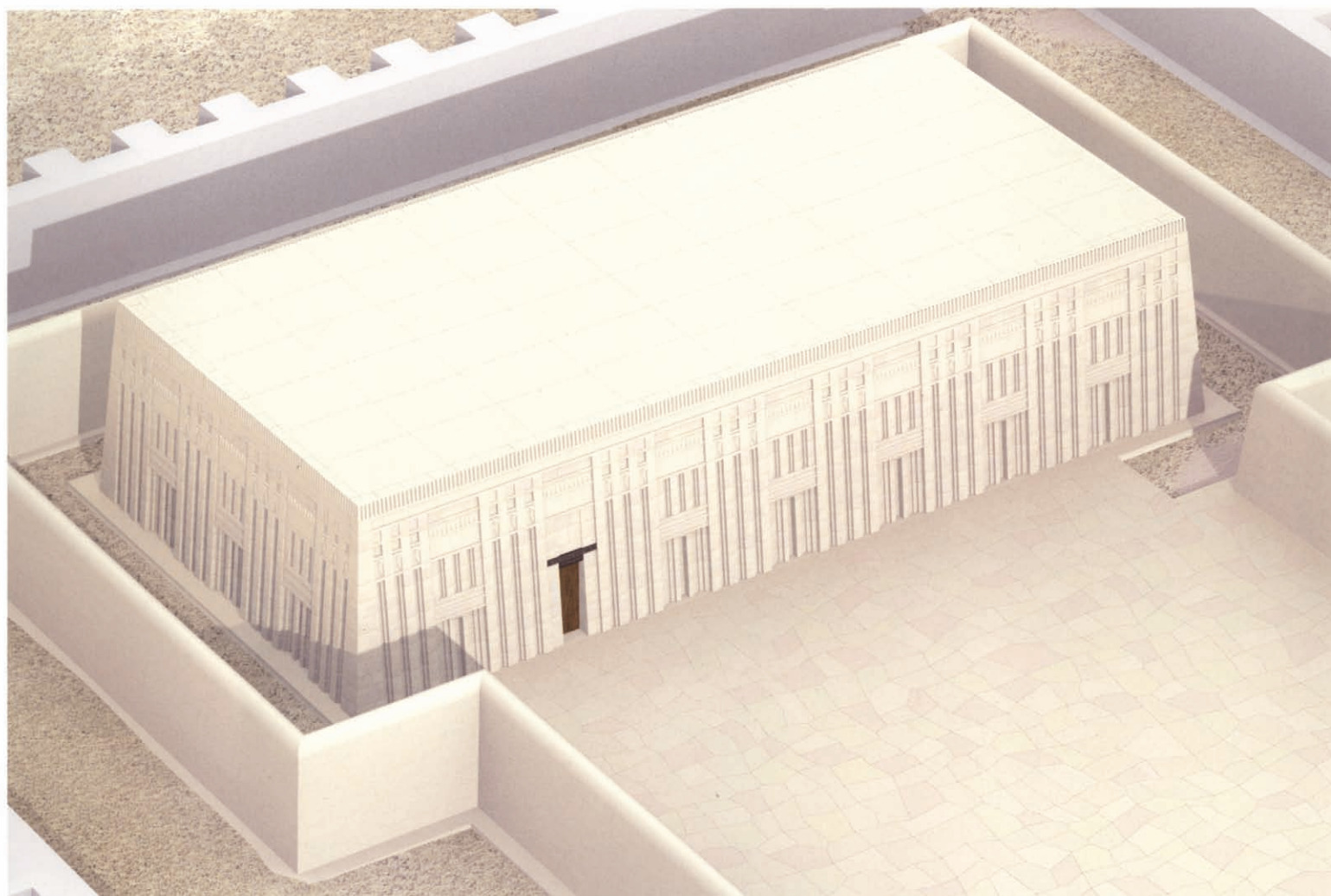


Pl. 4. Plan and north-south section of underground apartments of Senwosretankh. Scale 1:50. Draw. R.V.





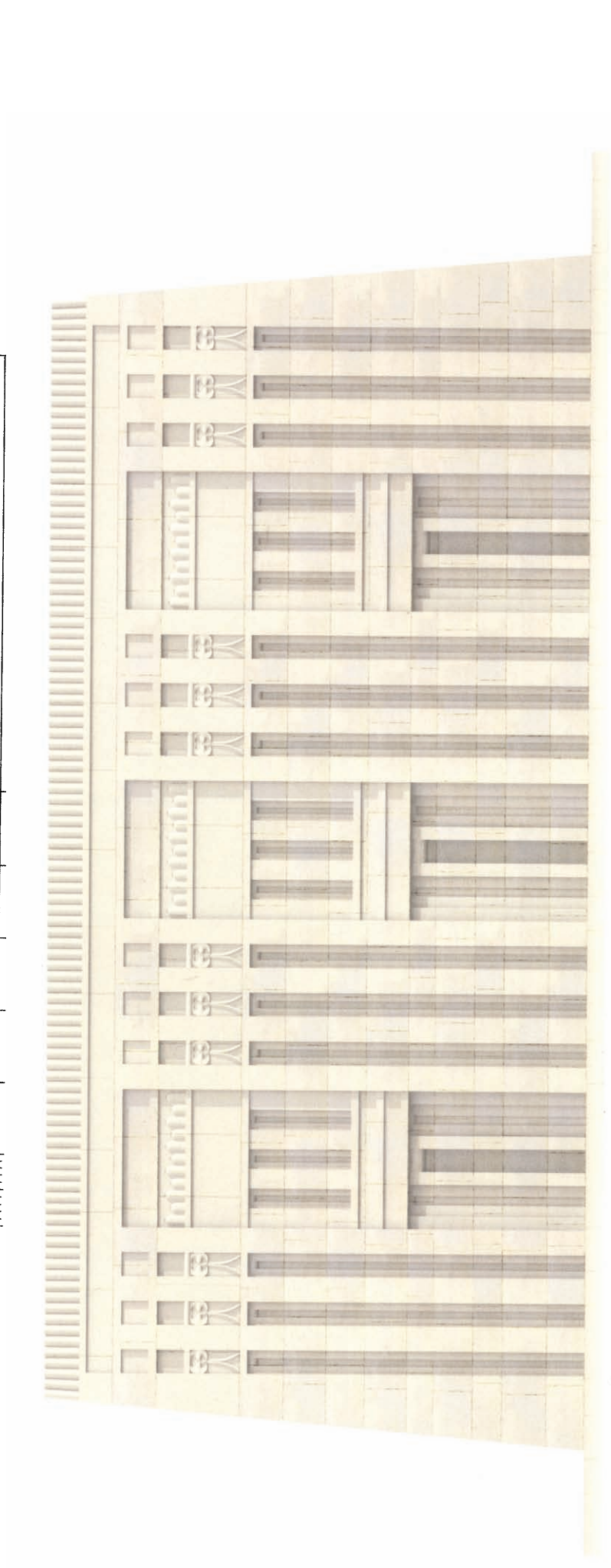
Pl. 5a. The Senwosretankh complex as seen from the air. Computer modeling by David Johnson.



Pl. 5b. The Senwosretankh complex as seen from the air. Computer modeling by David Johnson.

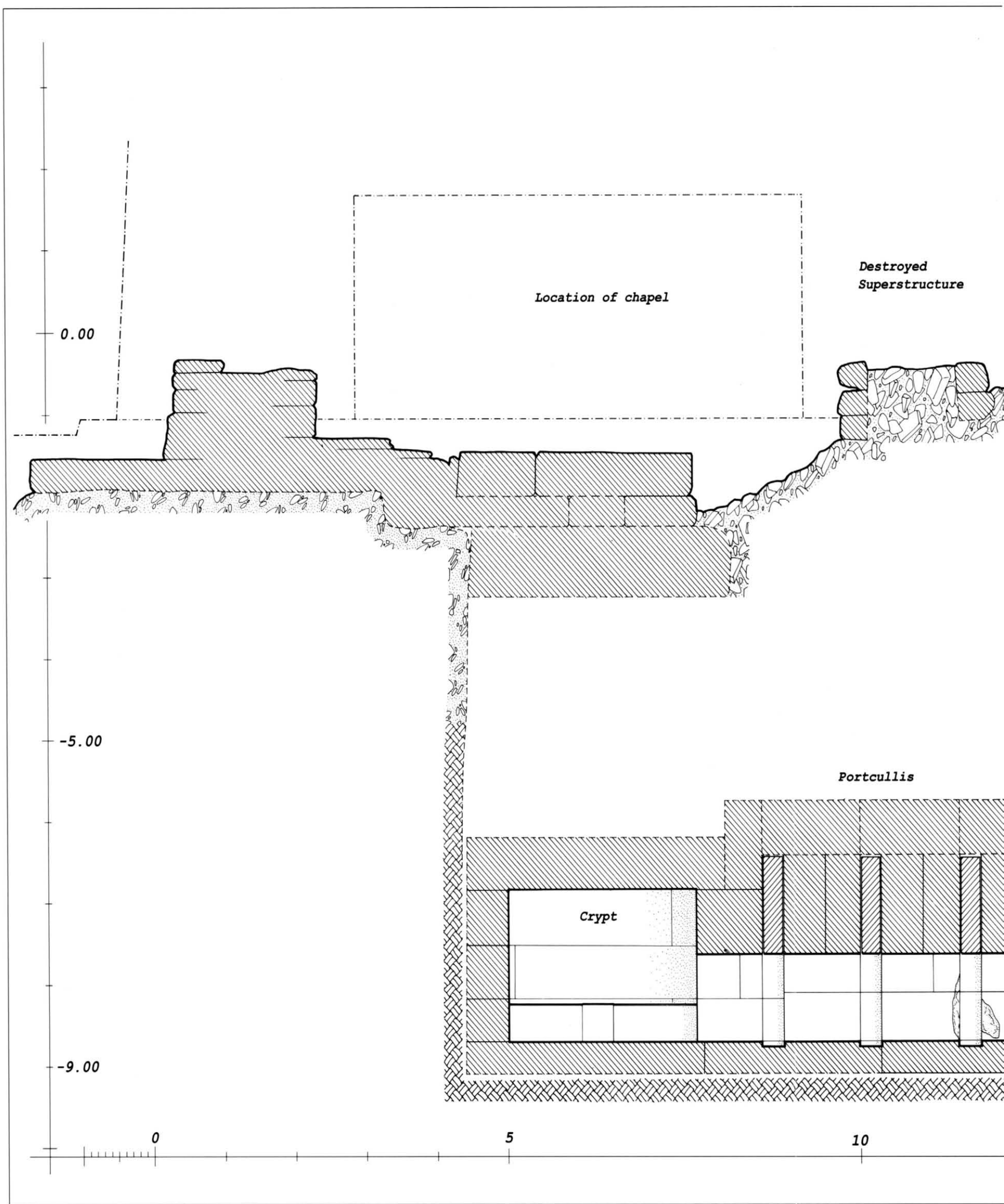


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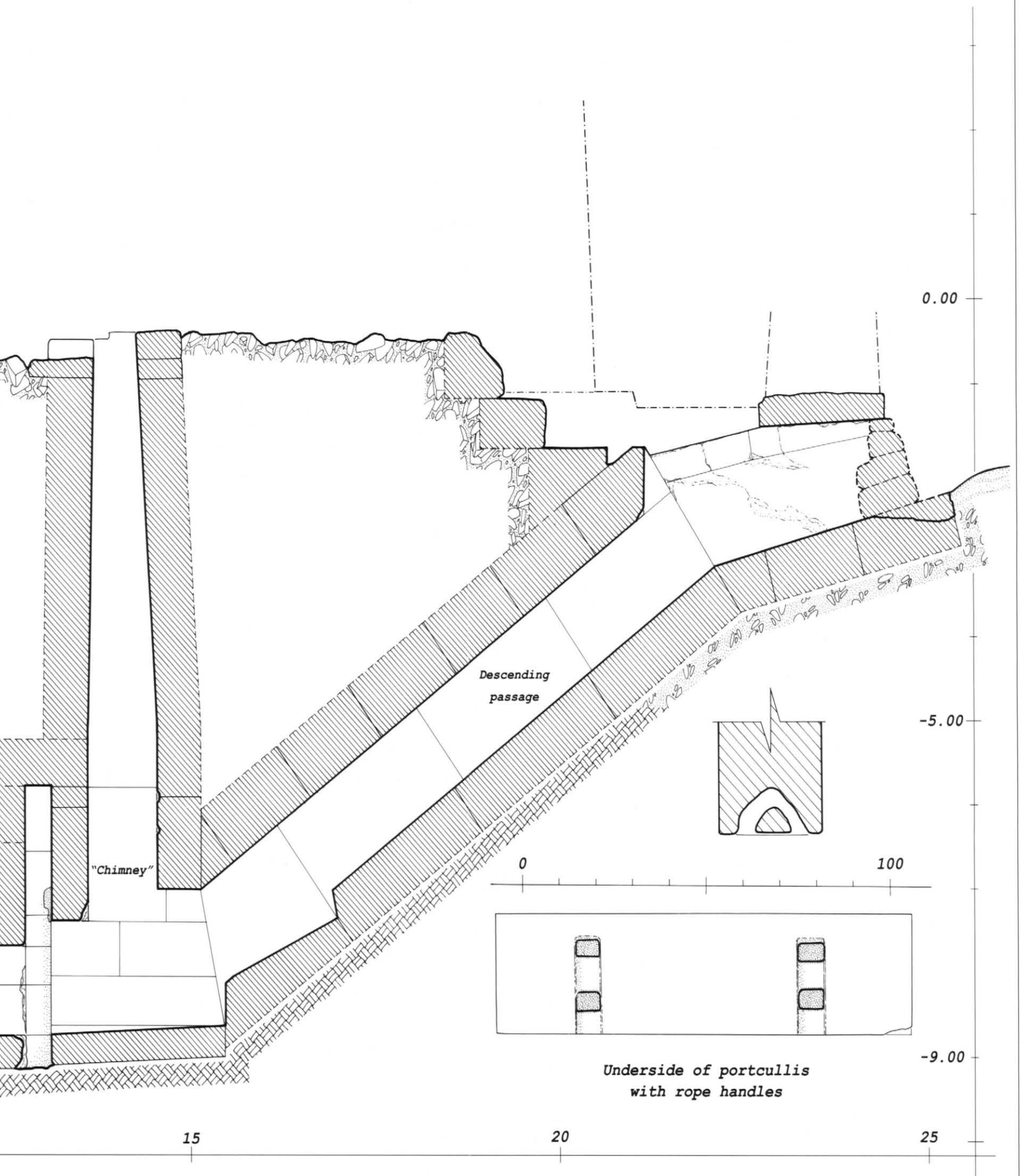


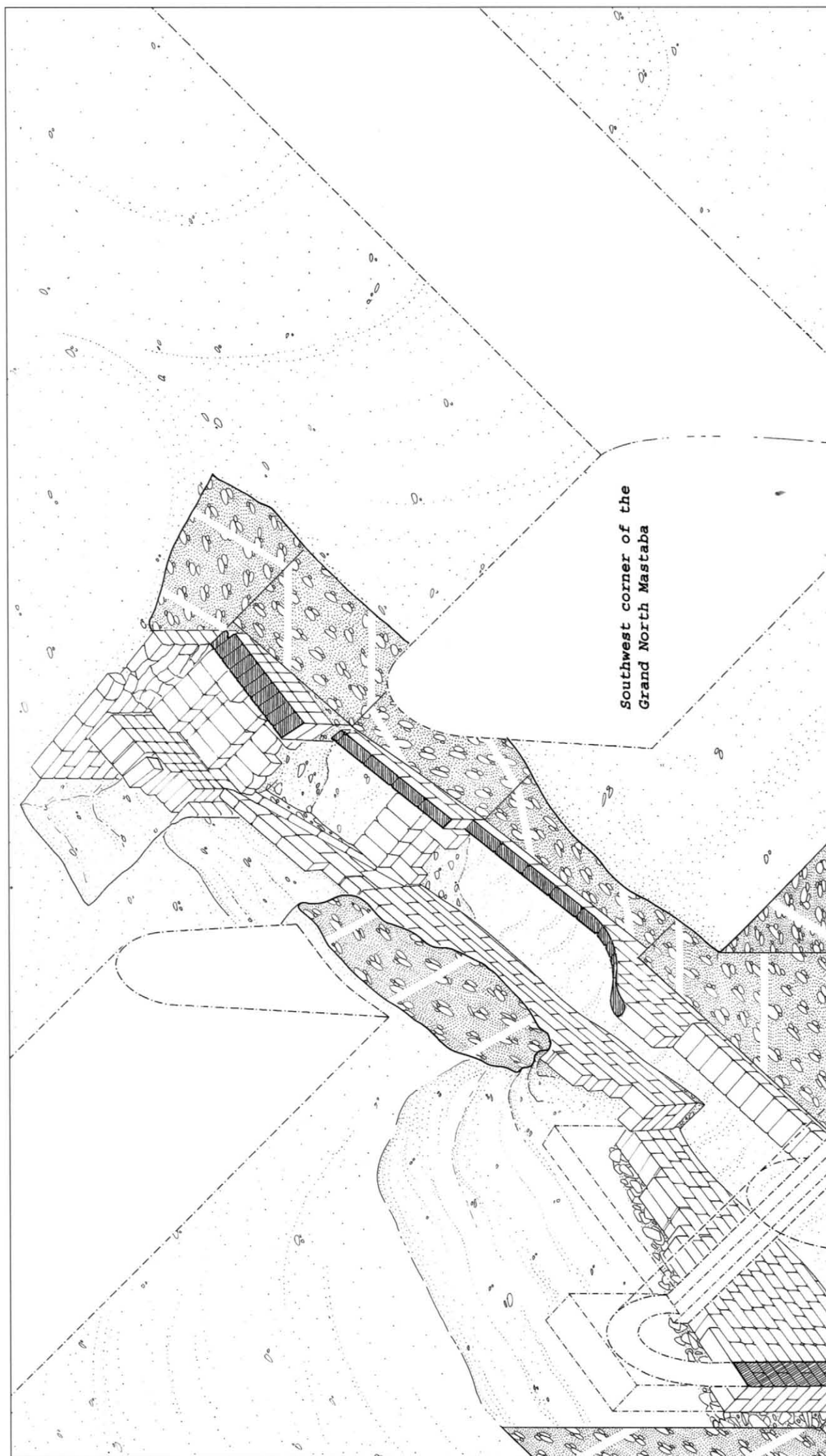
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Pl. 6. Reconstructed elevation of a long and short side of the Senwosretankh mastaba. Scale 1:75 above and 1:50 below. Computer modeling by David Johnson.

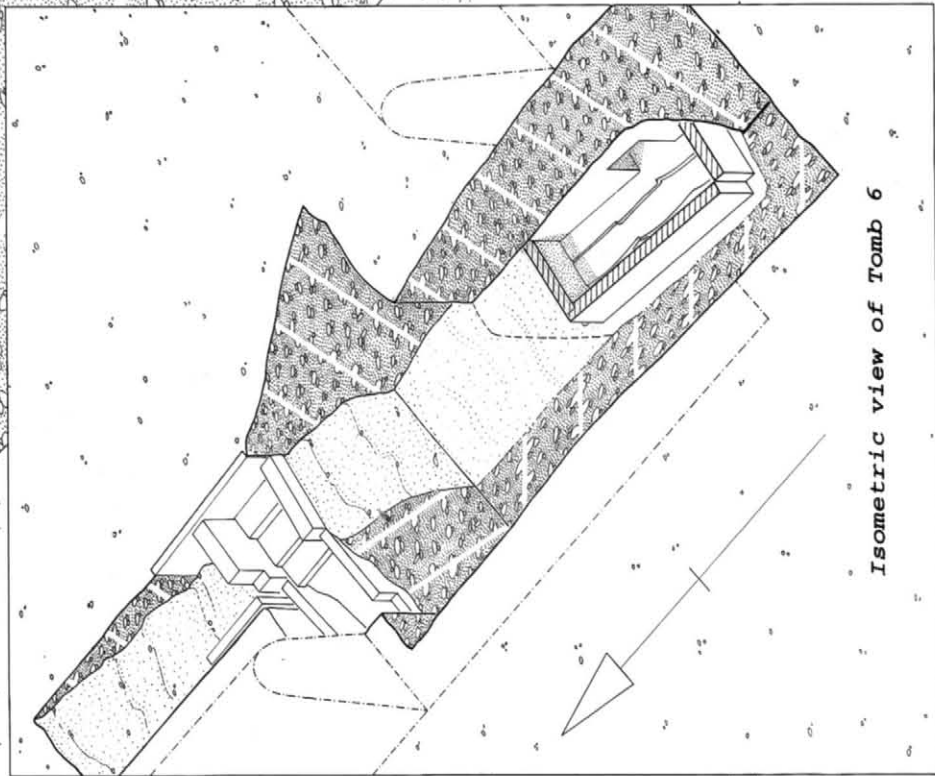
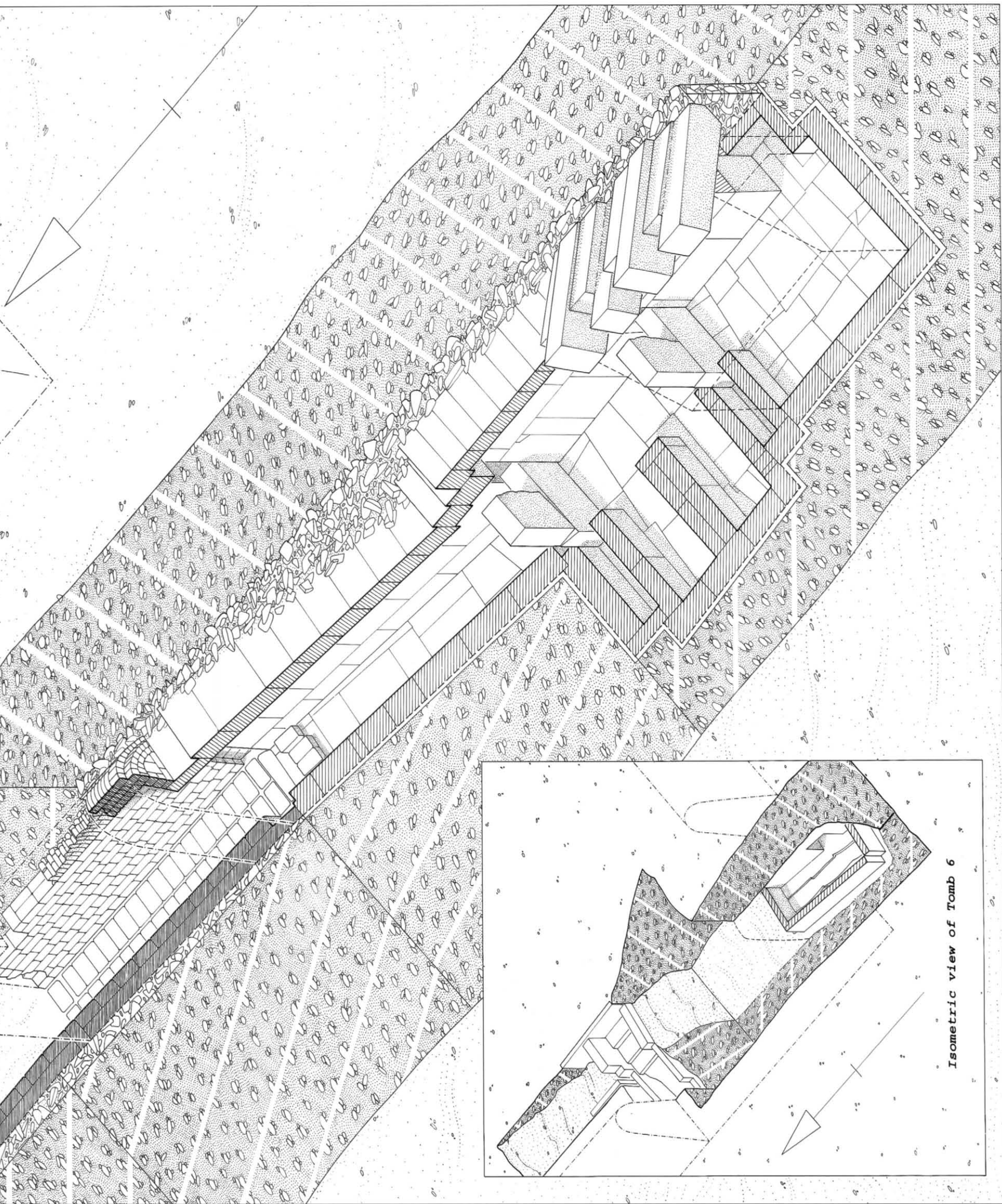


Pl. 7. South-north section of the underground apartments of Senwosretankh. Scale 1:50. Draw. R.V.

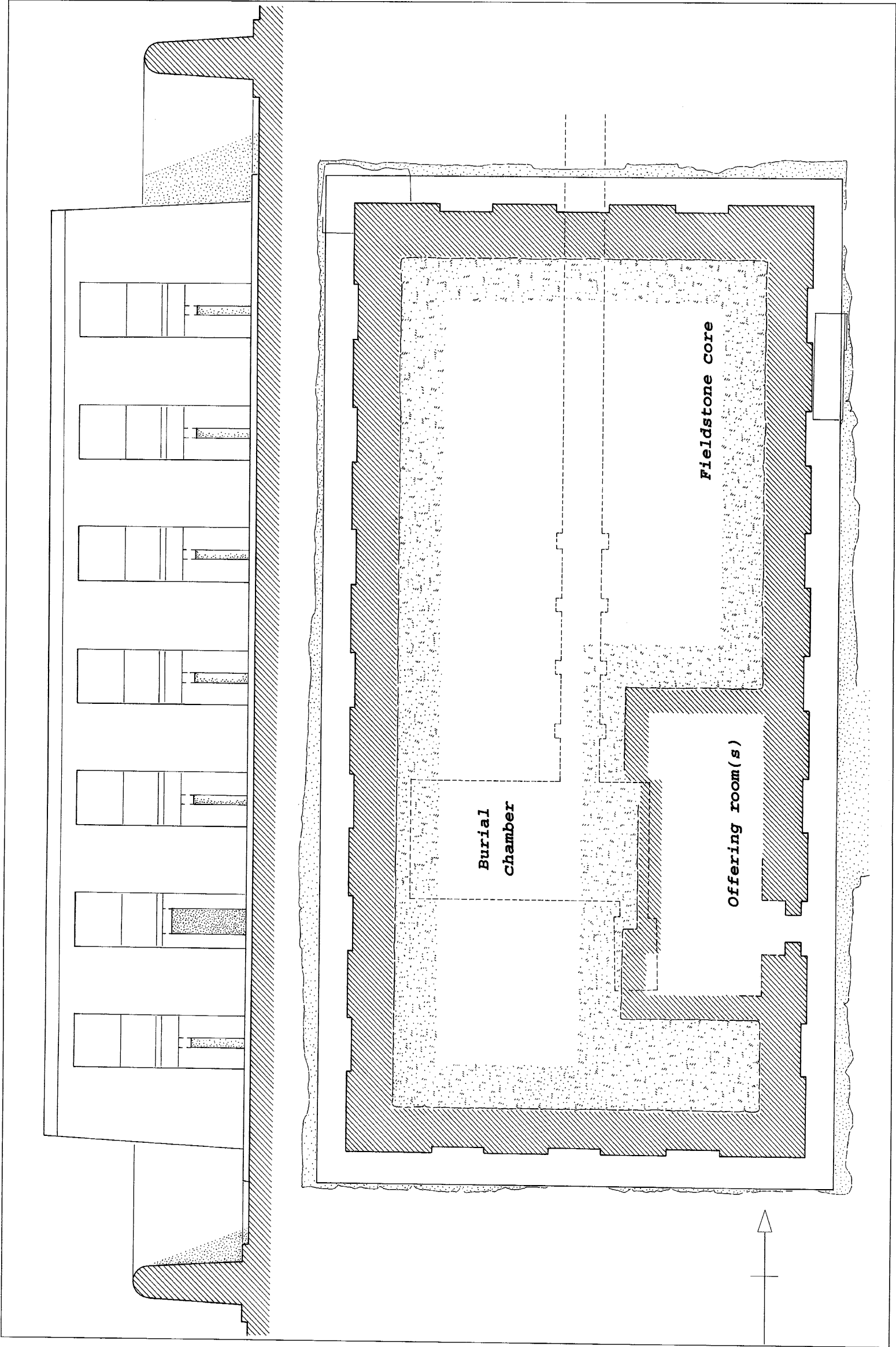




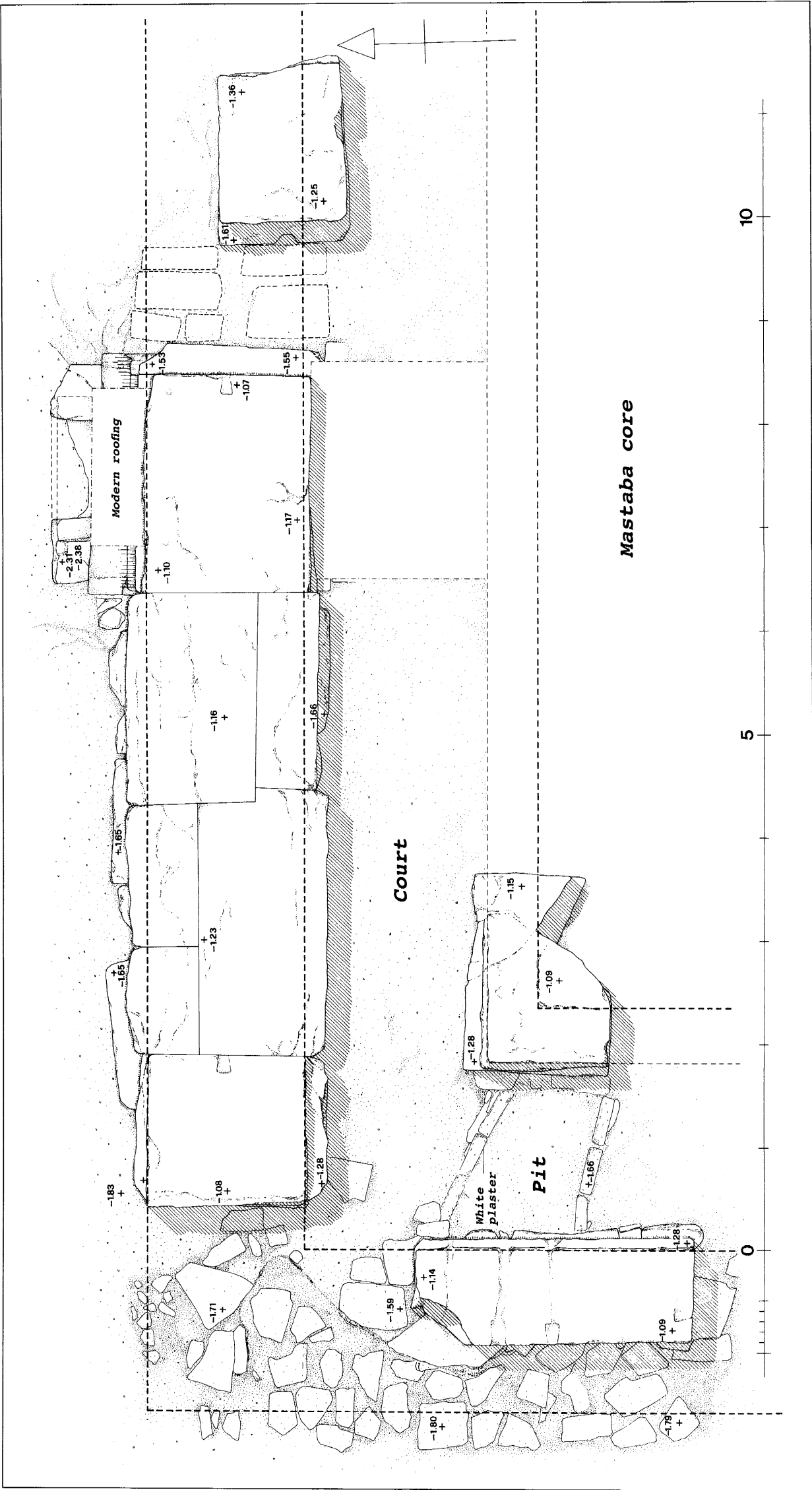
Pl. 8. Isometric view of the French Tomb. Draw. R.V.



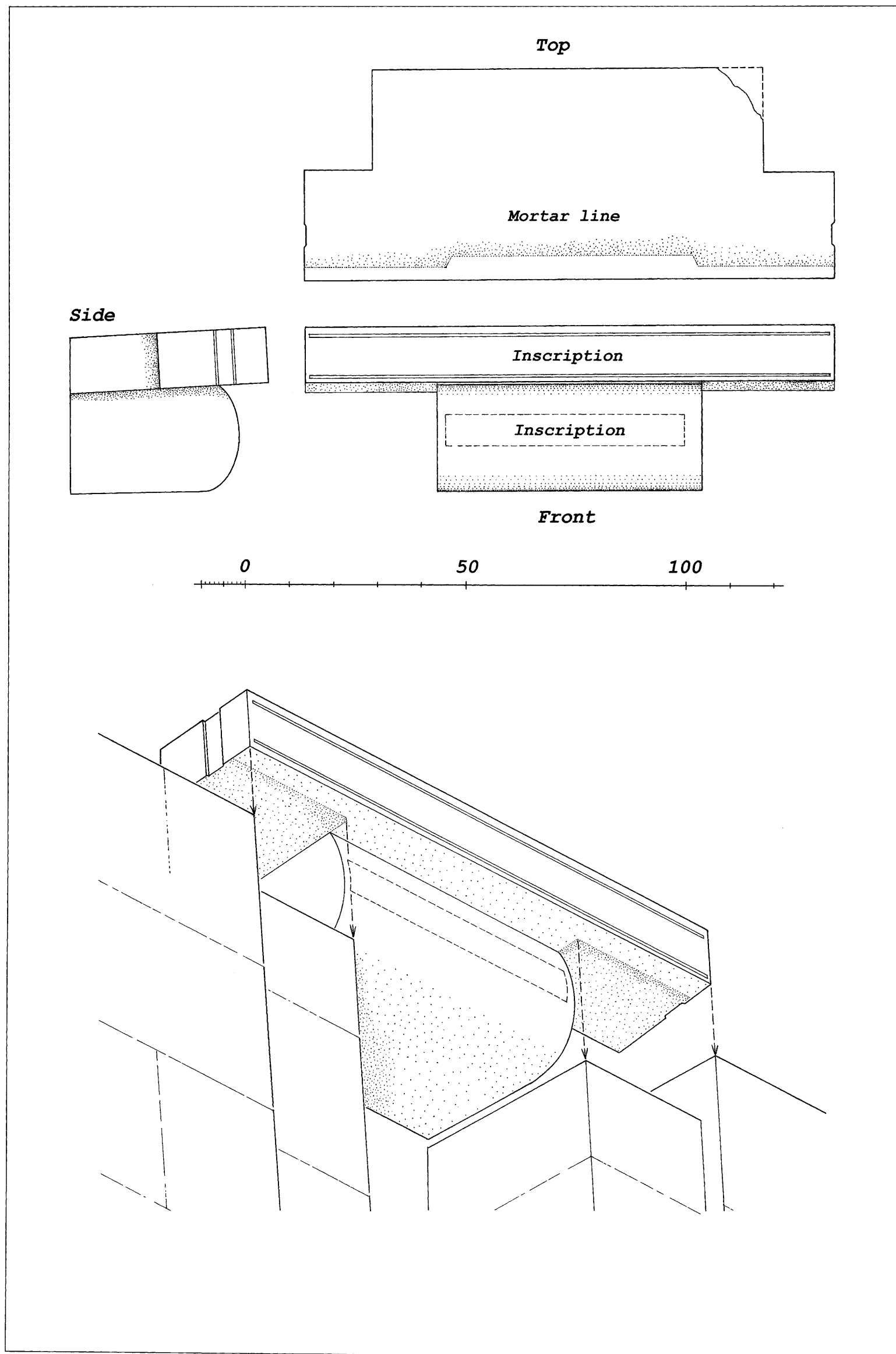
Isometric view of Tomb 6



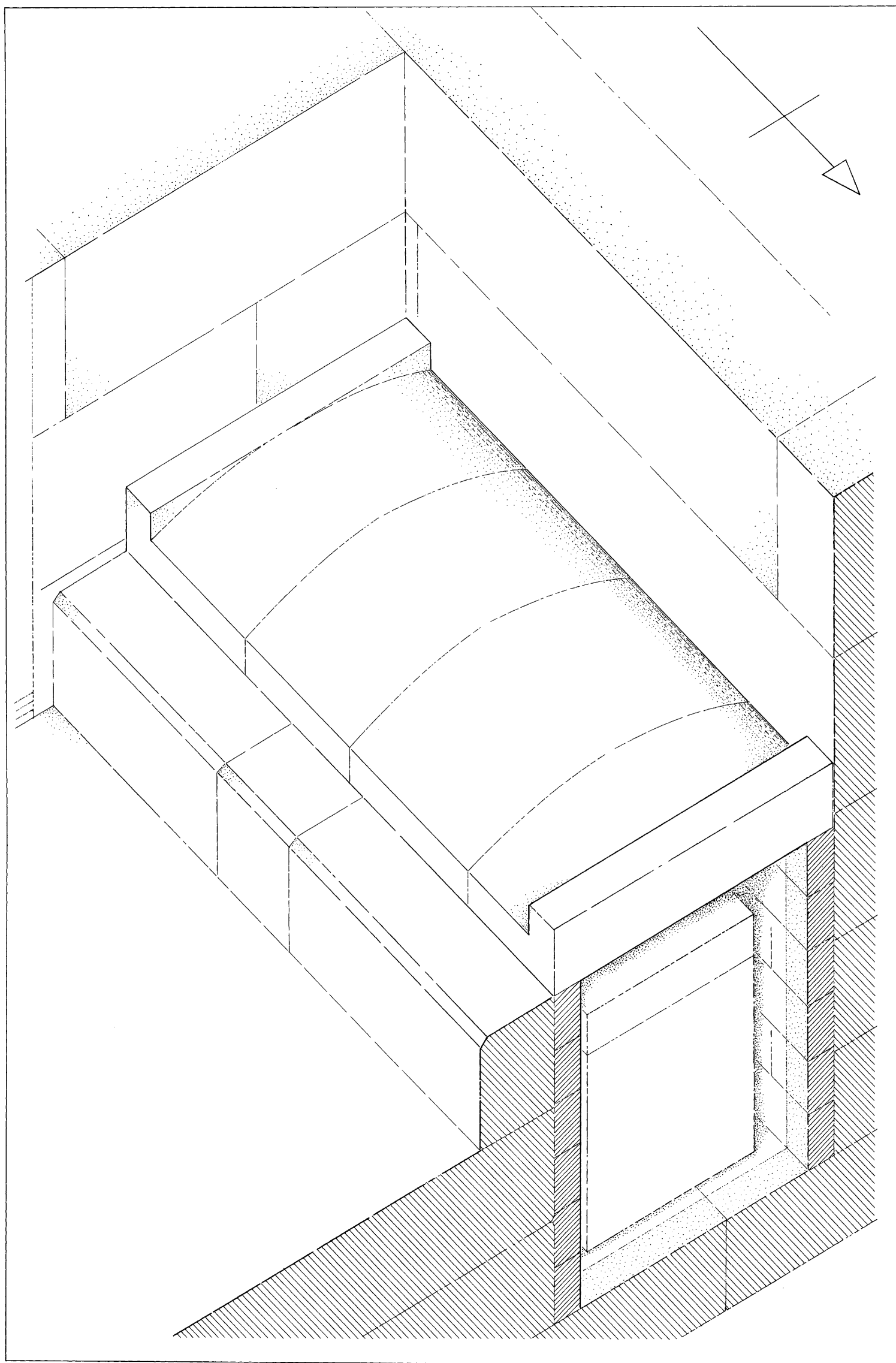
Pl. 9. Reconstructed elevation and plan of the Senwosretankh mastaba. Scale 1:100. Draw. D.A.



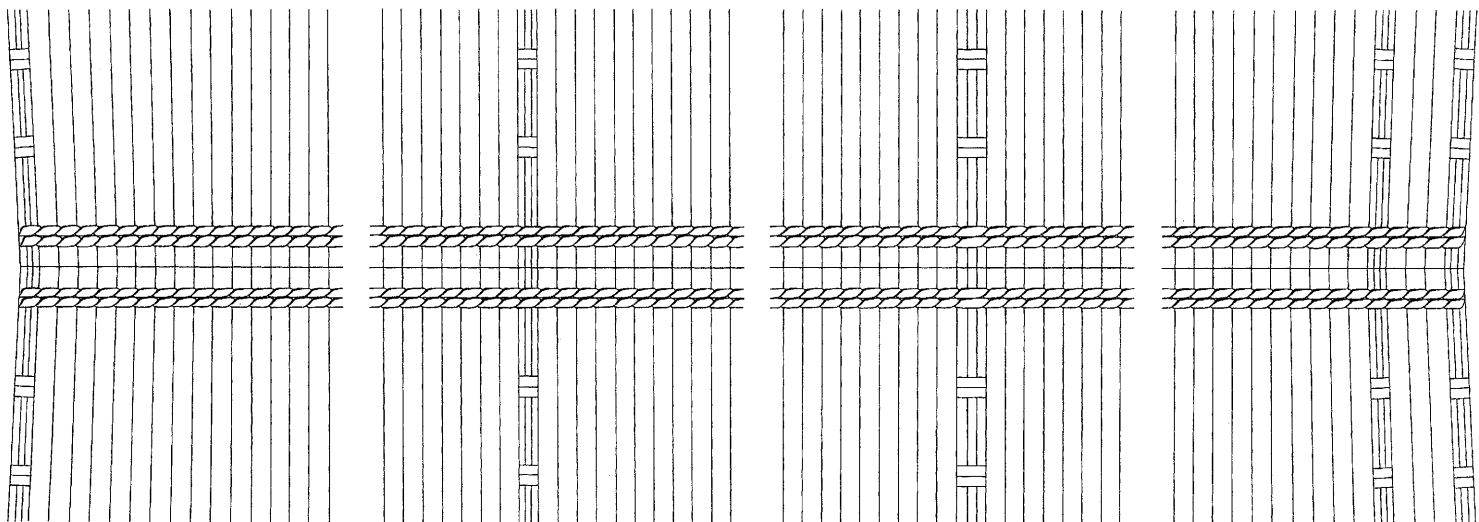
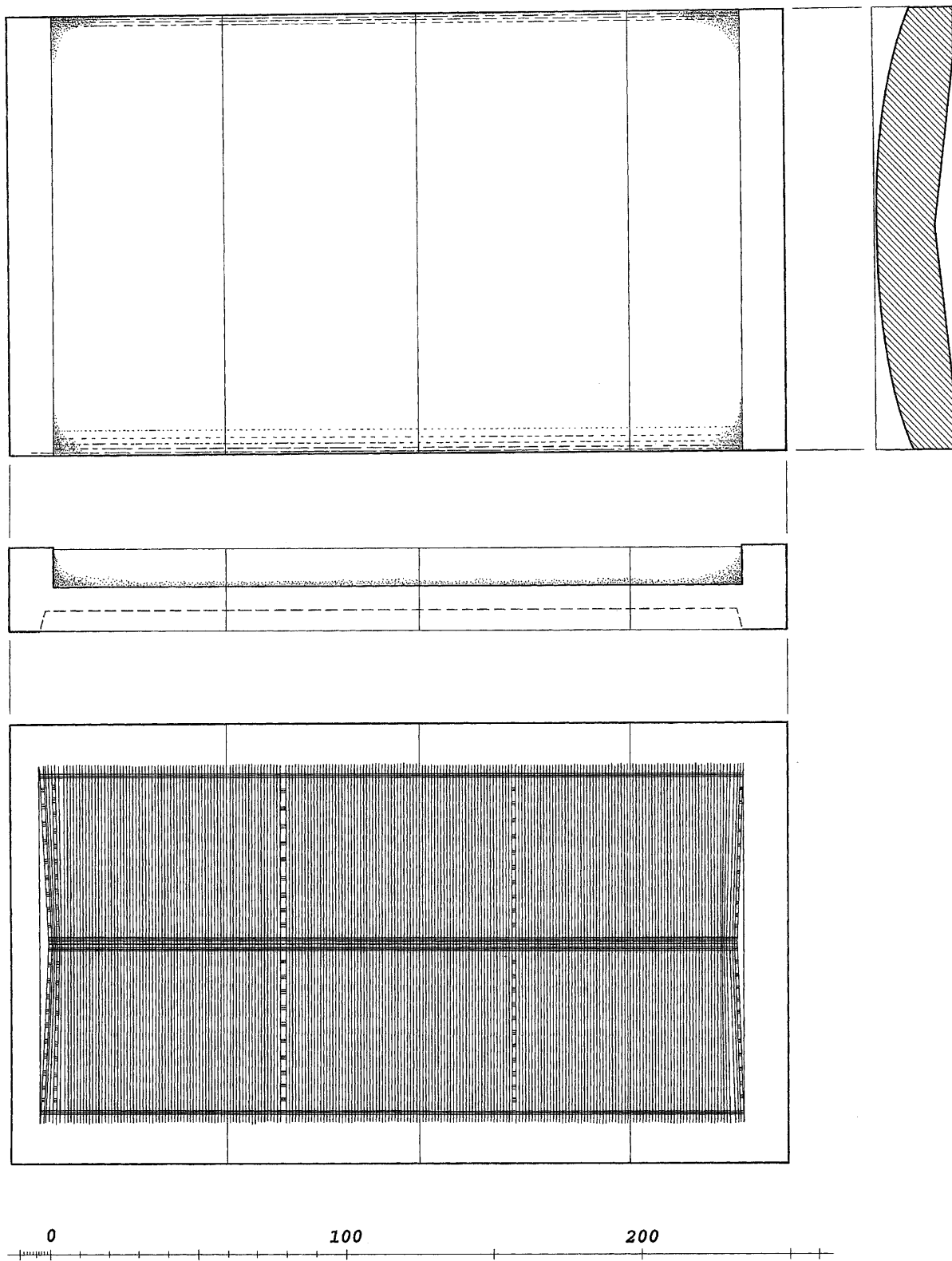
Pl. 10. Excavation plan of the northwest corner of the Senwosretankh mastaba. Scale 1:50. Draw. R. V.



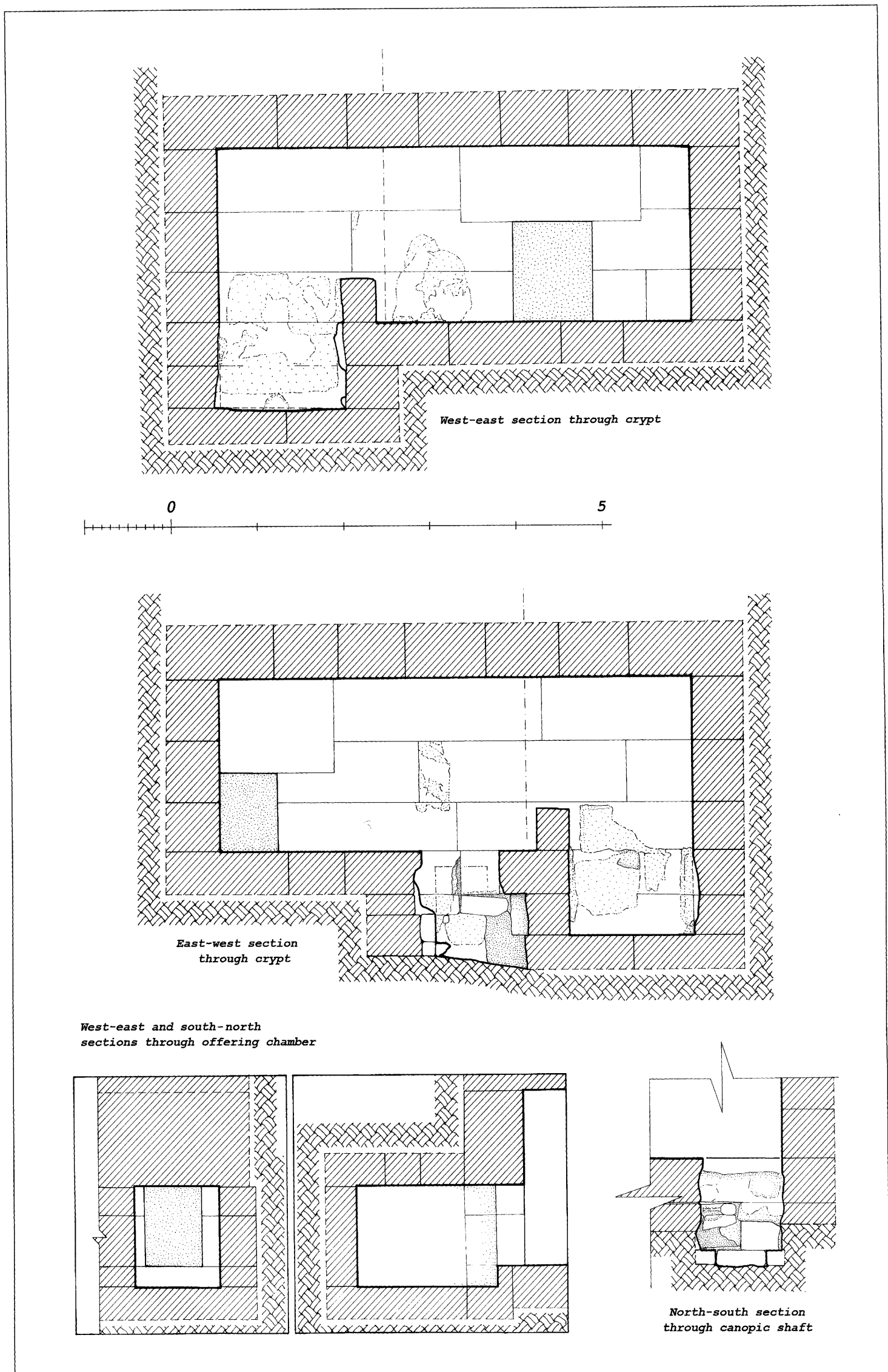
Pl. 11. The granite door drum of the Senwosretankh mastaba (see pl. 24c). Scale 1:10. Draw. D.A.



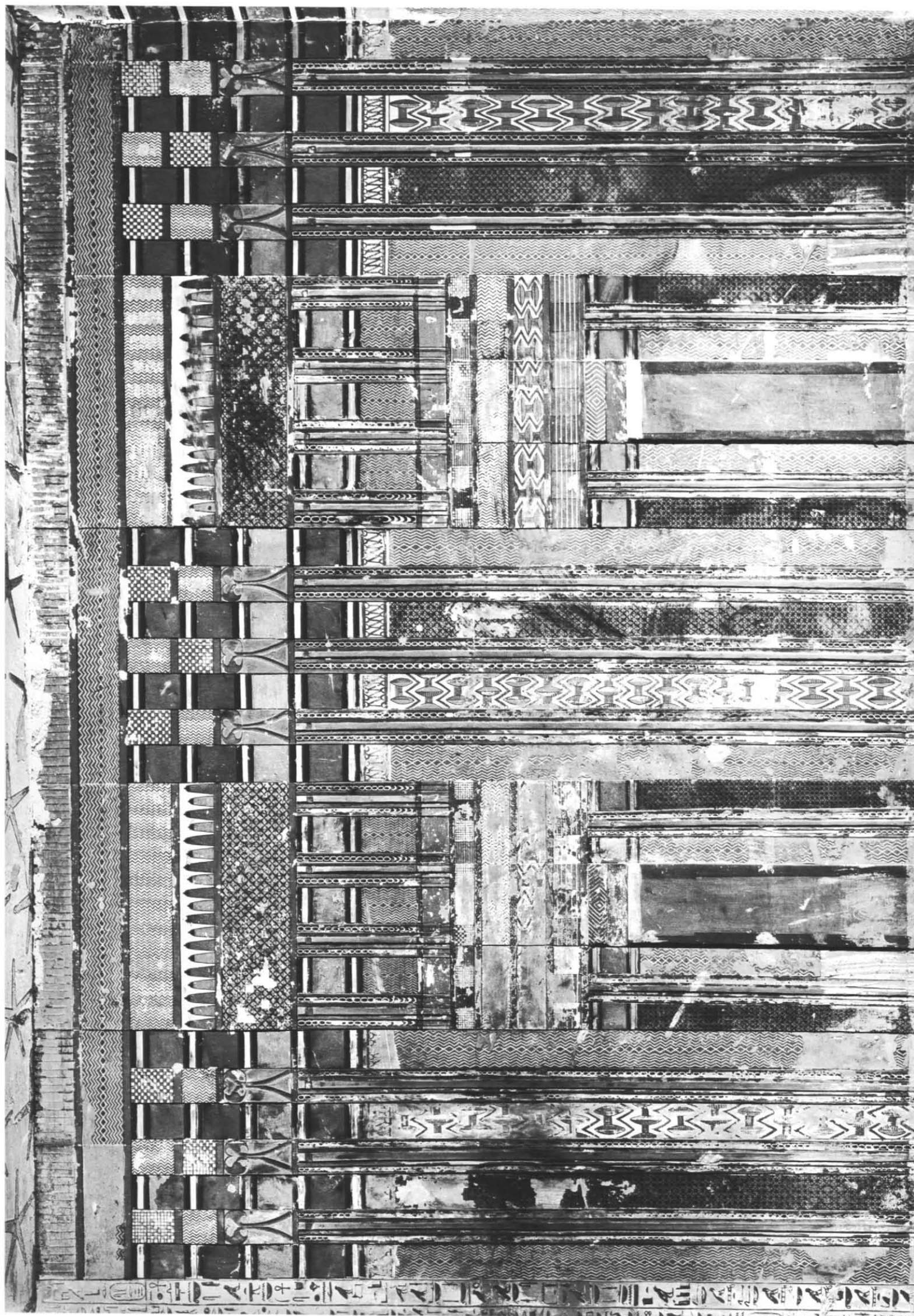
Pl. 12. Isometric reconstruction of the sarcophagus of Senwosretankh. Draw. D.A.



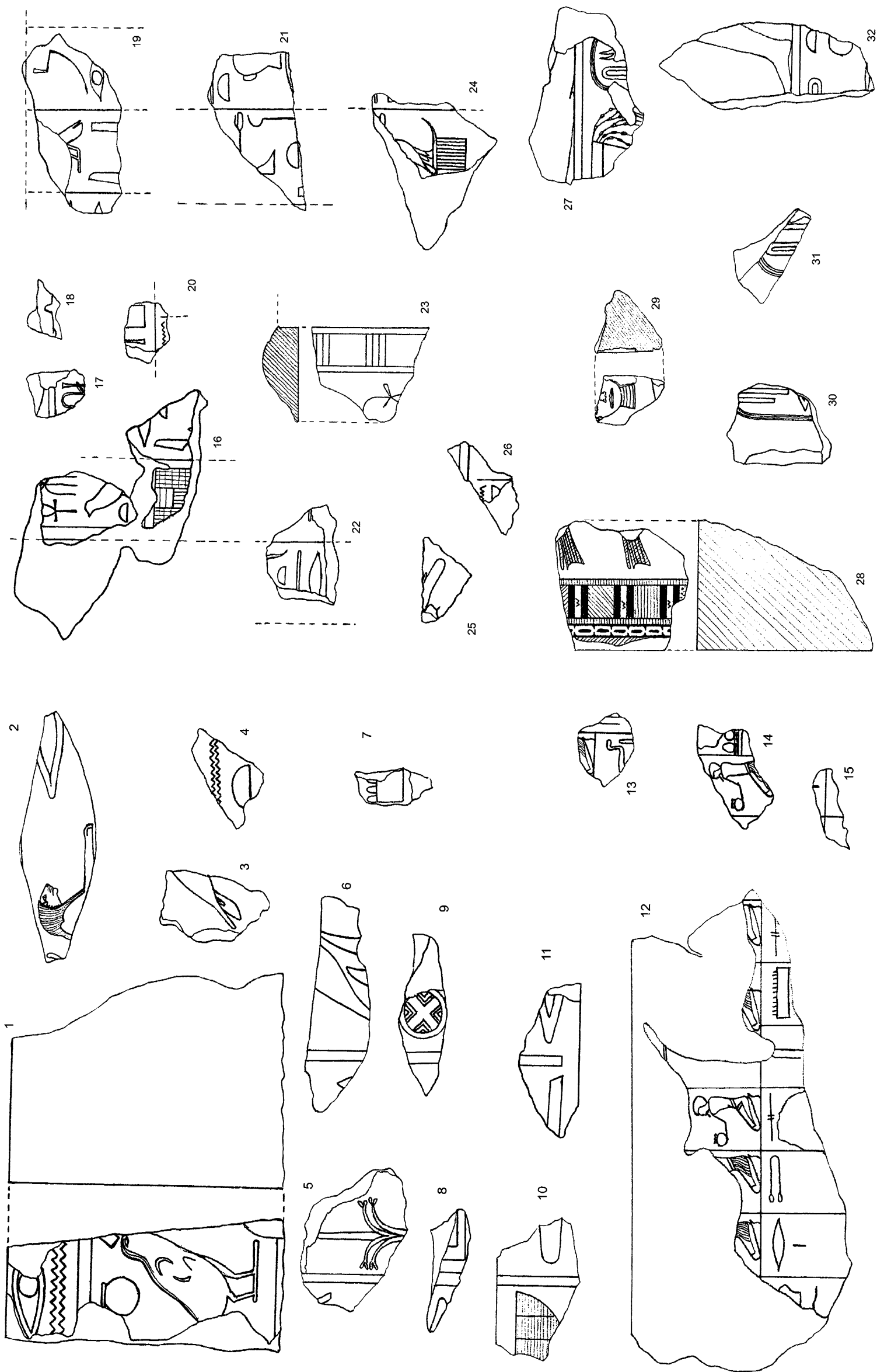
Pl. 13. Lid of the sarcophagus of Senwosretankh (see pl. 24a). Scale 1:20. Lower drawing not to scale. Draw. W.S.



Pl. 14. Sections of underground apartments of Senwosretankh. Scale 1:50. Draw. R.V.



Pl. 15. Painted sarcophagus niche of the Senwosretankh crypt (L32-33:272).



Pl. 16. Relief fragments of Senwosretankh offering room (Lisht Journal III, pp. 9-16, 58).



Pl. 17a. Senwosretankh complex seen from east (L32-33:335).



Pl. 17b. West part of the Senwosretankh complex seen from southeast (L32-33:329).



Pl. 18a. Mastaba of Senwosretankh with entrance seen from north (L32-33:328).



Pl. 18b. East court of the Senwosretankh complex seen from south (L32-33:127).



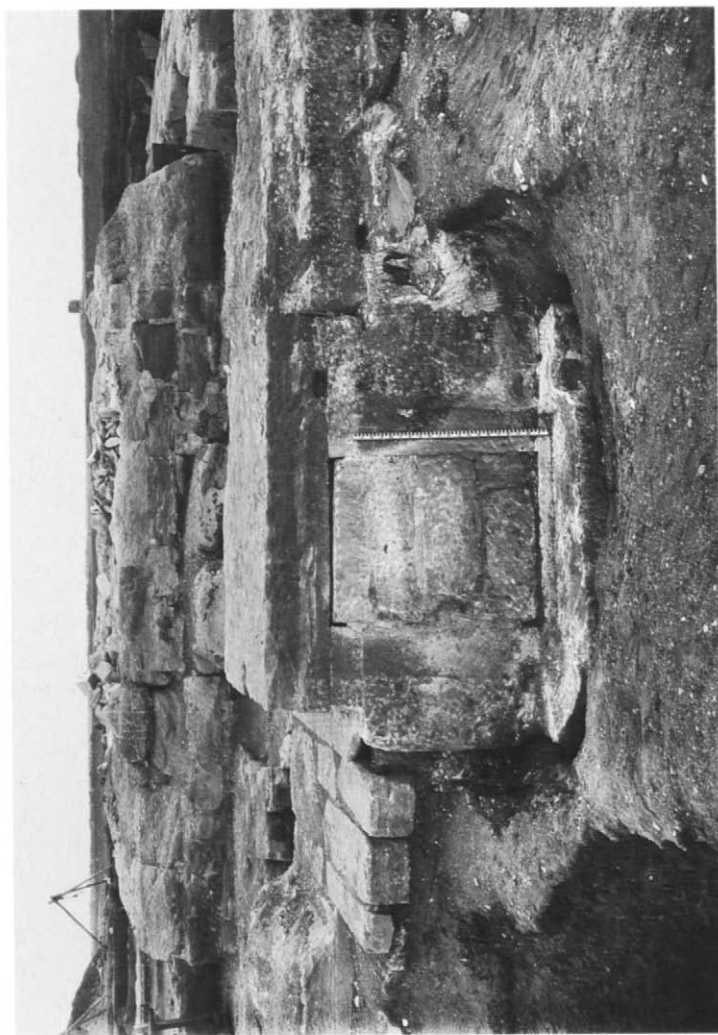
Pl. 19a. Northeast corner of inner court of Senwosretankh seen from south (L32-33:124).



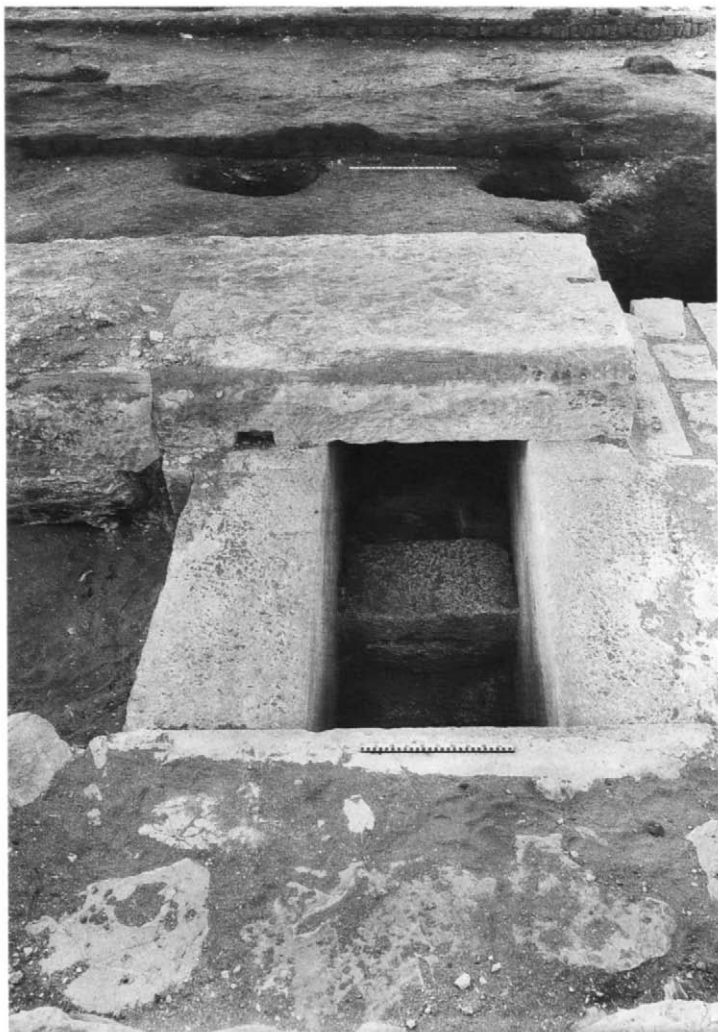
Pl. 19b. Southeast corner of inner court of Senwosretankh seen from north (L32-33:126).



Pl. 19c. Deposit basin at Senwosretankh mastaba southeast corner (L32-33:108).



Pl. 19d. Blocked tomb entrance of Senwosretankh mastaba (L32-33:128).



Pl. 20a. Opened tomb entrance of Senwosretankh mastaba (L32-33:129).



Pl. 20b. Blocks in entrance passage of Senwosretankh mastaba (L32-33:346).



Pl. 20c. Raised portcullis in entrance passage of Senwosretankh mastaba (L32-33:66).



Pl. 20d. Raised portcullis in entrance passage of Senwosretankh mastaba (L32-33:64).



Pl. 21a. Senwosretankh's crypt as found (L32-33:66).



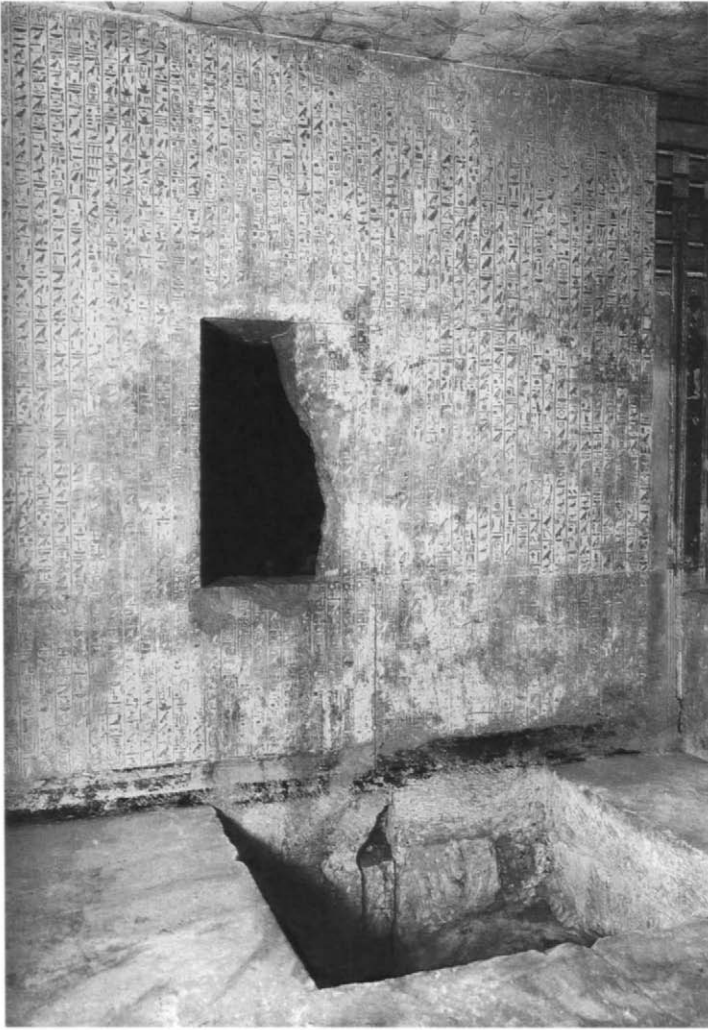
Pl. 21b. Senwosretankh's crypt as found (L32-33:67).



Pl. 22a. Senwosretankh's crypt looking east (L32-33:270).



Pl. 22b. Senwosretankh's crypt looking west (L32-33:271).



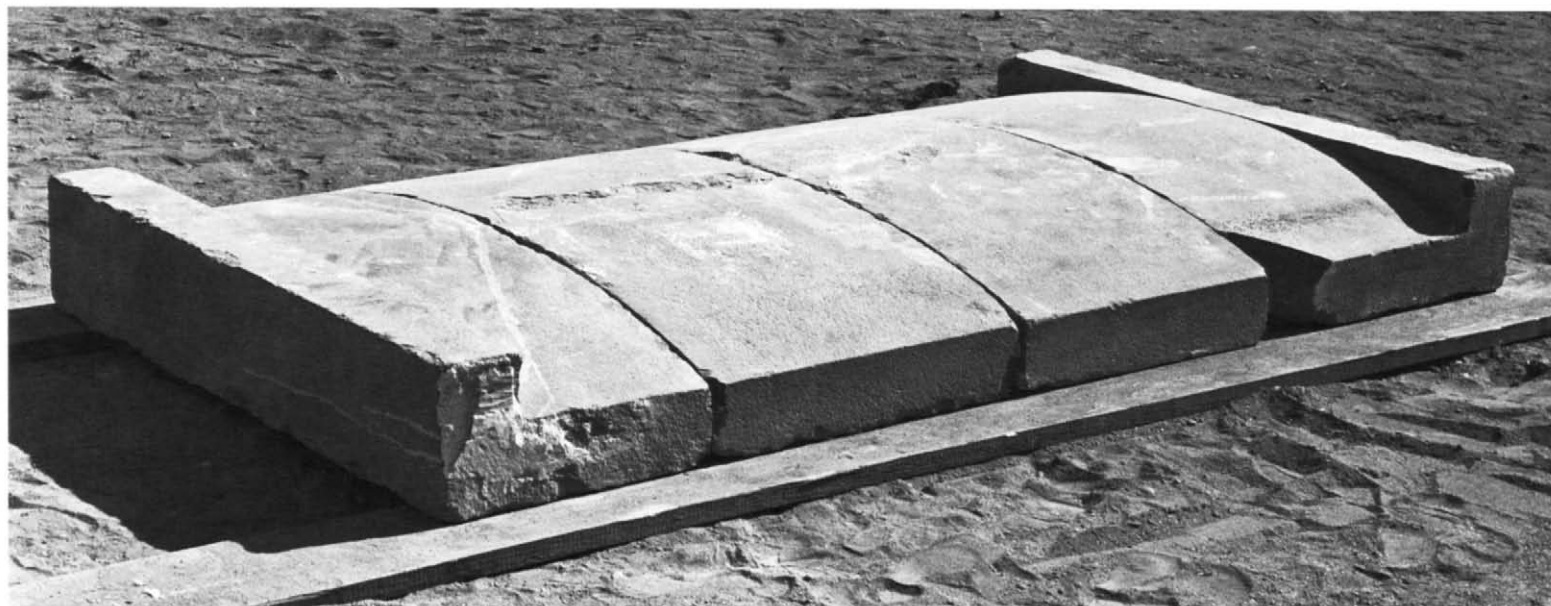
Pl. 23a. Robbers' hole in Senwosretankh's crypt
(L32-33:90).



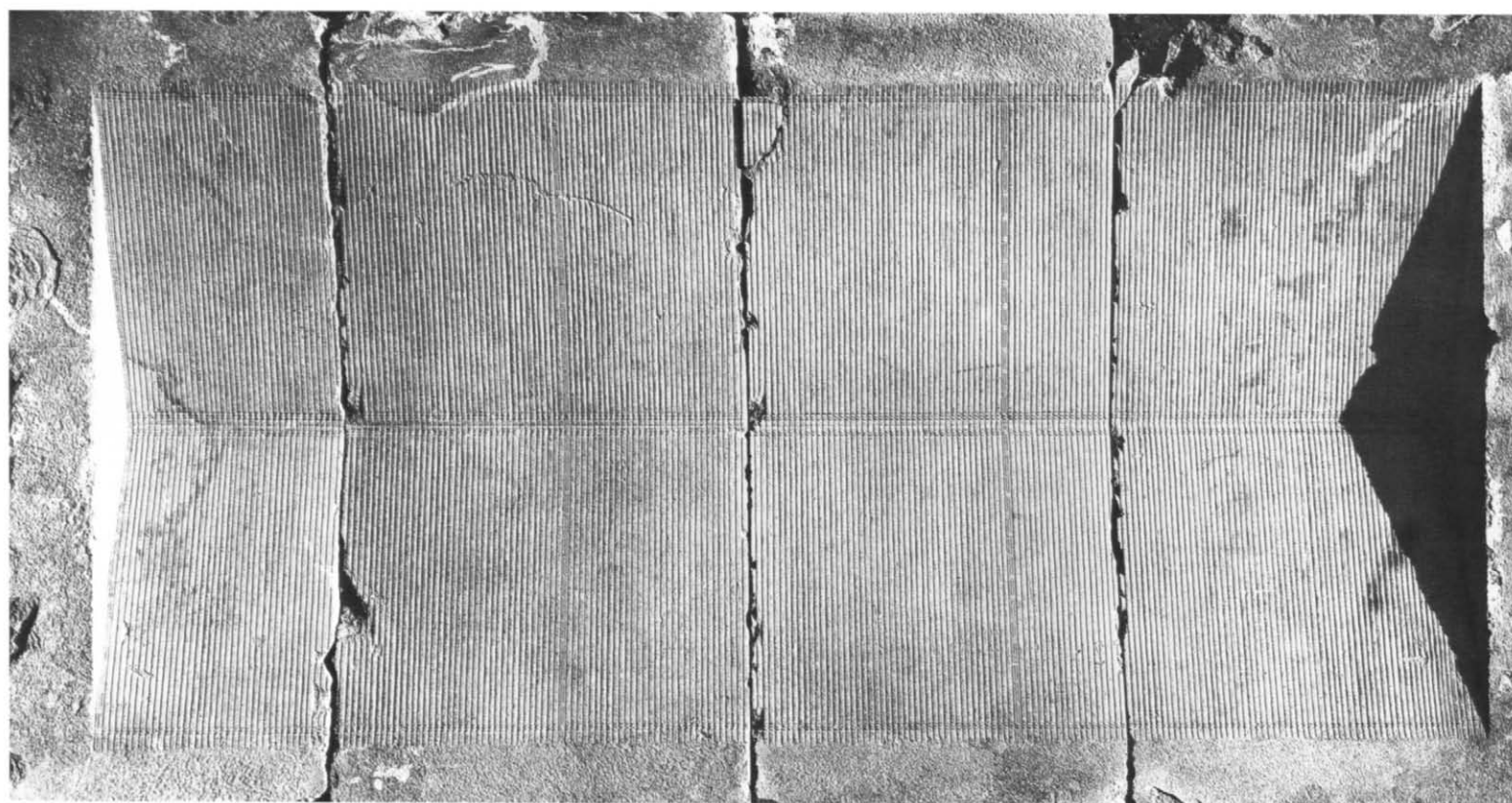
Pl. 23b. Robbers' hole in Senwosretankh's crypt
(L32-33:82).



Pl. 23c. Sarcophagus pit of Senwosretankh (L32-33:326).



Pl. 24a. Sarcophagus lid of Senwosretankh. JdE 60272 (L32-33:249).



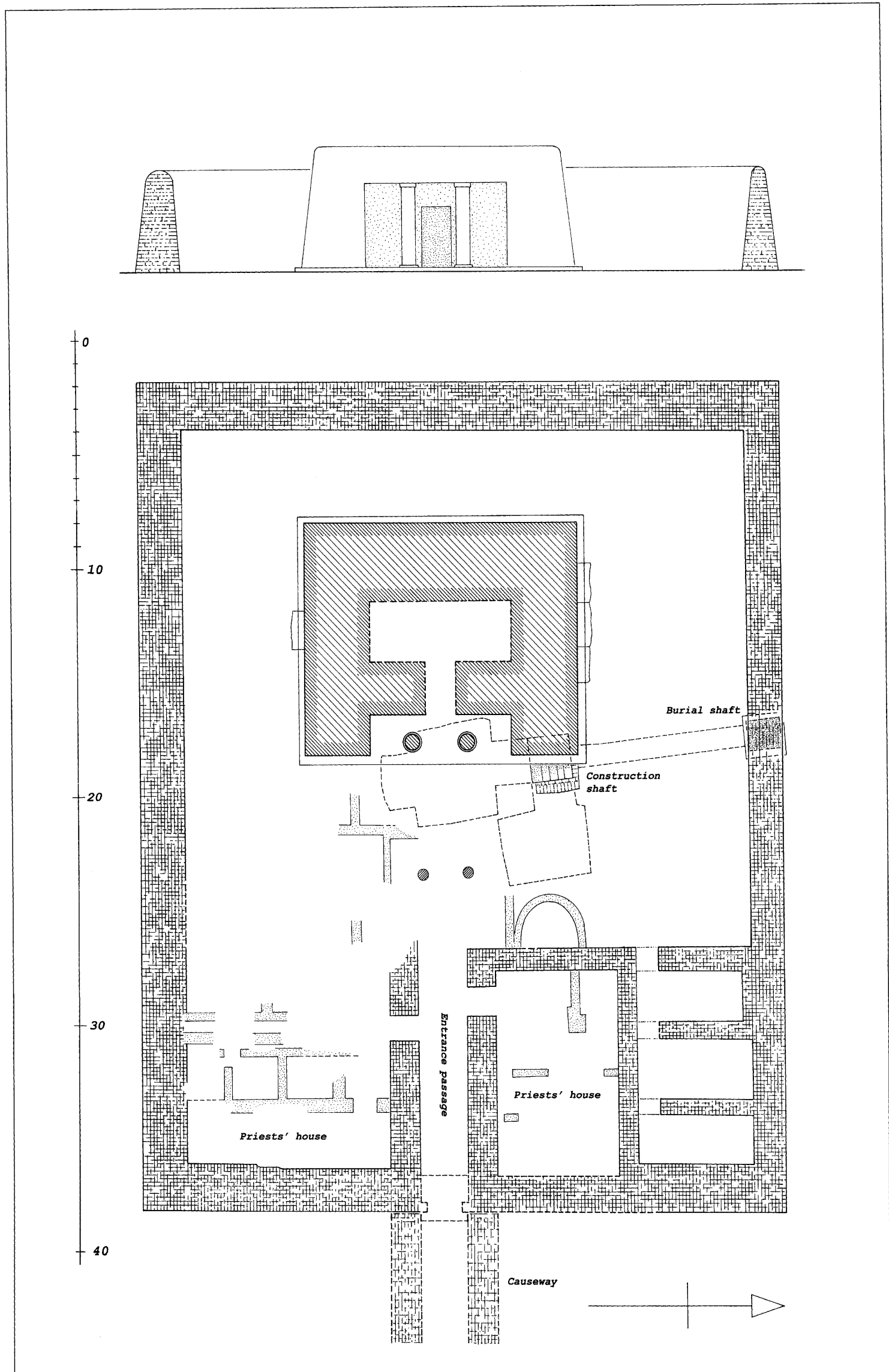
Pl. 24b. Underside of the sarcophagus lid of Senwosretankh (L32-33:232).



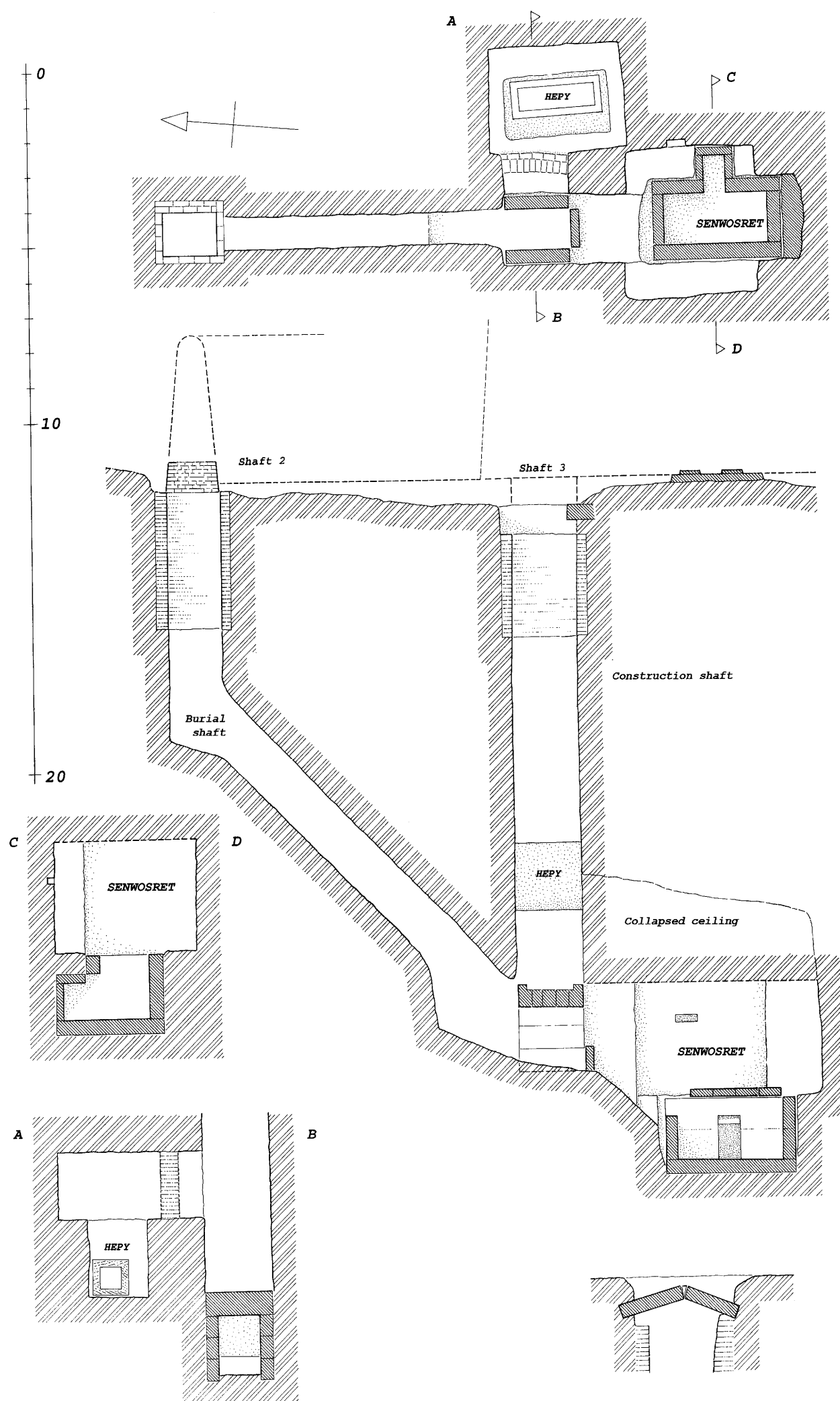
Pl. 24c. Granite lintel from the entrance to the cult chapel. JdE 60267 (L32-33:29).



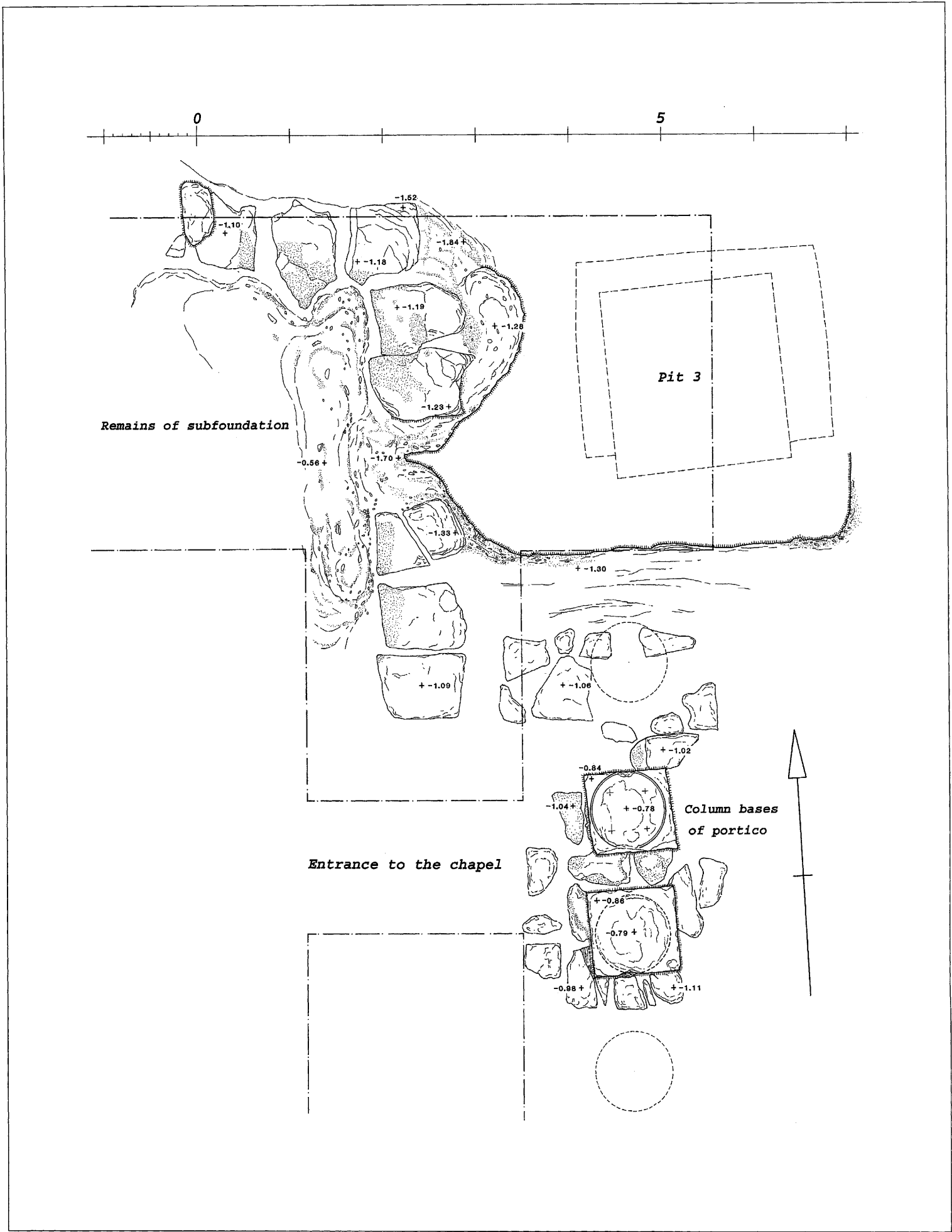
Pl. 25. Granite blocks of Senwosretankh. MMA 33.1.13, .14. Photo W.B.; draw J.J.



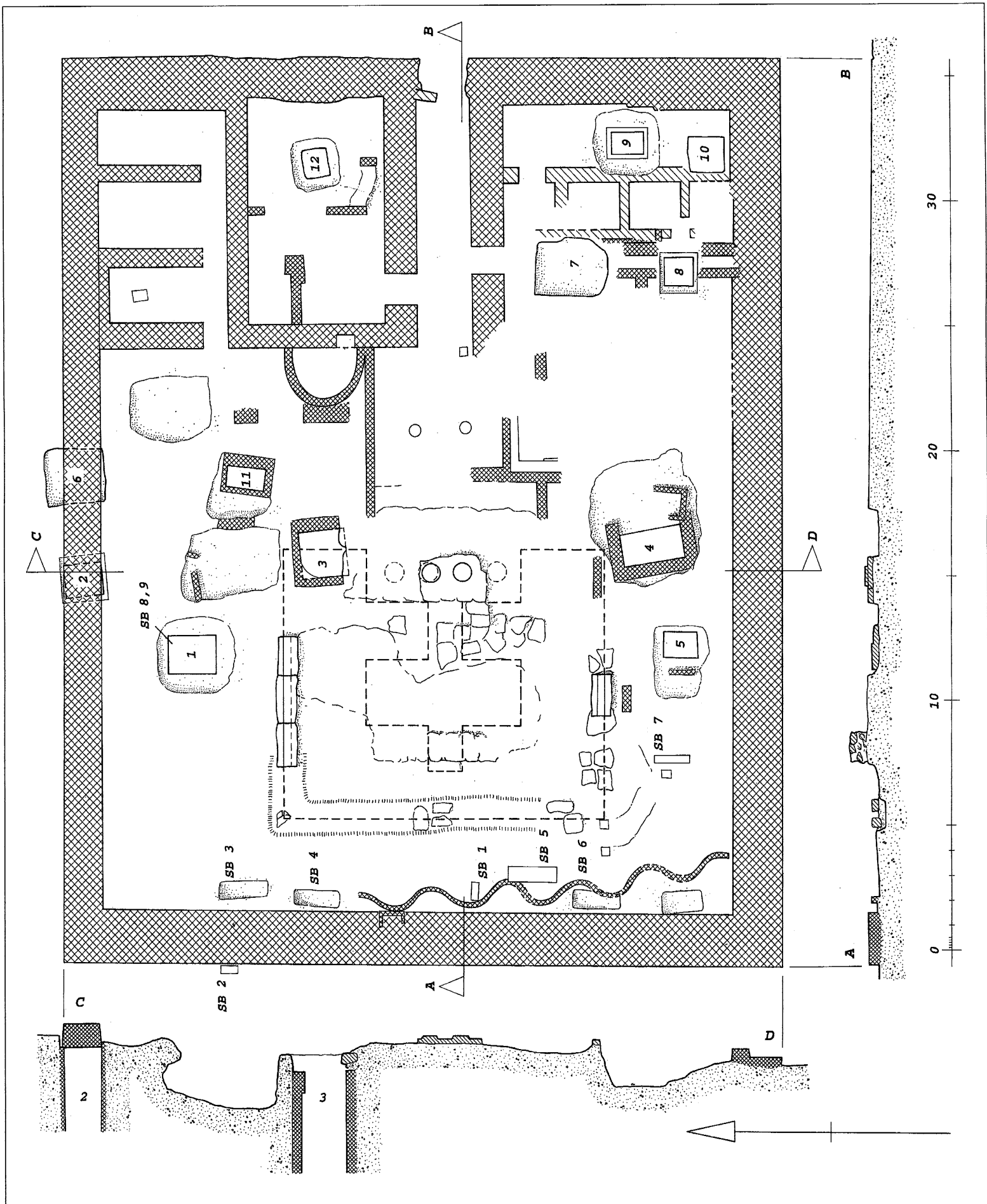
Pl. 26. East elevation and reconstructed plan of the complex of Senwosret(?). Scale 1:200. Draw. D.A.



Pl. 27. Plan and sections through the underground apartments of the tomb of Senwosret(?). Scale 1:150. Draw. D.A.



Pl. 28. Remains of the superstructure of the complex of Senwosret(?). Scale 1:50. Draw.W.S., after rendering by Christian Hölzl.



Pl. 29. Excavation plan of 1934 season of the tomb complex of Senwosret(?). Scale 1:200. Draw. W.S.



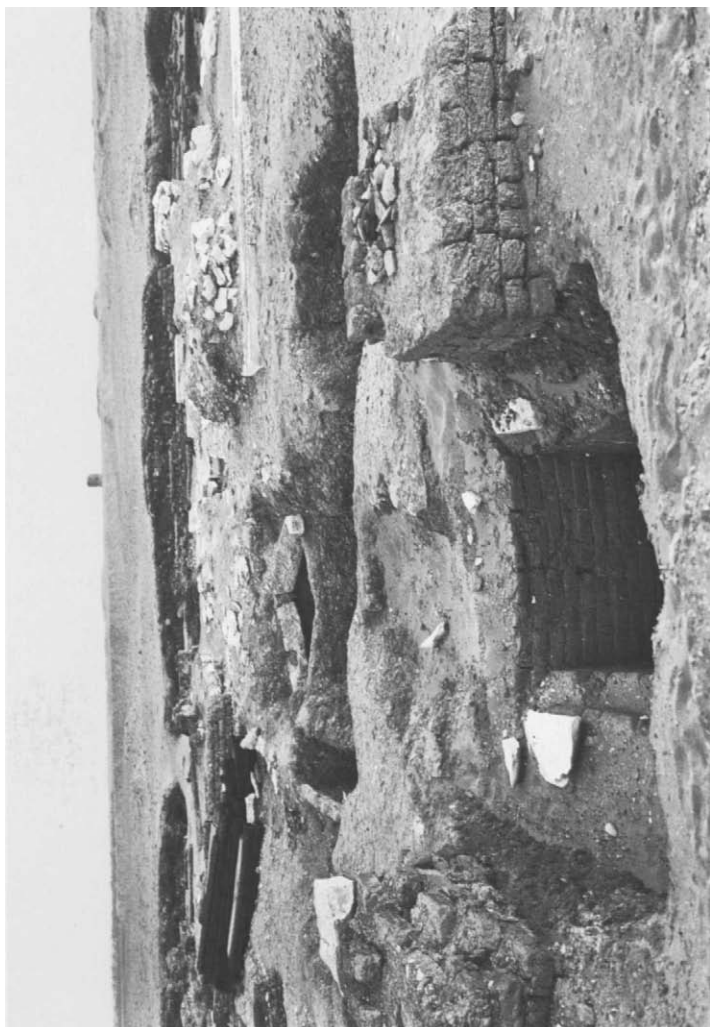
Pl. 30b. Pit 6 in the north wall of the Senwosret(?) complex looking south (L33-34:317).



Pl. 30d. Objects cleared in front of the bricked-up chamber of the Hepy burial (L33-34:301).



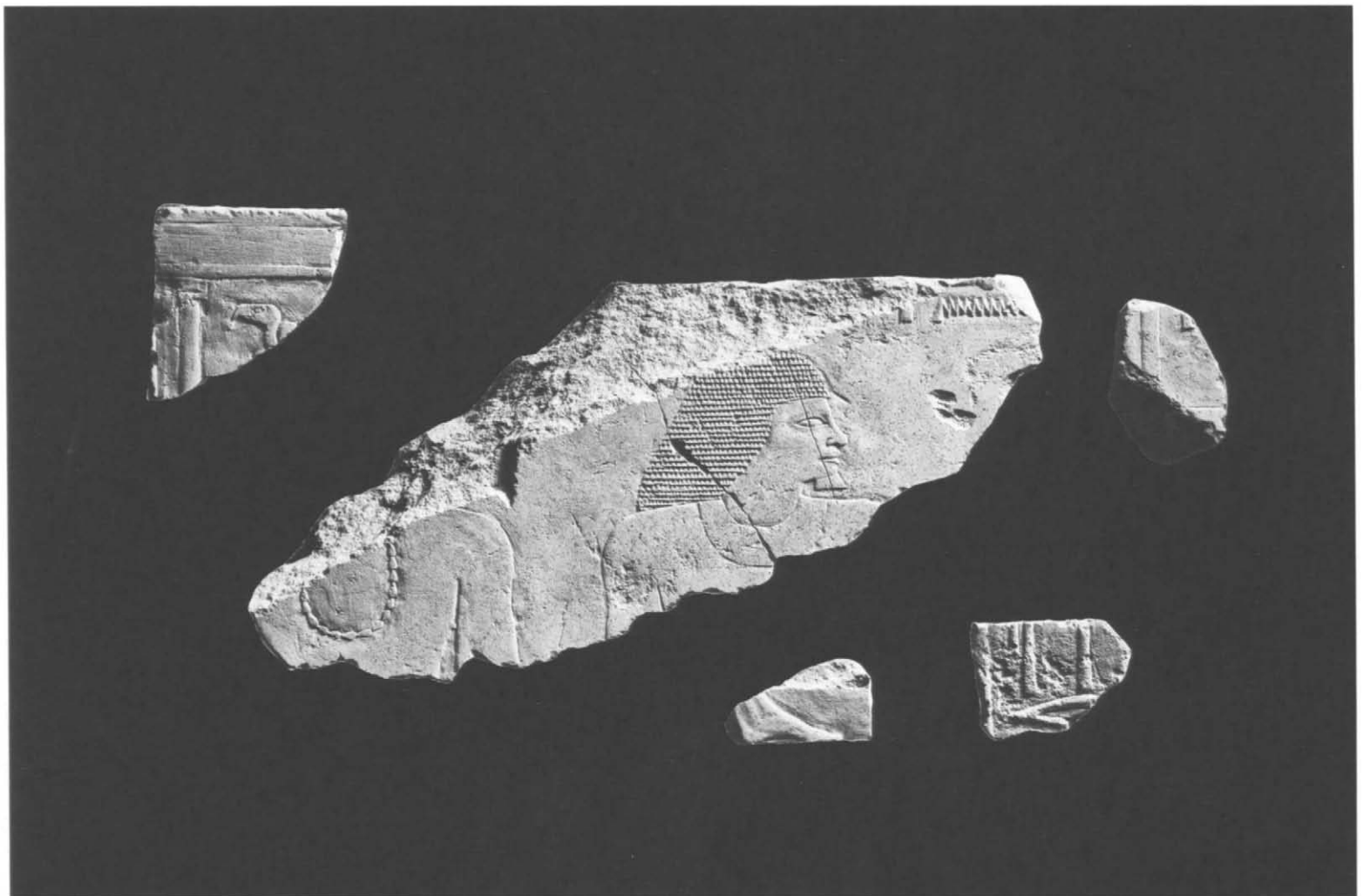
Pl. 30a. The Senwosret(?) complex seen from the west (L33-34:375).



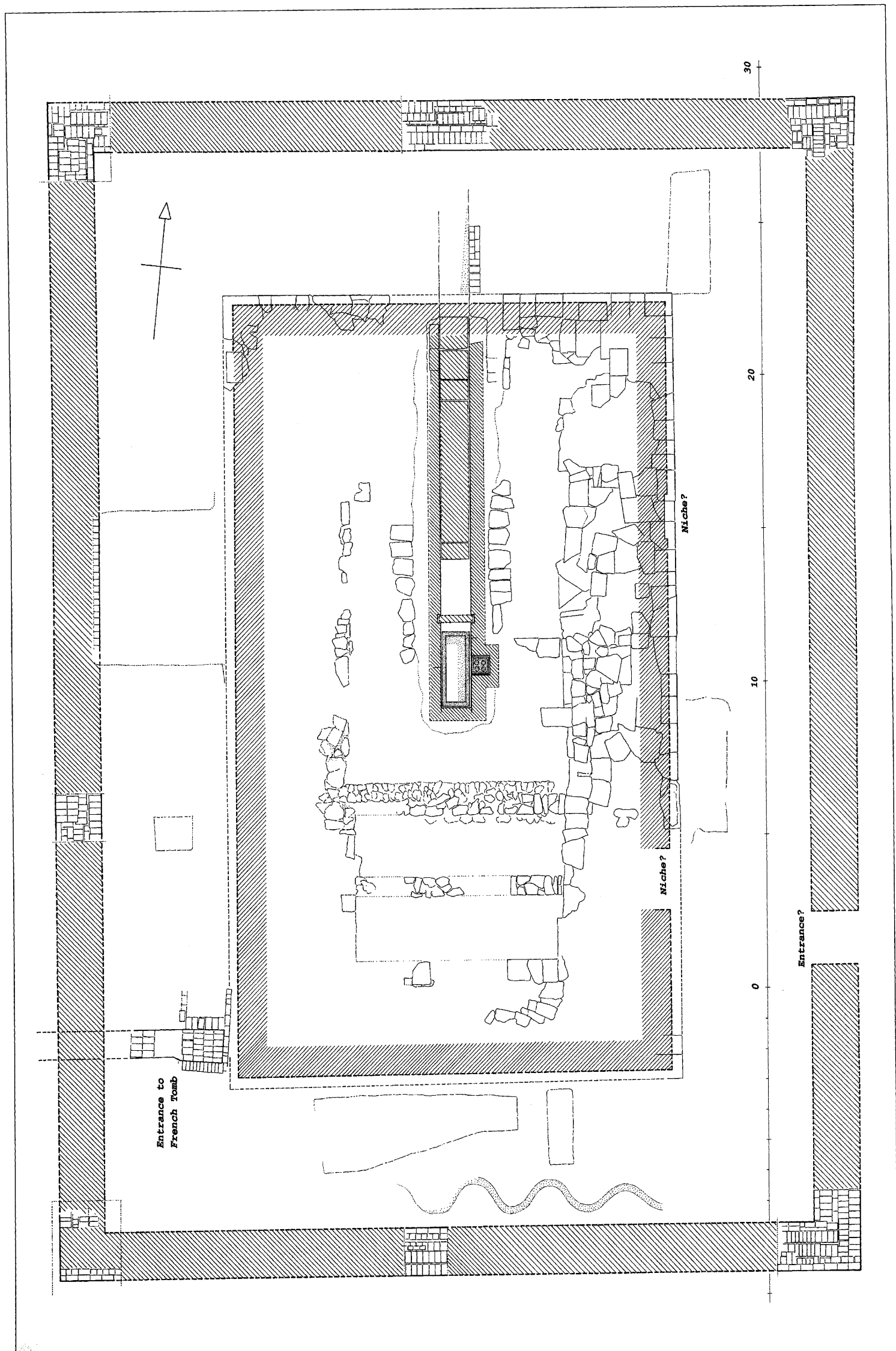
Pl. 30c. The Senwosret(?) complex seen from the north with pit 2 in foreground (L33-34:373).



Pl. 31a. Objects found in front of the Hepy tomb (L33-34:337).



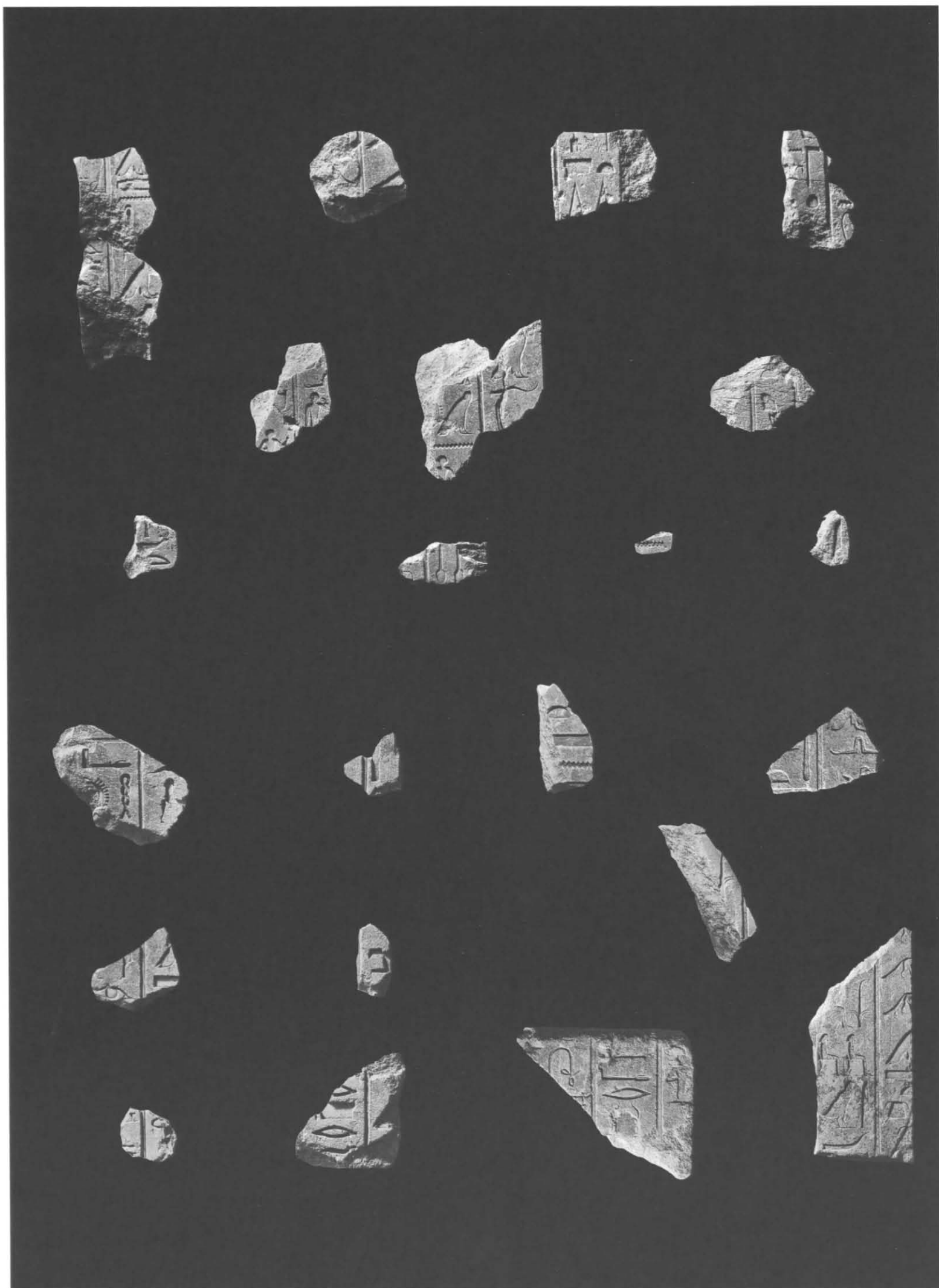
Pl. 31b. Relief fragments from the Senwosret(?) complex (L33-34:437).



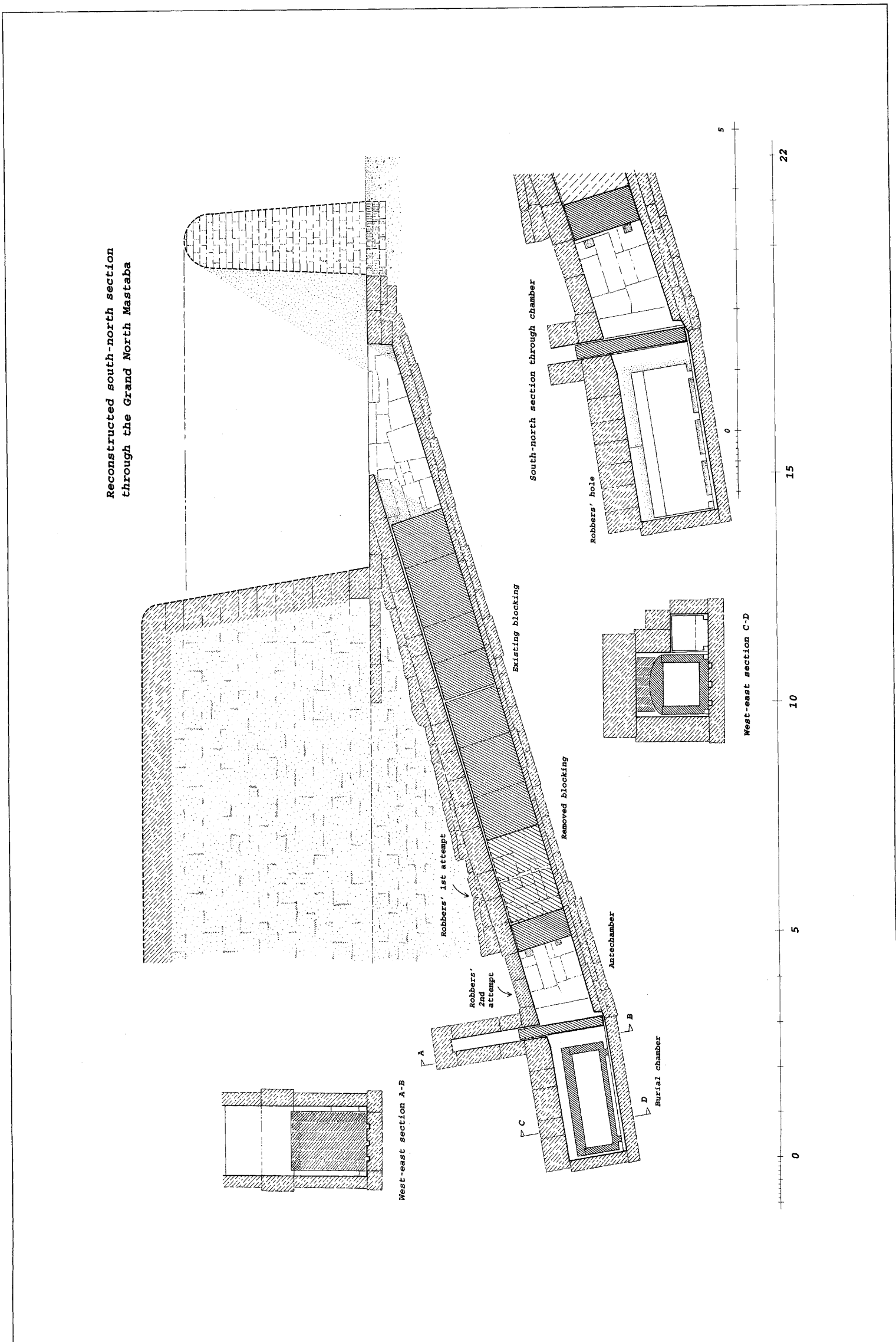
Pl. 32. Overall plan of the tomb of Intef(?), Grand North Mastaba. Scale 1:150. Draw. D.A.



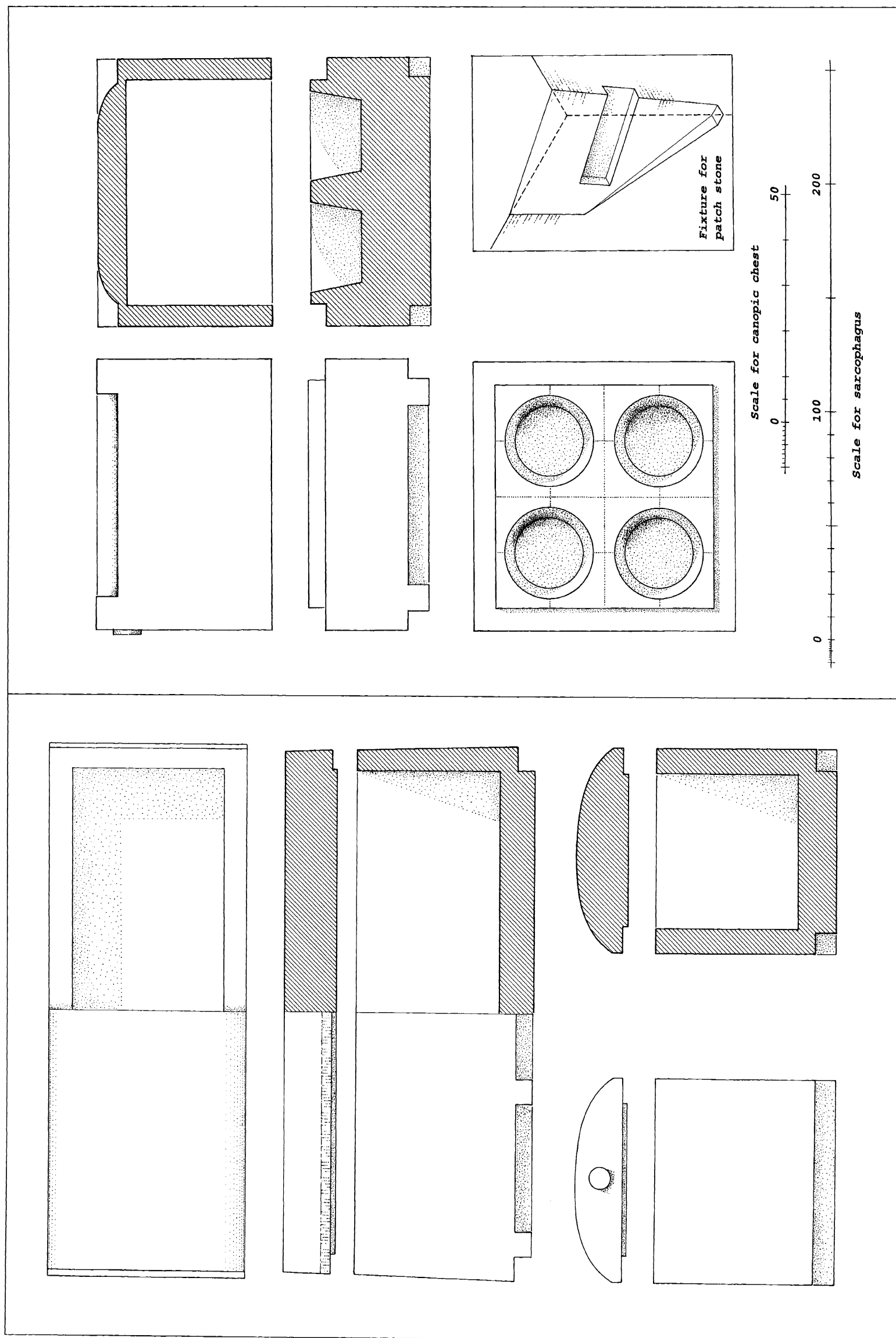
Pl. 33. Fragments of the biographical exterior inscription of Intef(?). Upper right: MMA 46.3.1; lower left: JdE 60270 (L32-33:137). Photo W.B.



Pl. 34. Fragments of the biographical exterior inscription of Intef(?). The five pieces in the lower right corner (89/26–28, 89/63, 89/69) are in the Saqqara Inspectorate. The whereabouts of the rest is unknown.



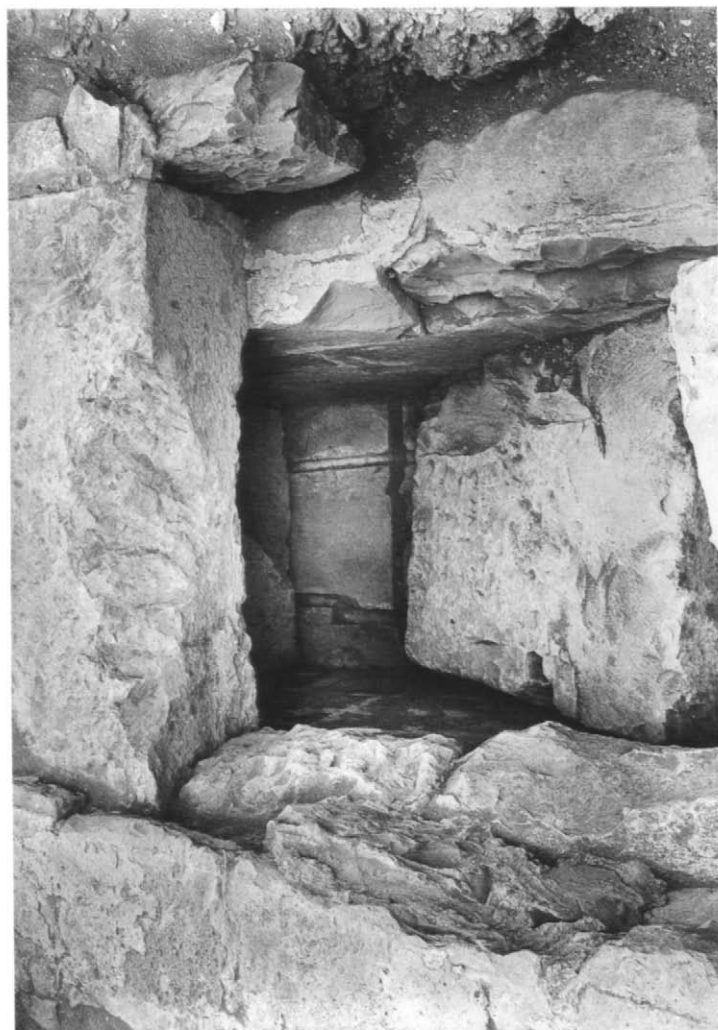
Pl. 35. Elevation and several sections through the tomb of Intef(?). Main scale 1:100. Draw. D.A.



Pl. 36. Sarcophagus and canopic chest of Intef(?). MMA 09.180.528a-b. Scales 1:20 and 1:10. Draw. D.A.



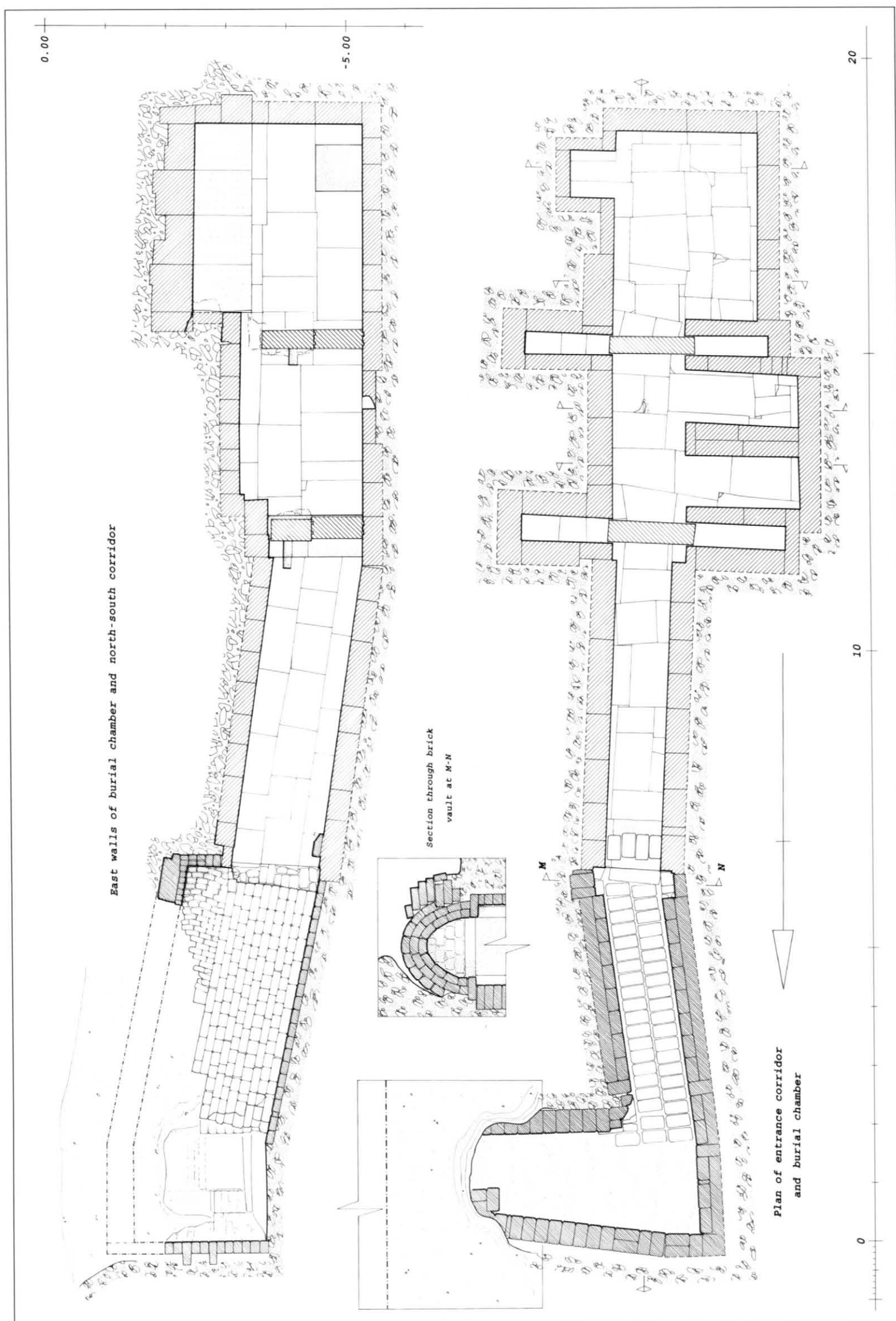
Pl. 37a. Roof of chamber (foreground) and passage of the Intef(?) tomb looking north (L7-8:485).



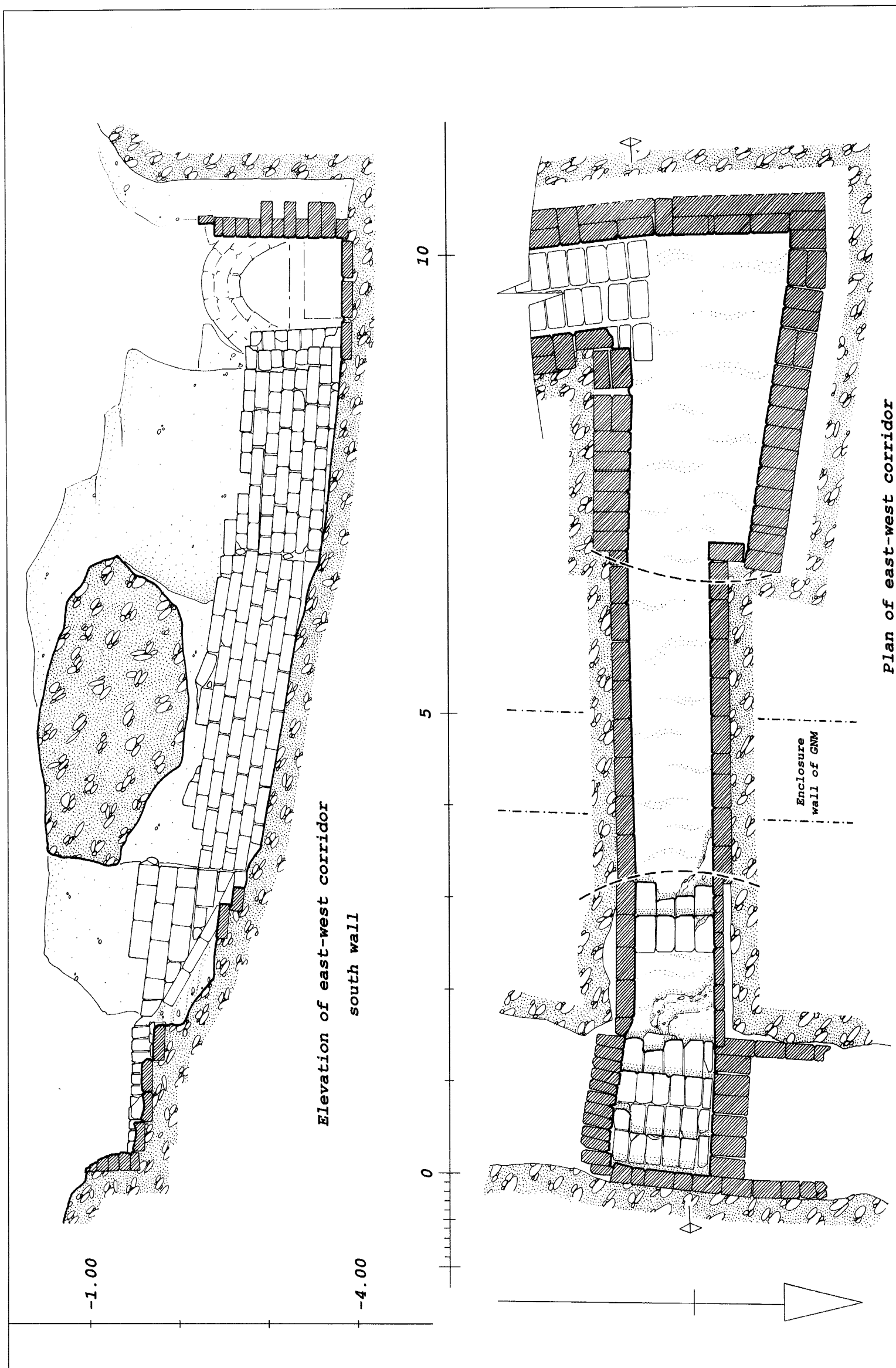
Pl. 37b. Roofing and corridor blocking of the tomb of Intef(?) looking north (L7-8:475).



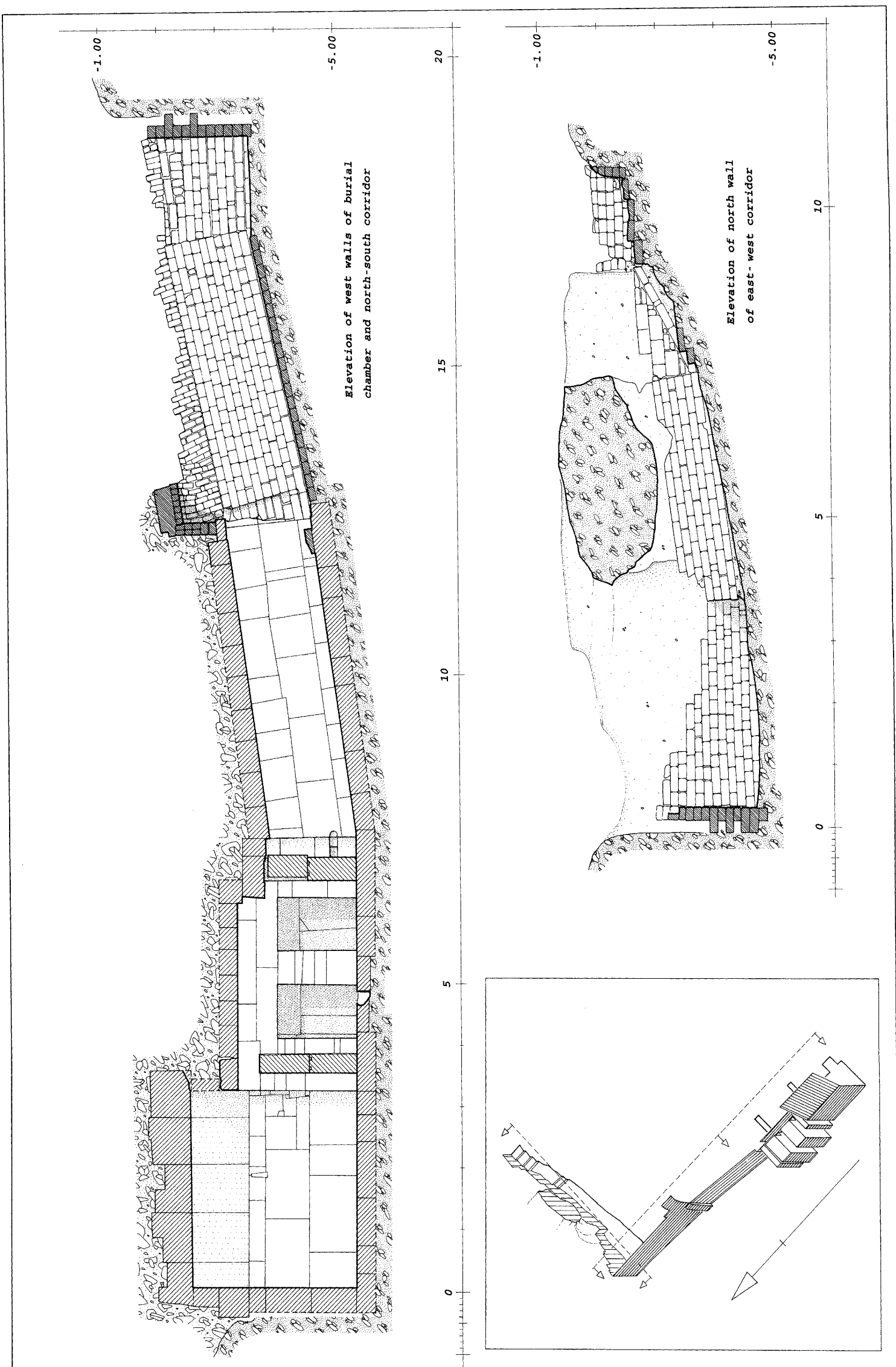
Pl. 37c. Roofing of the chamber of the Intef(?) tomb with sarcophagus in place, looking northwest (L7-8:476).



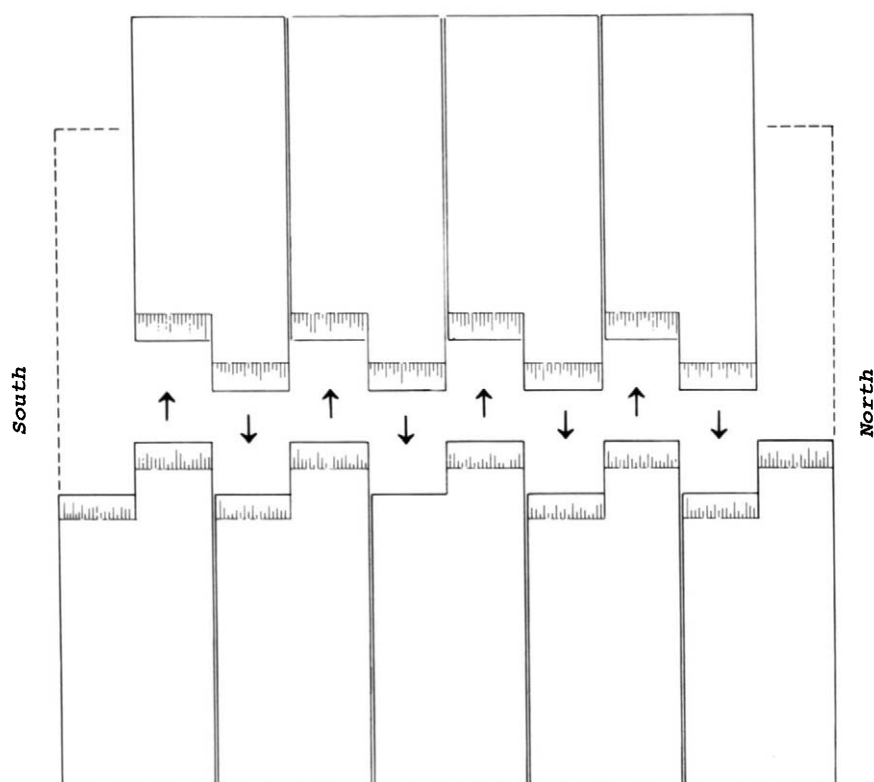
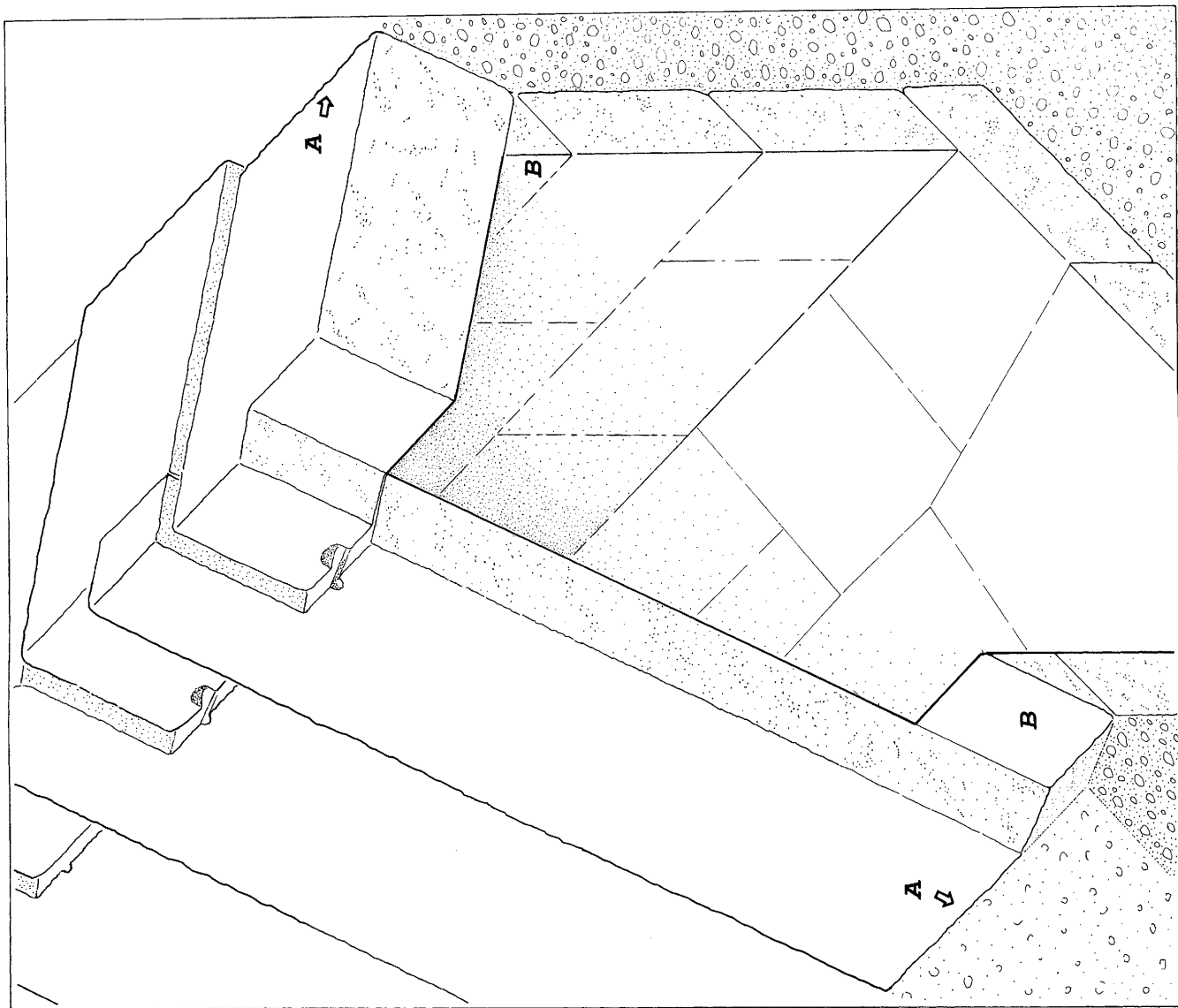
Pl. 38. Plan and north-south section of the French Tomb. Scale 1:75. Draw. R.V.



Pl. 39. Section and plan of the French Tomb. Scale 1:50. Draw. R.V.

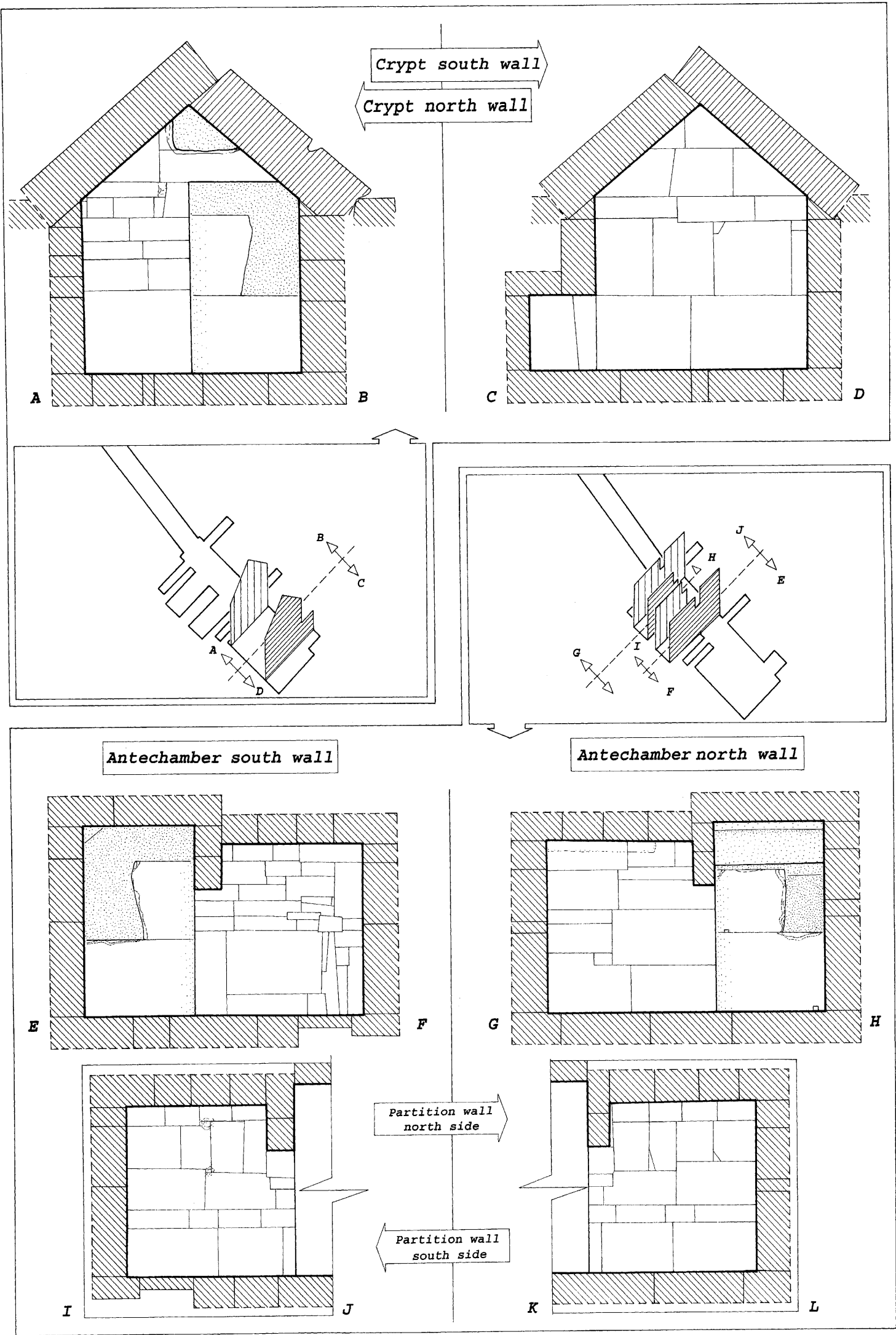


Pl. 40. Sections of the French Tomb. Scale 1:75. Draw. R. V.

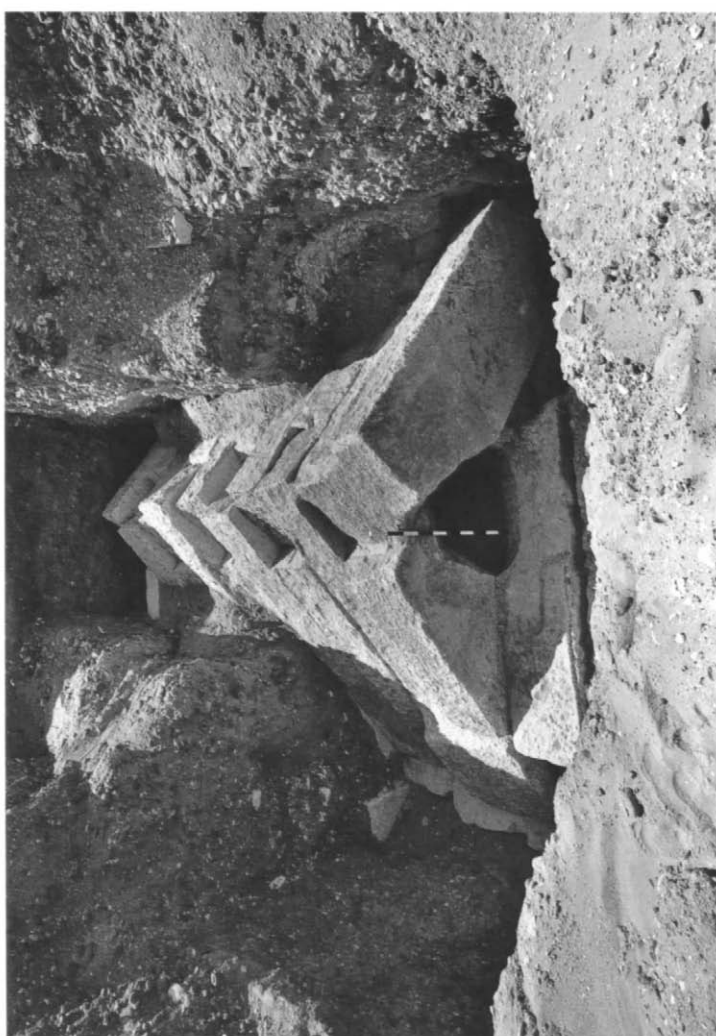


A = Thrust of block
B = Triangular blocks

Pl. 41. Roof construction of the crypt of the French Tomb. Draw. D.A.



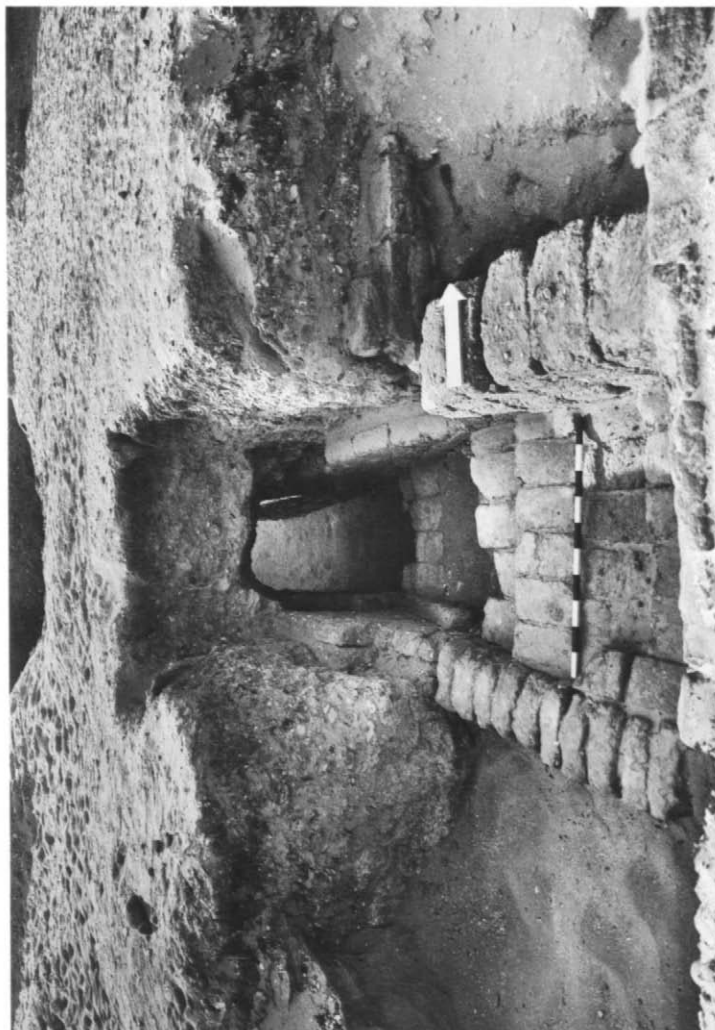
Pl. 42. Sections through the crypt of the French Tomb. Scale 1:50. Draw. D.A.



Pl. 43a. The roof construction of the French Tomb looking south (L89:38).



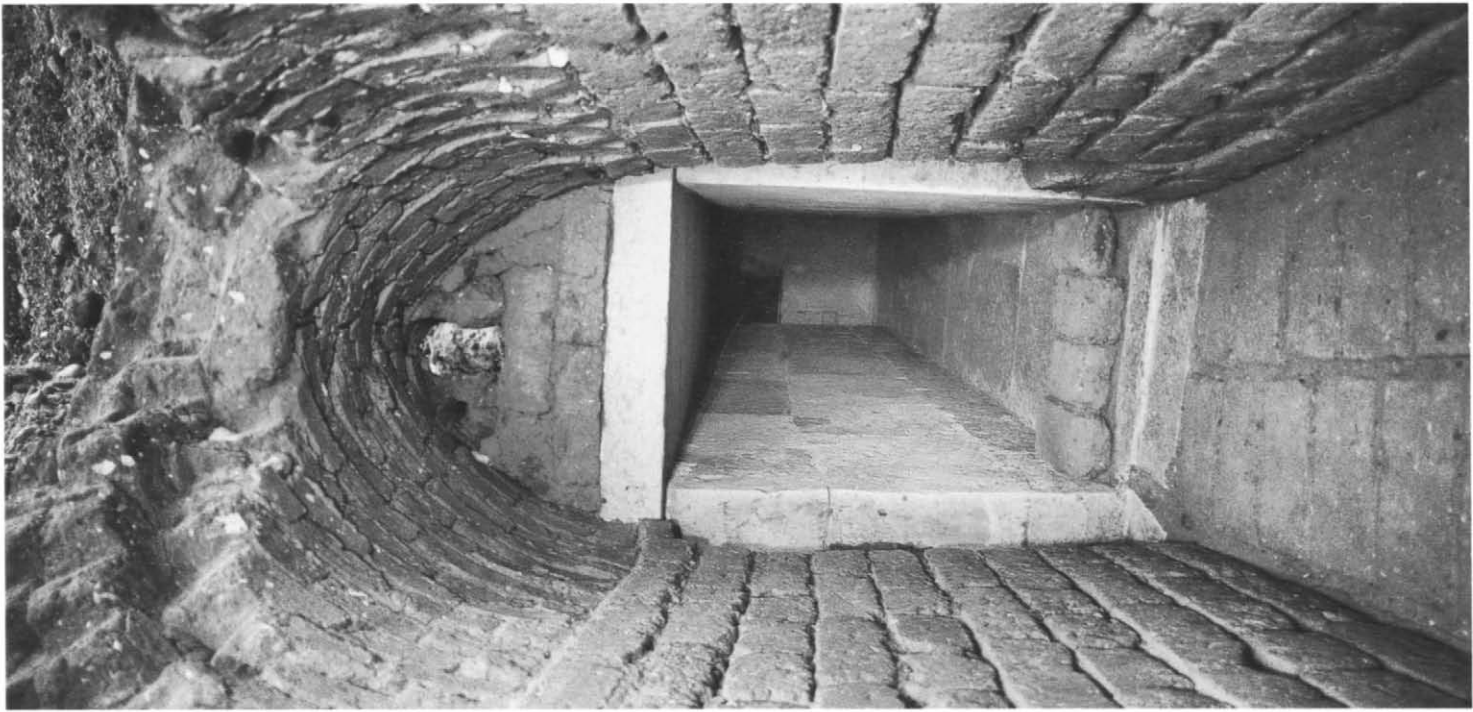
Pl. 43c. The entrance staircase to the French Tomb looking northeast (L89:61).



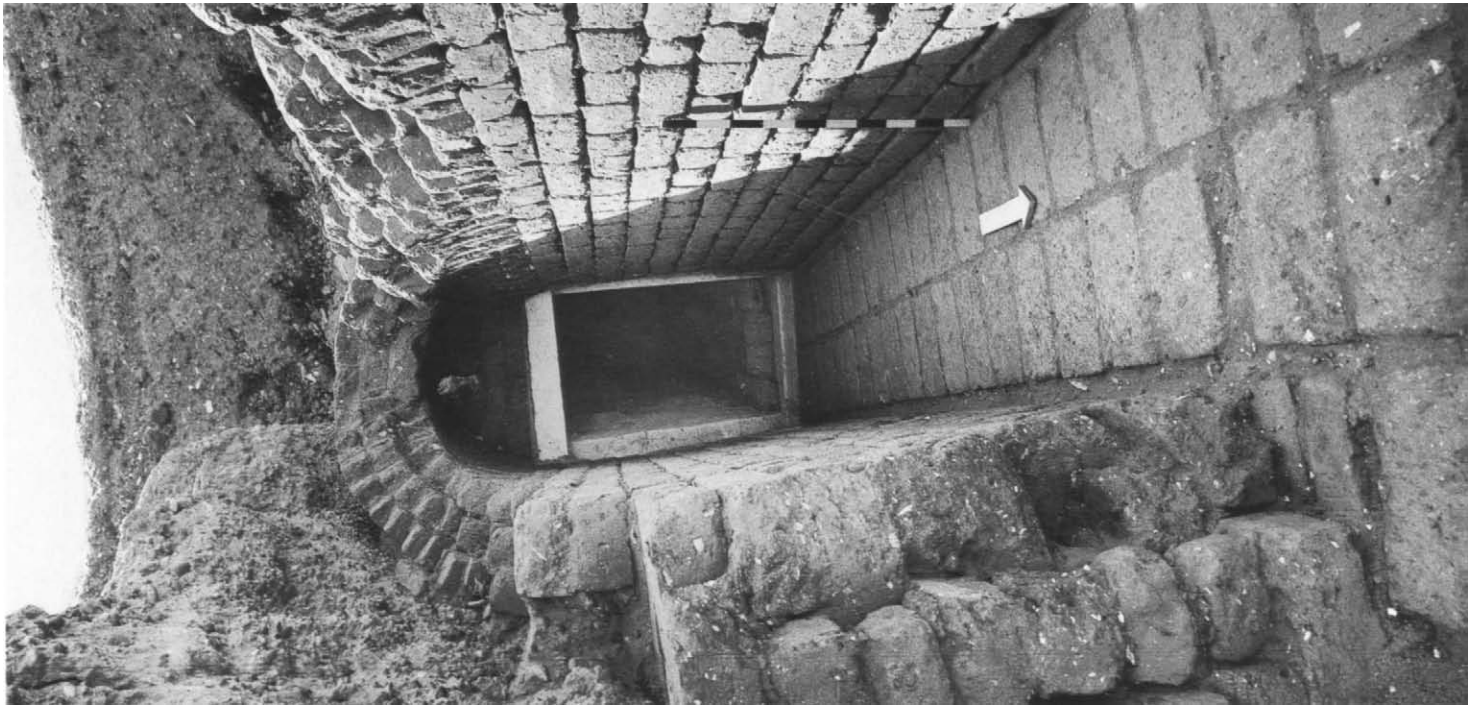
Pl. 43b. The entrance staircase to the French Tomb looking west (L89:25).



Pl. 43d. The northwest corner of entrance passage to the French Tomb (L89:49).



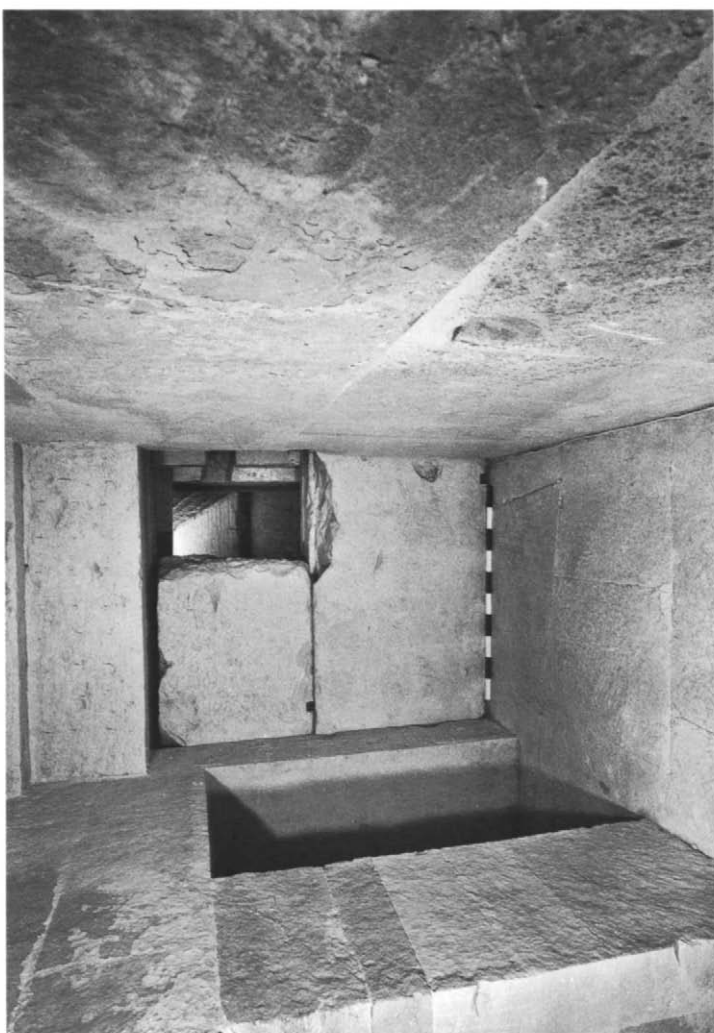
Pl. 44c. Brick vault of the entrance passage to the French Tomb (L89:39).



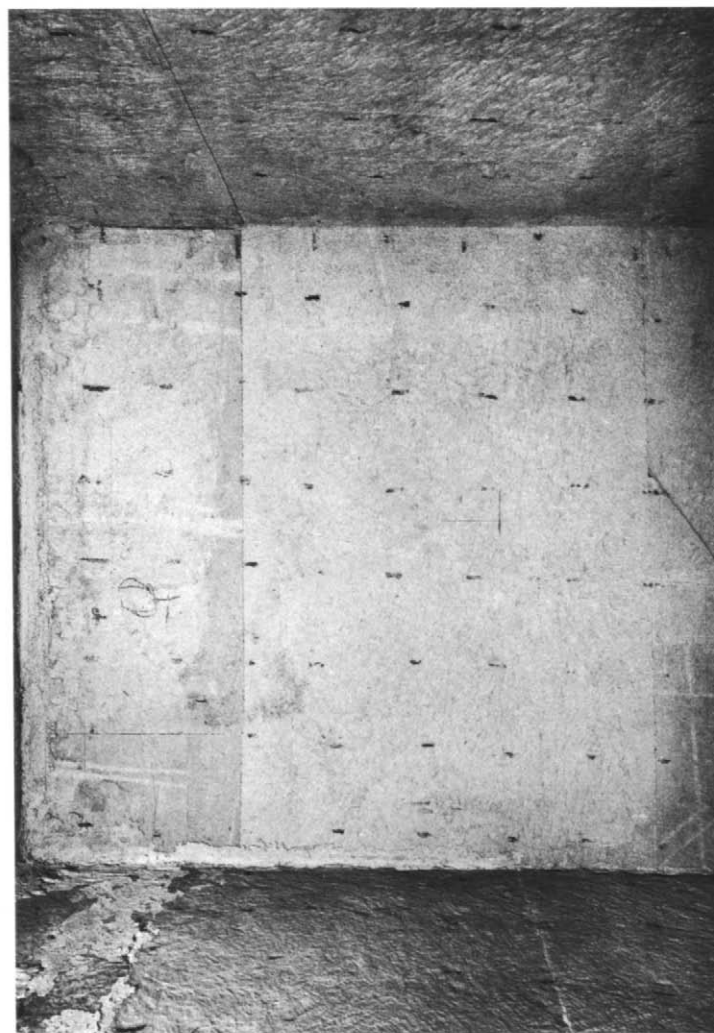
Pl. 44b. The entrance passage to the French Tomb looking south (L89:51).



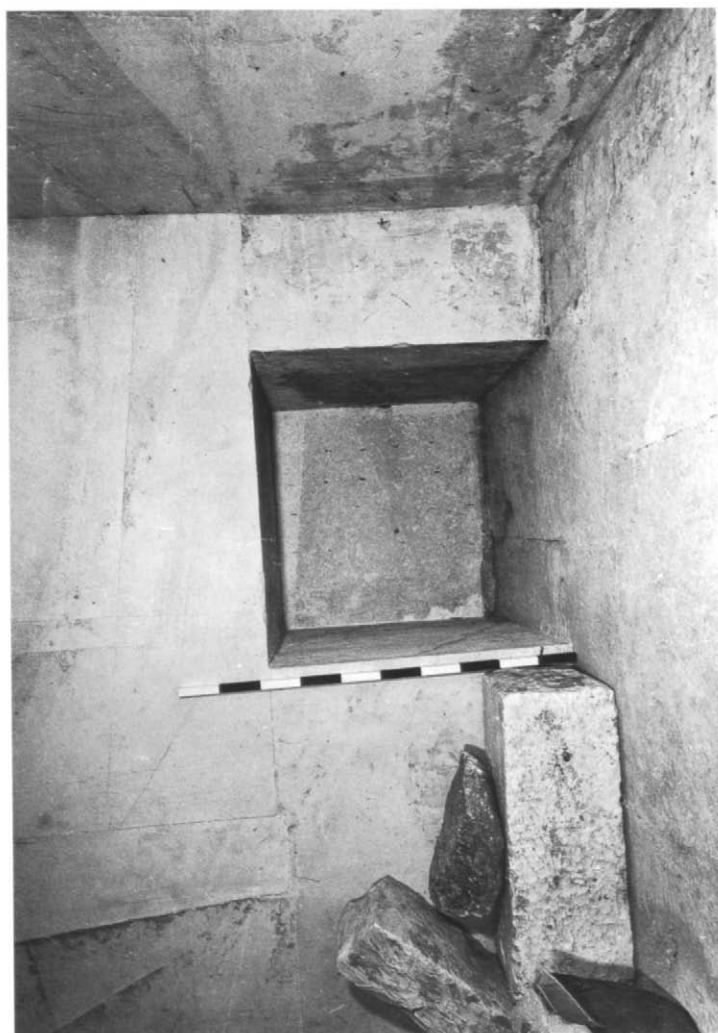
Pl. 44a. The entrance passage to the French Tomb looking west (L89:50).



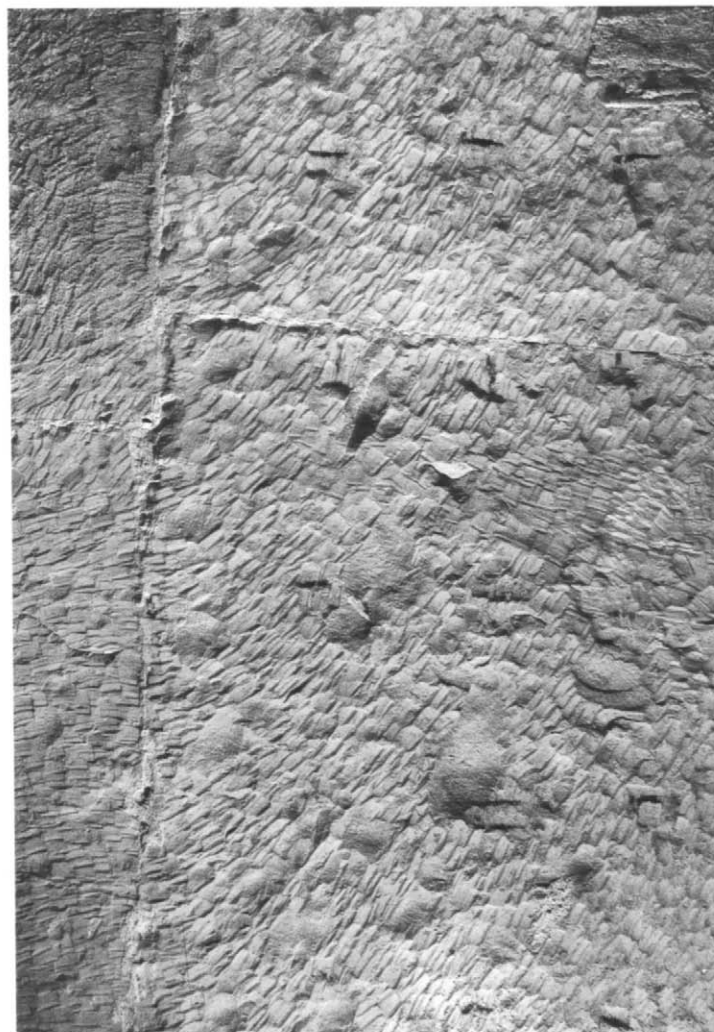
Pl. 45a. The antechamber of the French Tomb looking north (L89:10).



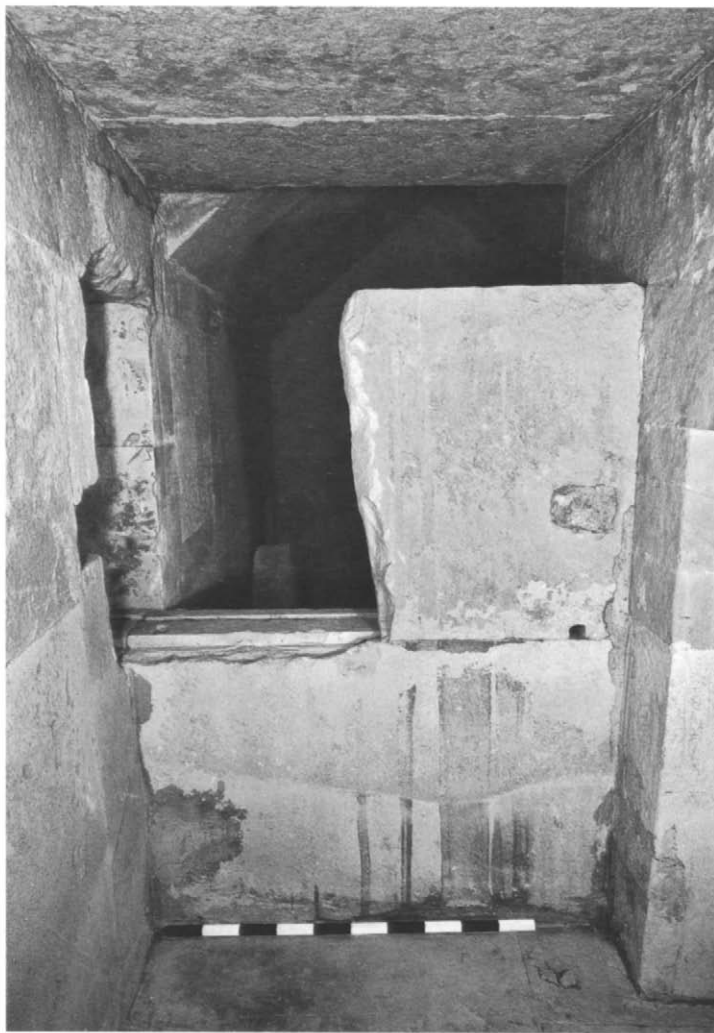
Pl. 45c. Masons' marks in the antechamber of the French Tomb looking west (L89:16).



Pl. 45b. The canopic niche in the crypt of the French Tomb looking east (L89:1).



Pl. 45d. Masons' marks in the crypt of the French Tomb (L89:58).



Pl. 46a. Portcullis of the French Tomb (L89:20).



Pl. 46b. Portcullis of the French Tomb (L89:22).



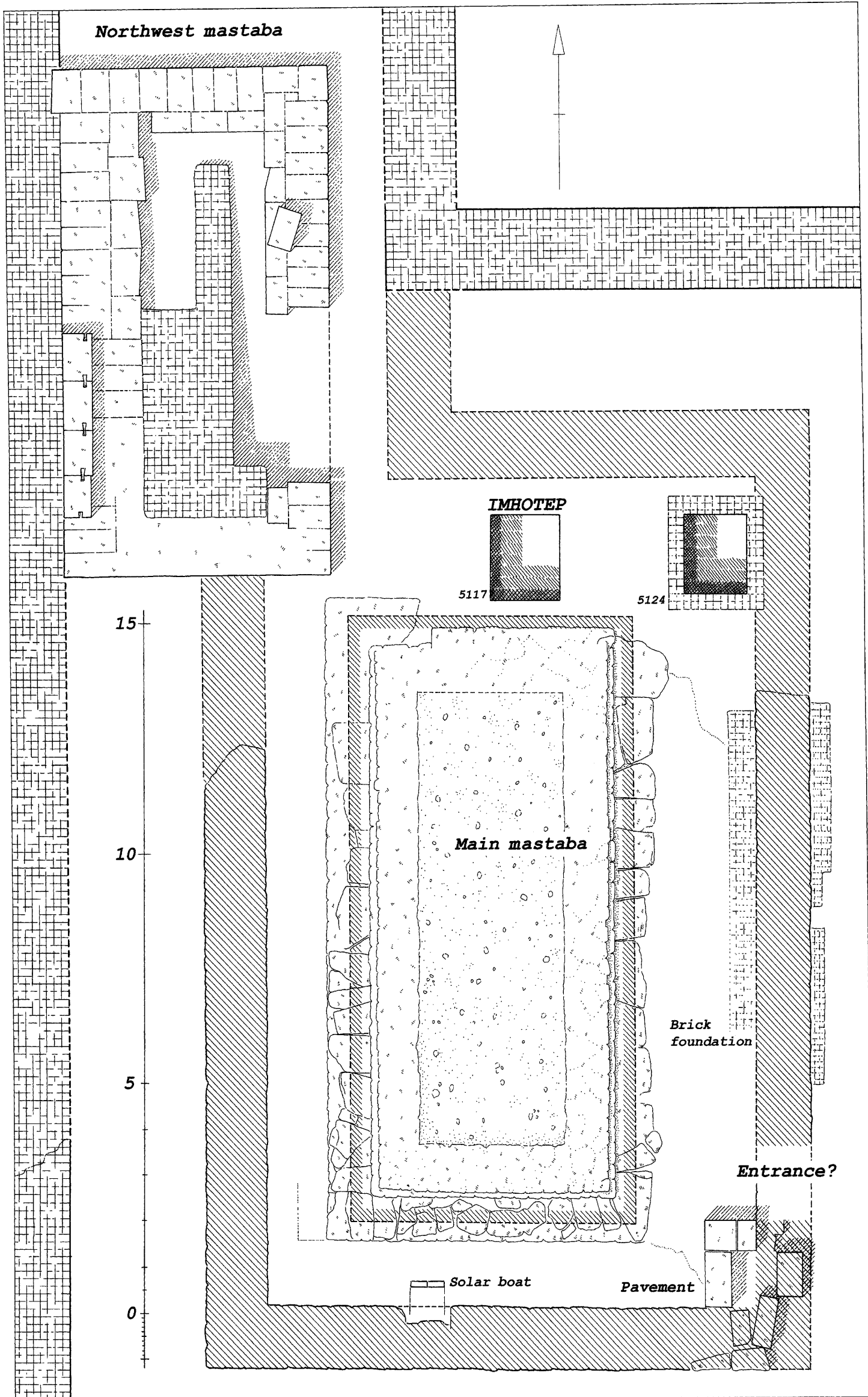
Pl. 46c. Eastern side slot of the portcullis in the French Tomb (L89:3).



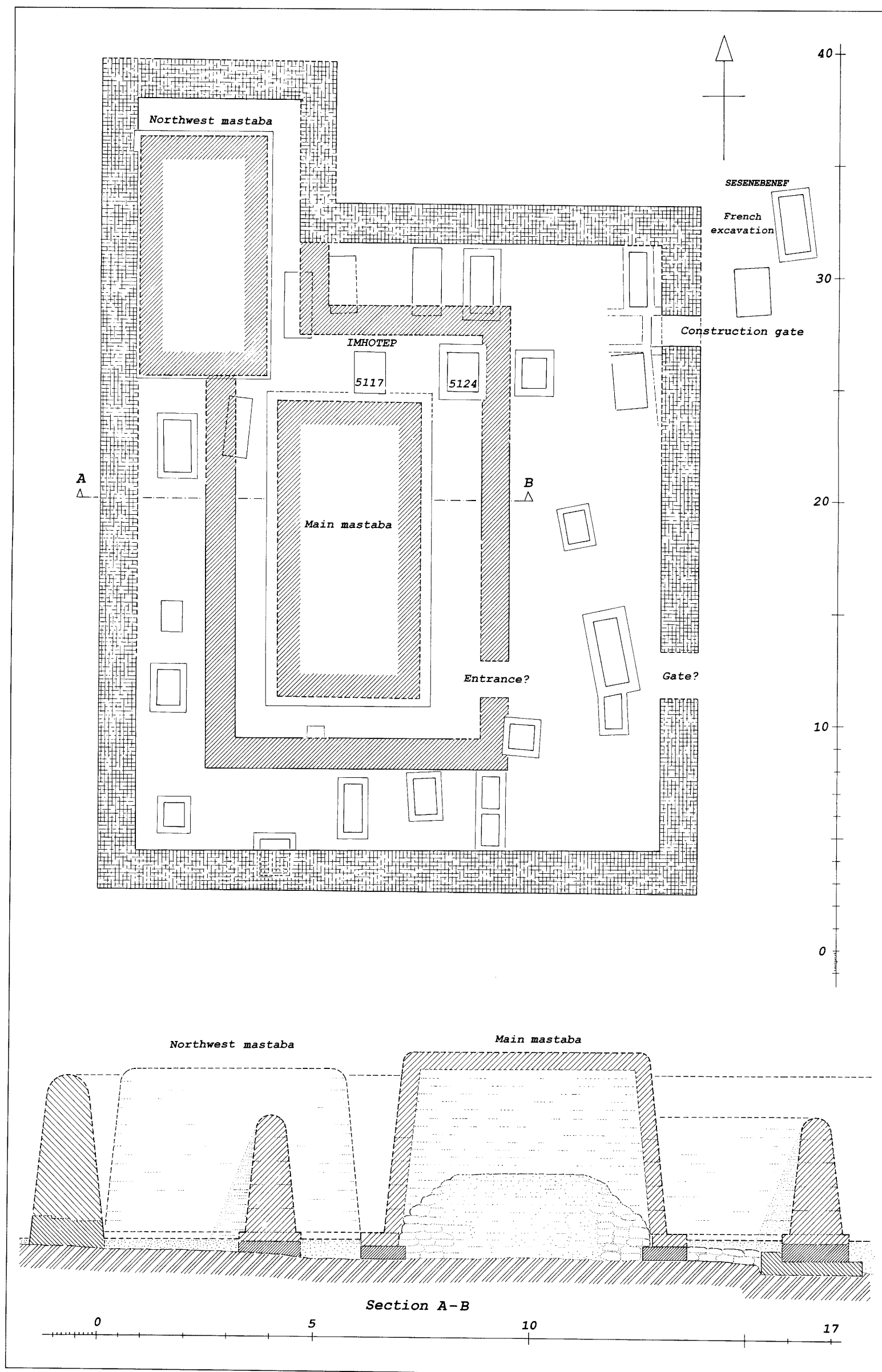
Pl. 46d. The crypt of the French Tomb looking south with canopic niche in east wall (L89:9).



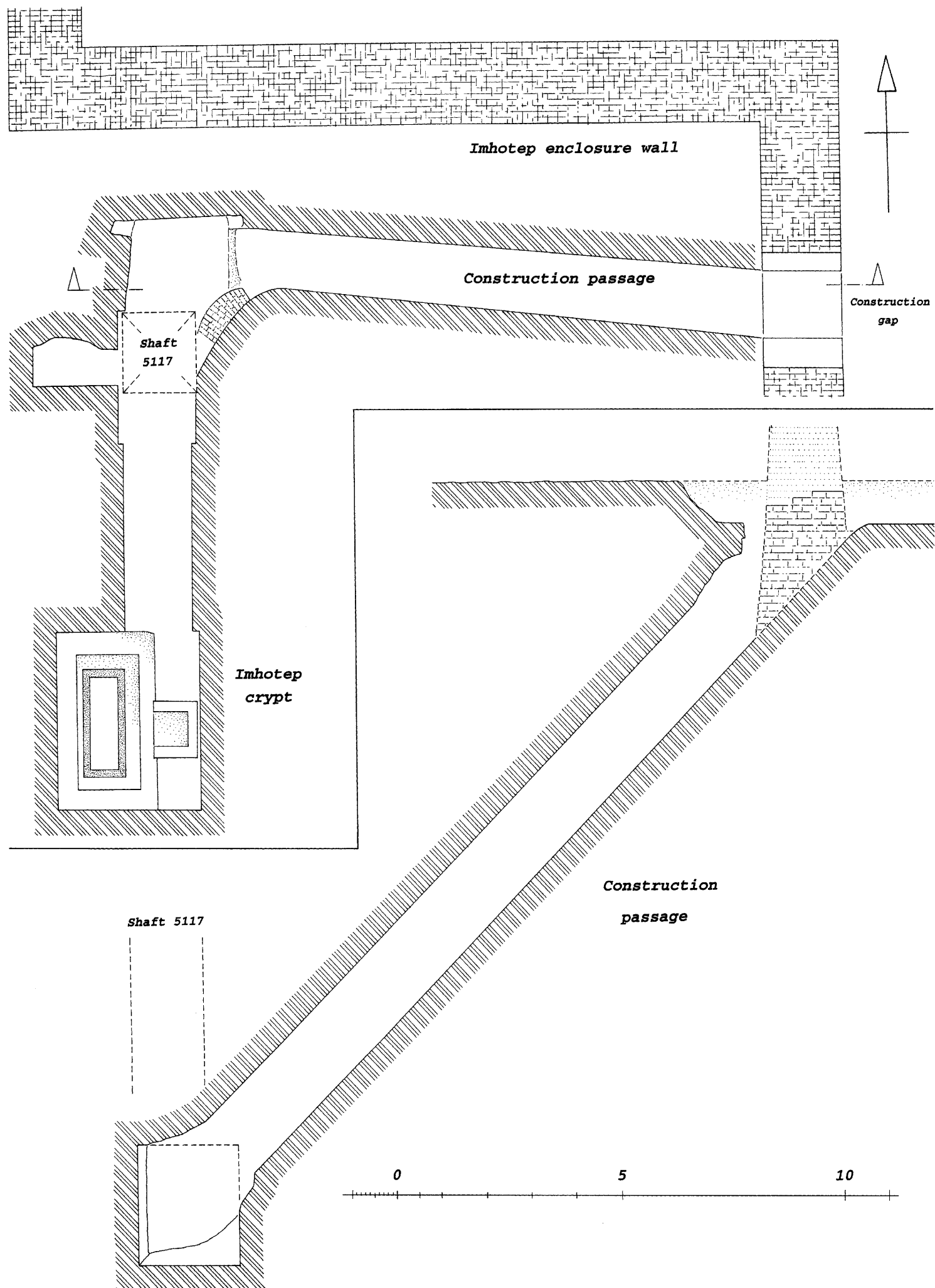
Pl. 47. The two wood statuettes found in the Imhotep enclosure wall. JdE 44951 (left), and MMA 14.3.17 (right) (L13-14:1323).



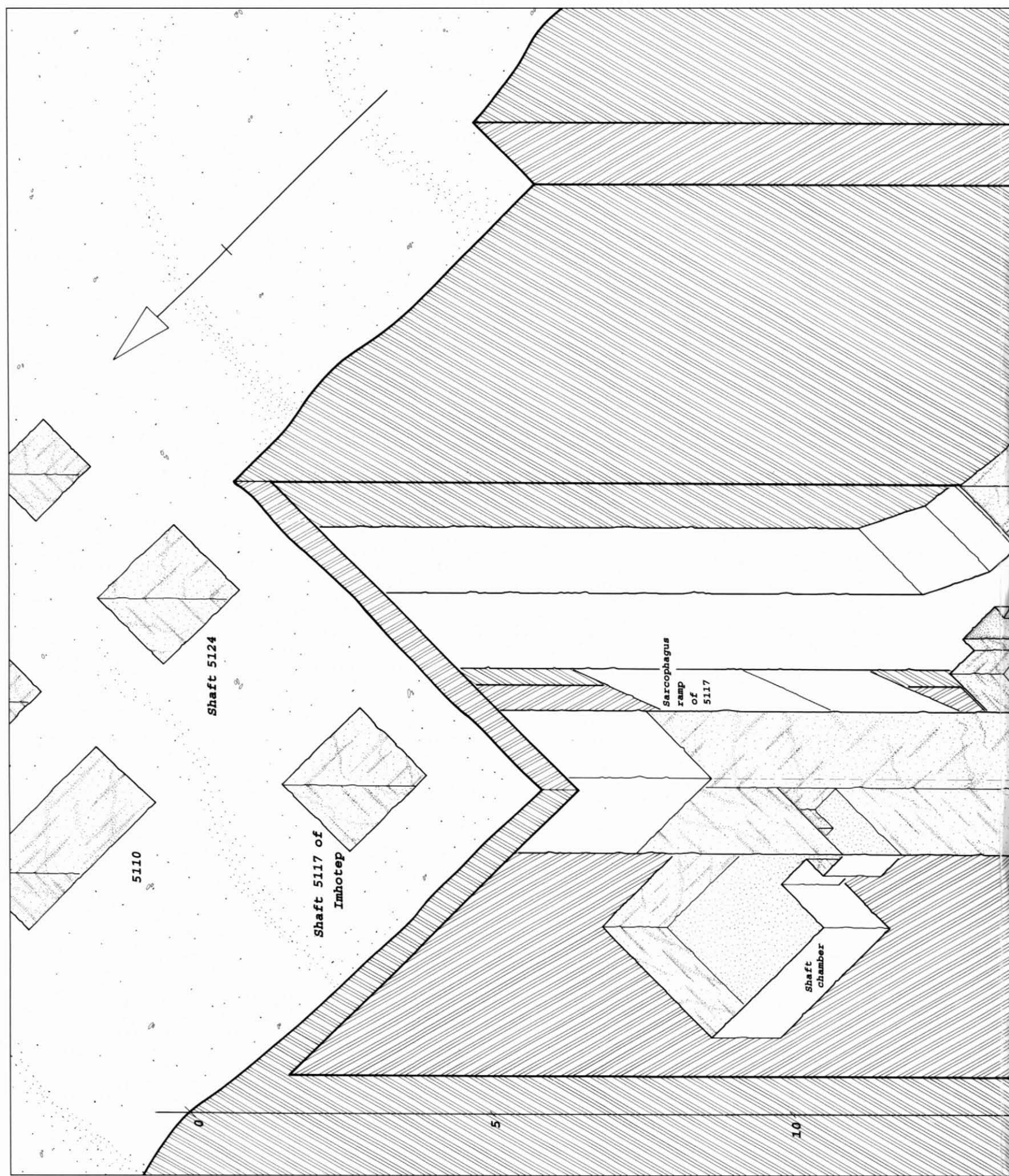
Pl. 48. Plan of the center of the Imhotep complex. Scale 1:100. Draw. D.A.



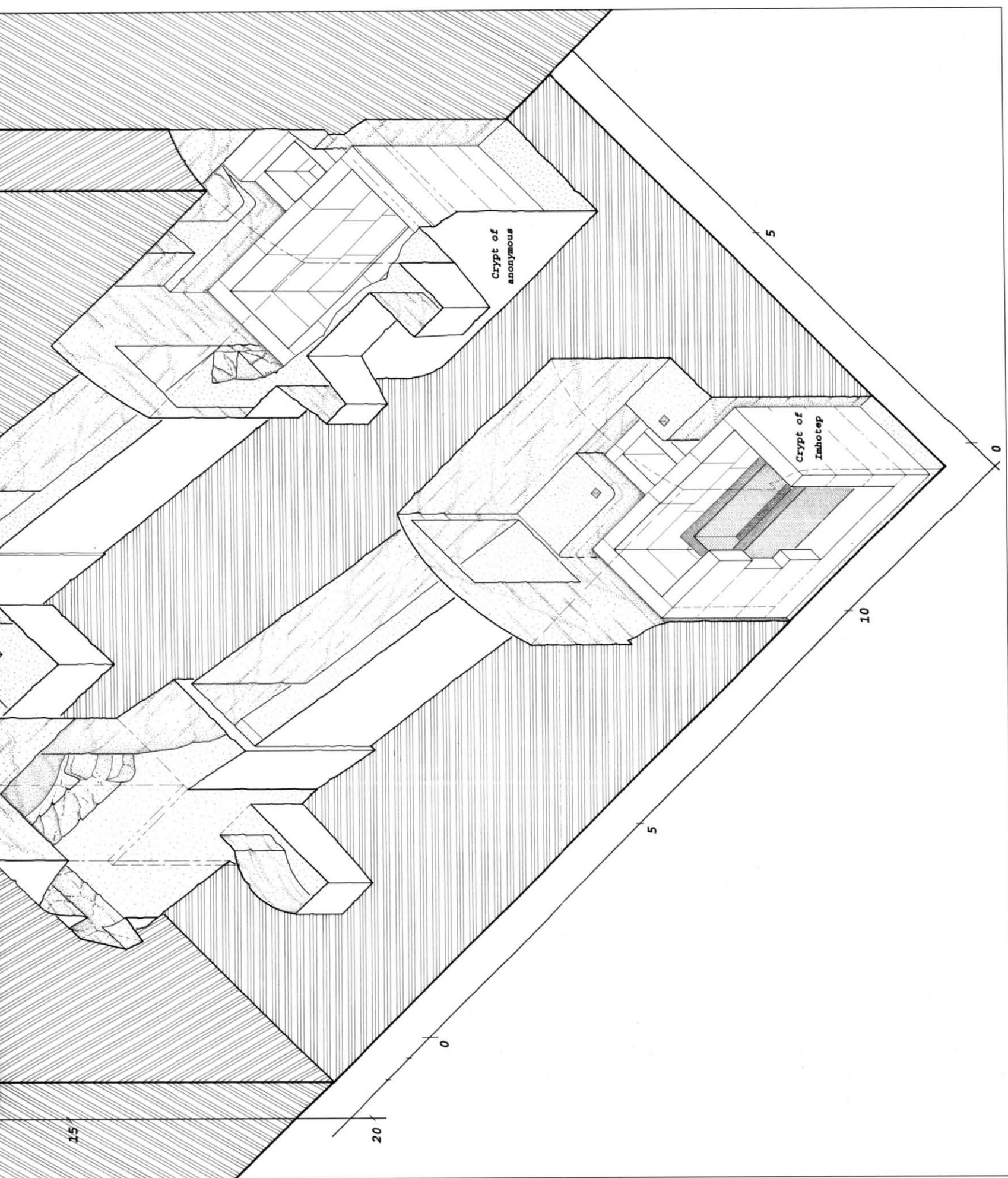
Pl. 49. Overall plan and elevation of the funerary complex of Imhotep. Scale 1:200 above, 1:100 below. Draw. D.A.

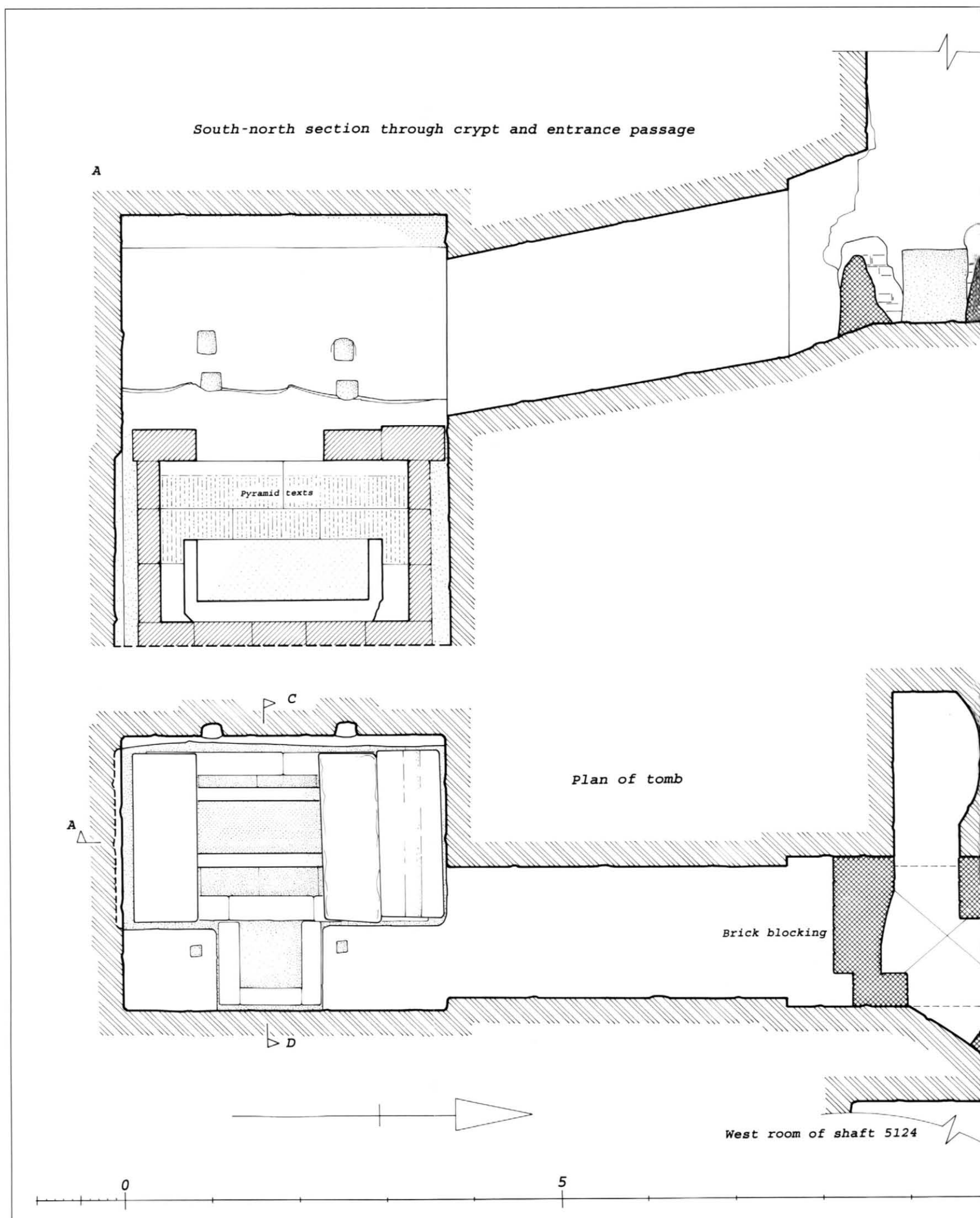


Pl. 50. Sections and plan of tomb 5117 of Imhotep. Scale 1:100. Draw. D.A.

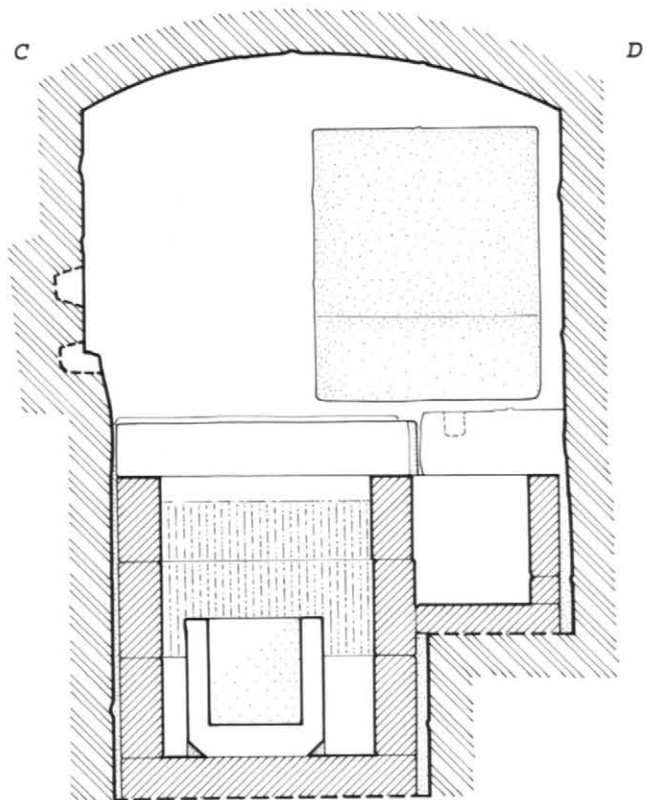
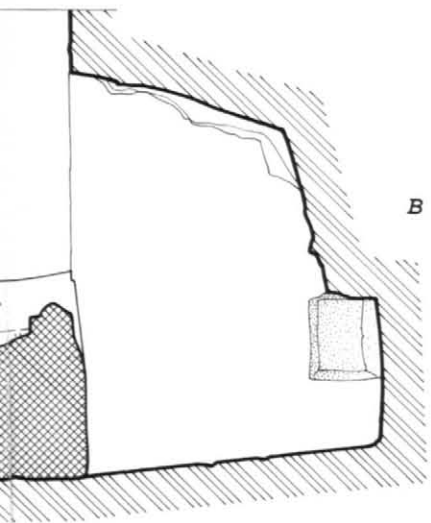


Pl. 51. Isometric view of the underground apartments of the Imhotep complex. Scale 1:75. Draw. R.V.

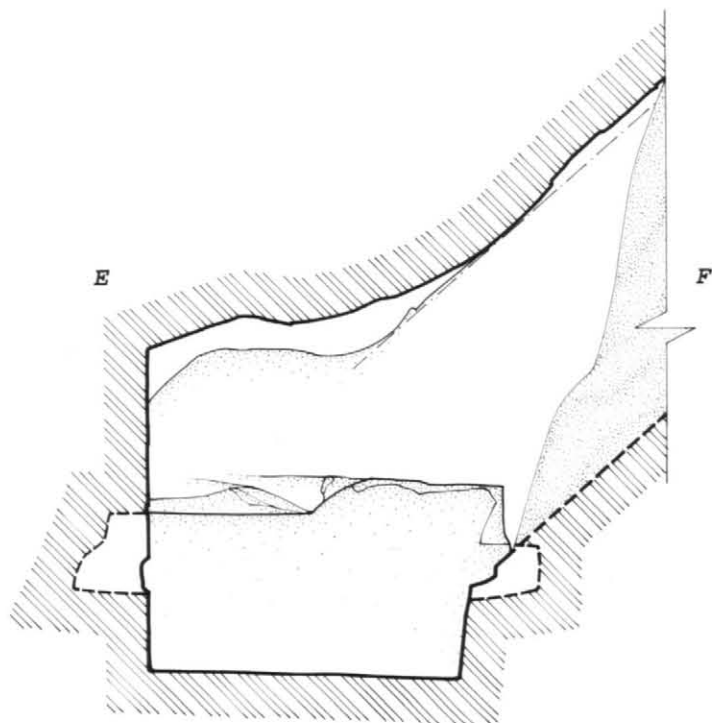
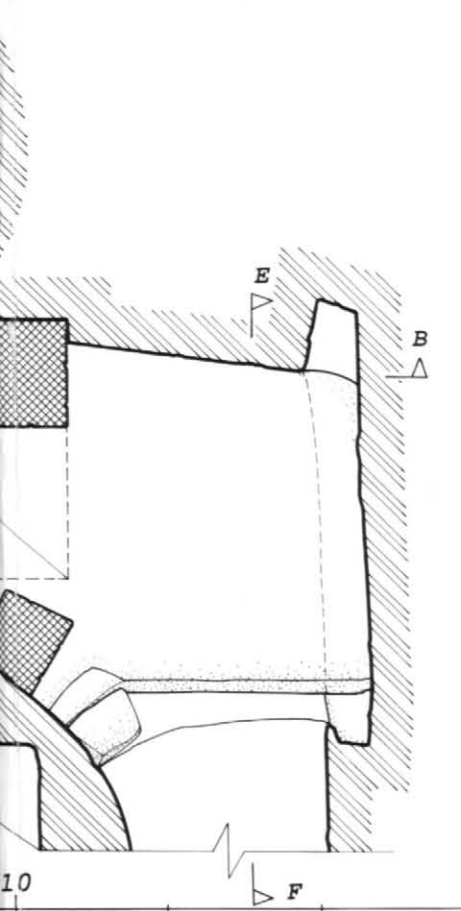




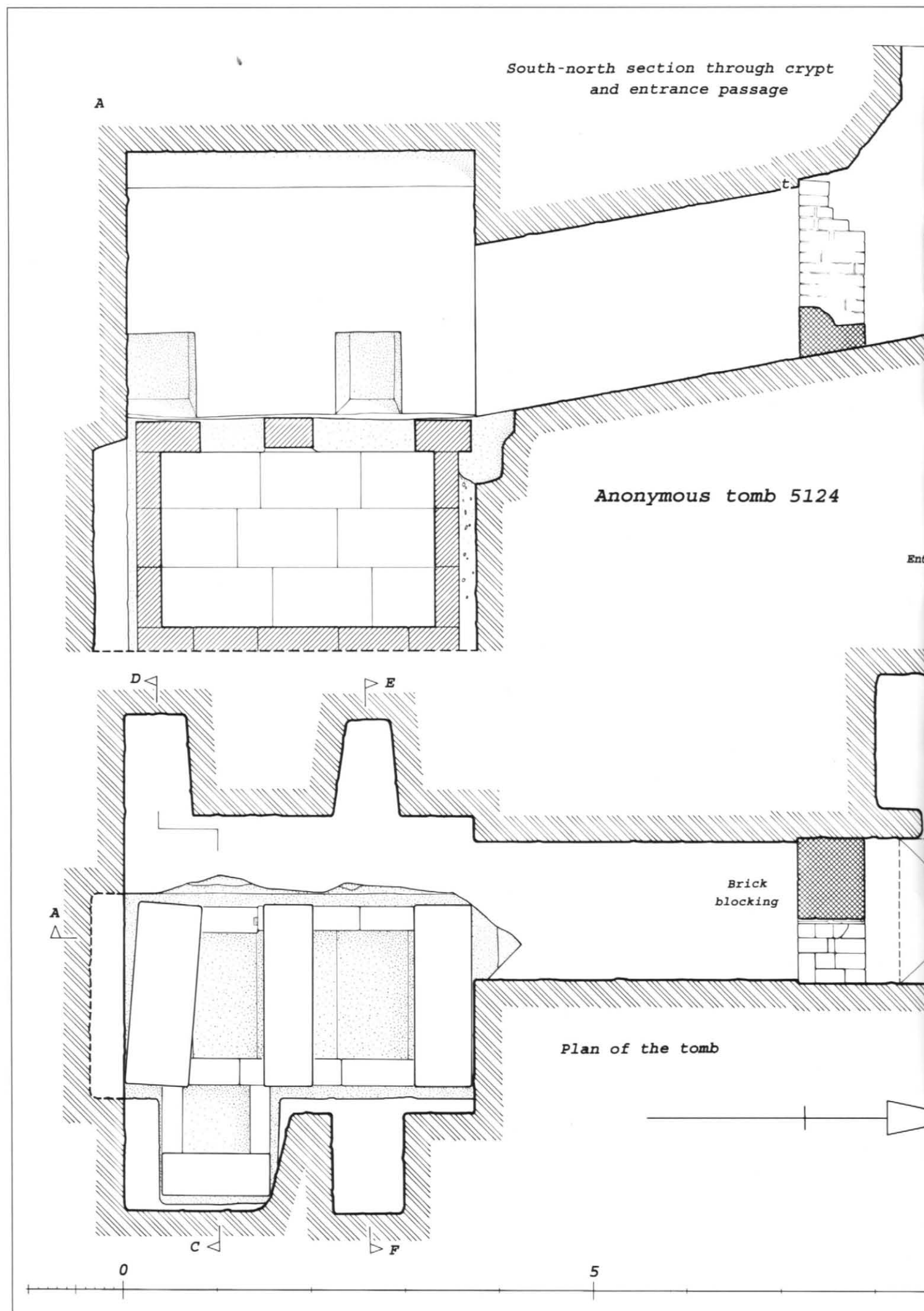
Pl. 52. Sections and plan of tomb 5117 of Imhotep. Scale 1:50. Draw. R.V.



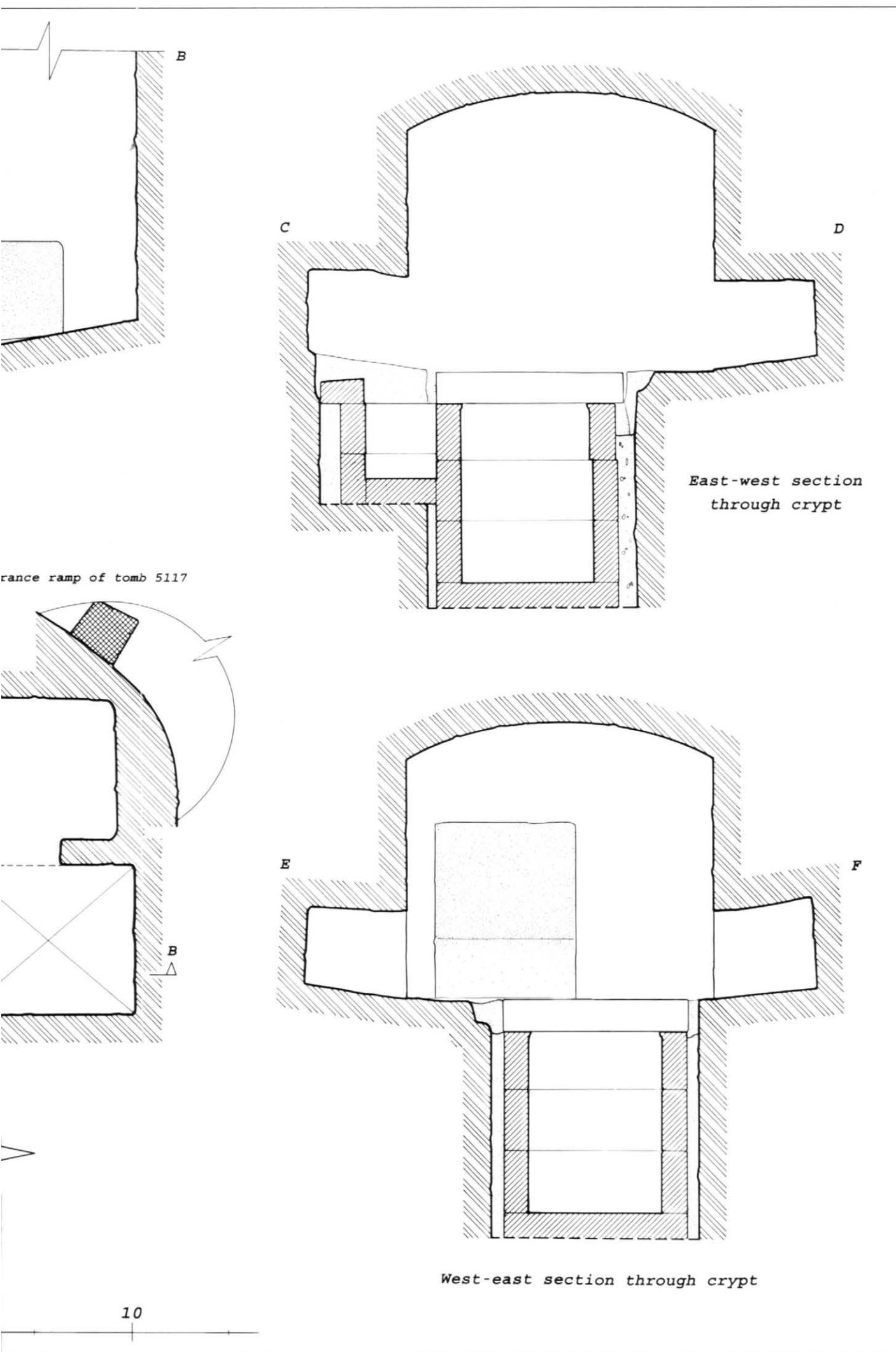
West-east section through crypt

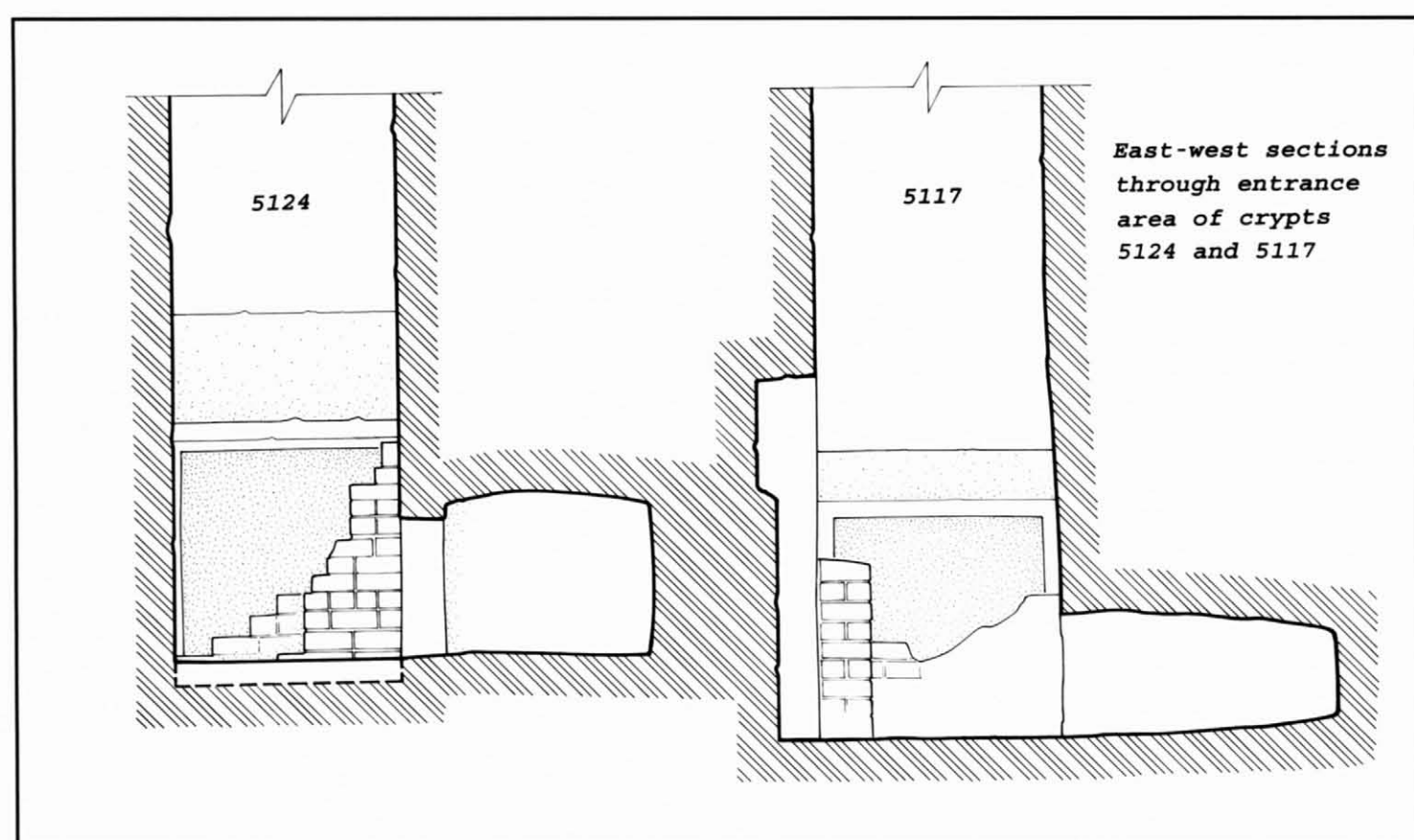
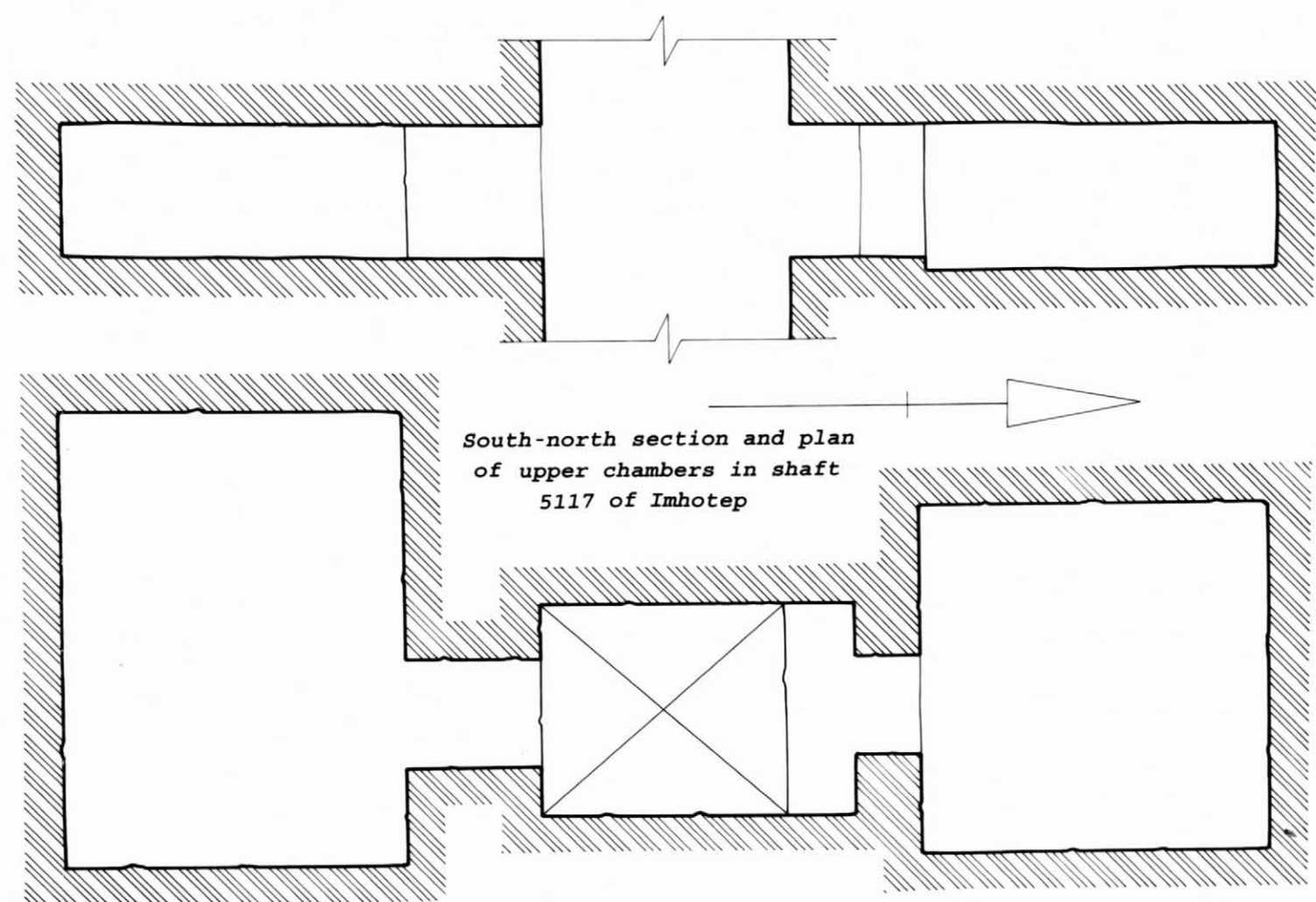


West-east section at lower end of ramp

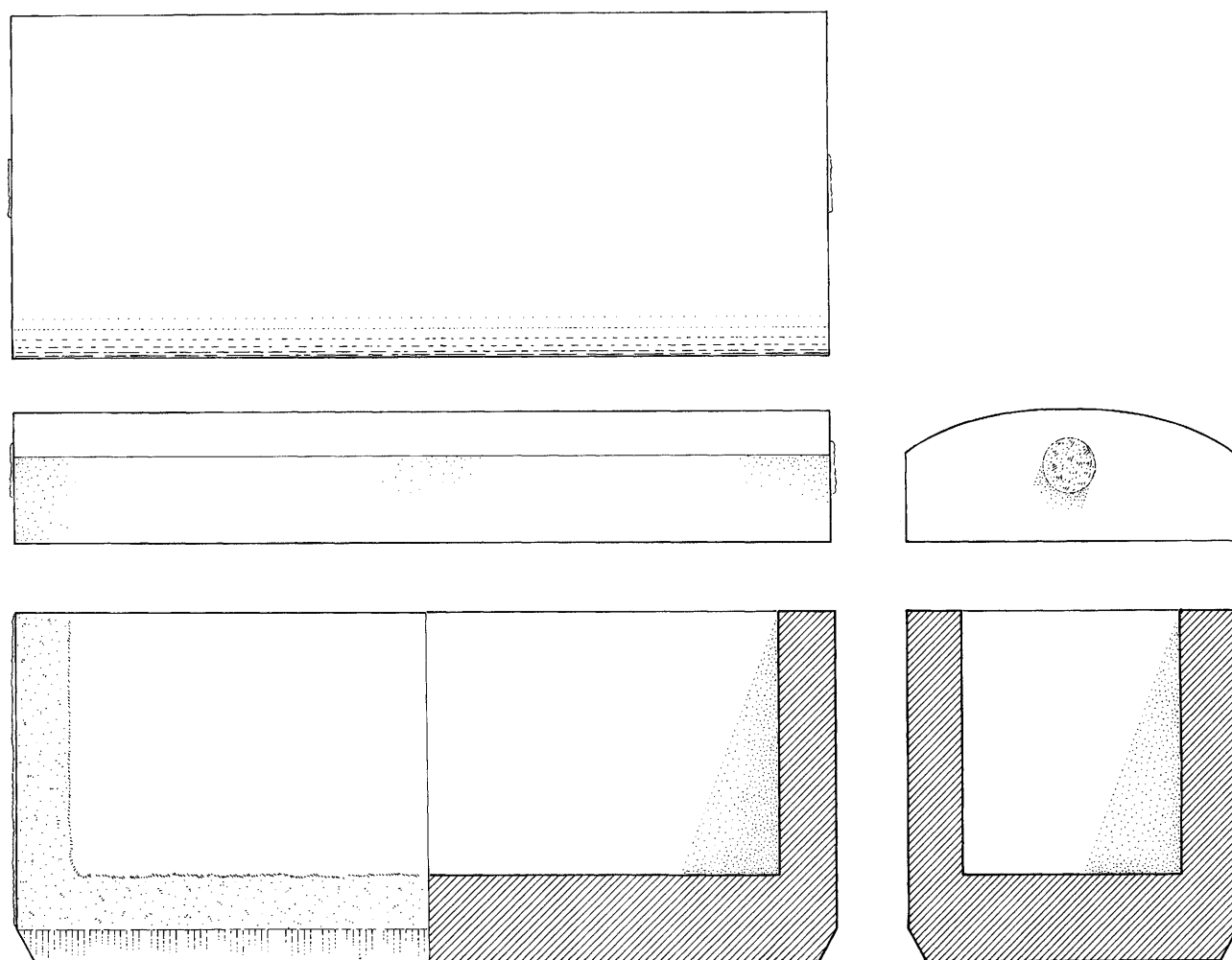


Pl. 53. Plan and sections of anonymous tomb 5124. Scale 1:50. Draw. R.V.

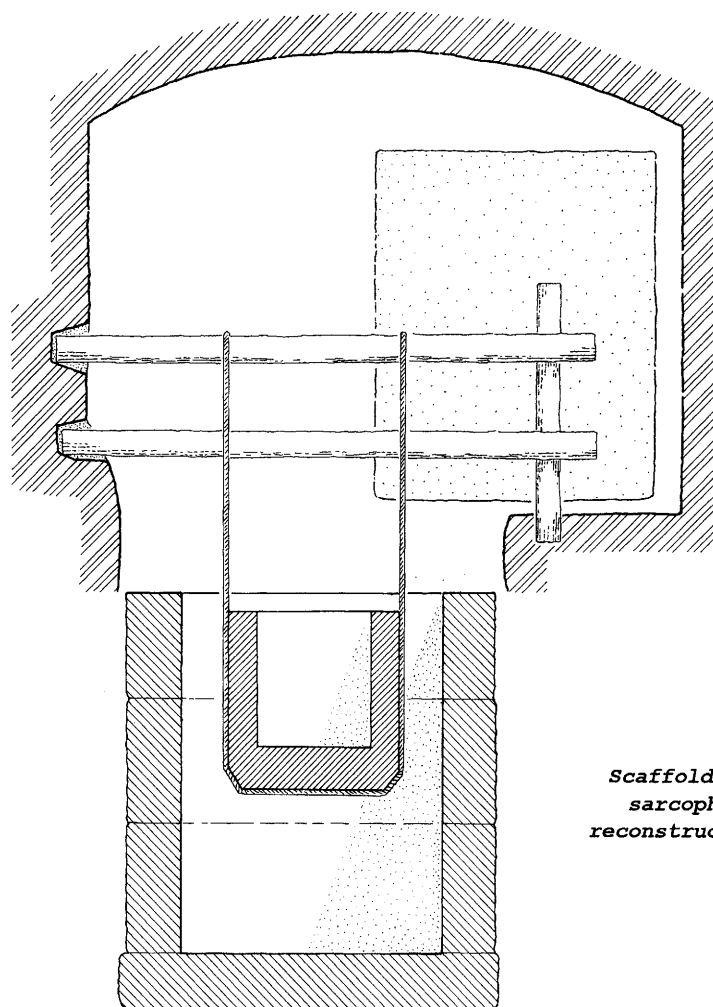




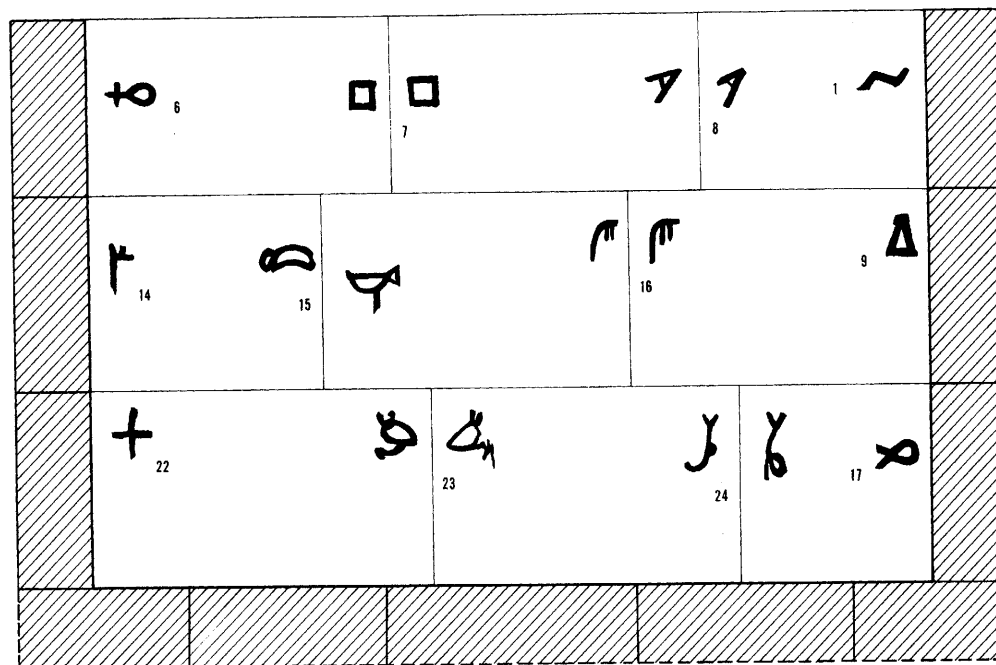
Pl. 54. Details of shafts 5117 and 5124 in the Imhotep enclosure. Scale 1:50. Draw. R.V.



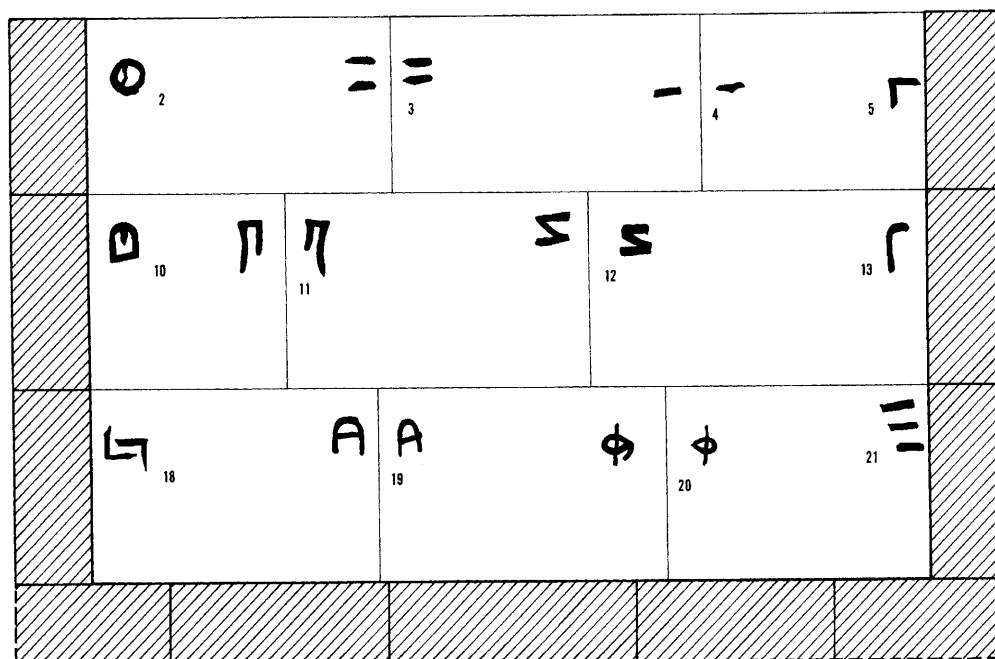
0 100 200 250



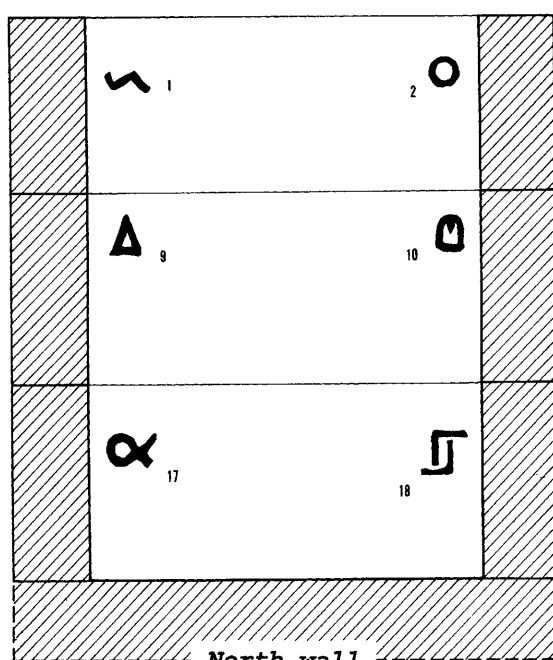
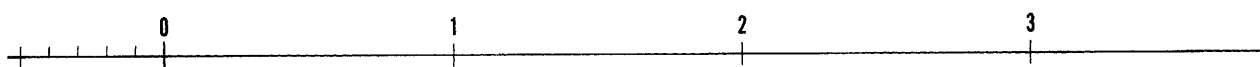
*Scaffolding for lowering the
sarcophagus into its pit,
reconstructed from putlog holes*



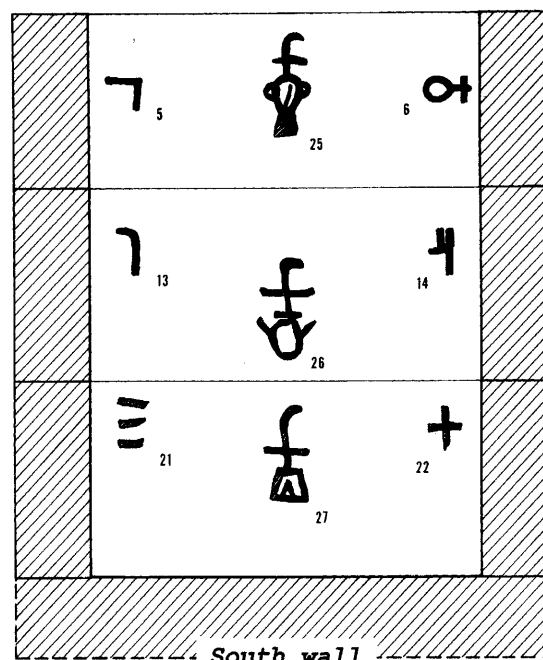
West wall



East wall



North wall



South wall



Pl. 57a. The Imhotep enclosure looking northwest (L13-14:1313).



Pl. 57b. The south court of the Imhotep enclosure looking west (L13-14:1322).



Pl. 57c. The Imhotep enclosure seen from the south (L13-14:1298).



Pl. 57d. Southeast view from the northwest mastaba to the main mastaba of Imhotep (L13-14:1297).



Pl. 58a. The deposit in the Imhotep south wall with statuettes and shrine looking west (L13-14:316).



Pl. 58b. The south wall and main mastaba of Imhotep looking northwest (L13-14:1309).



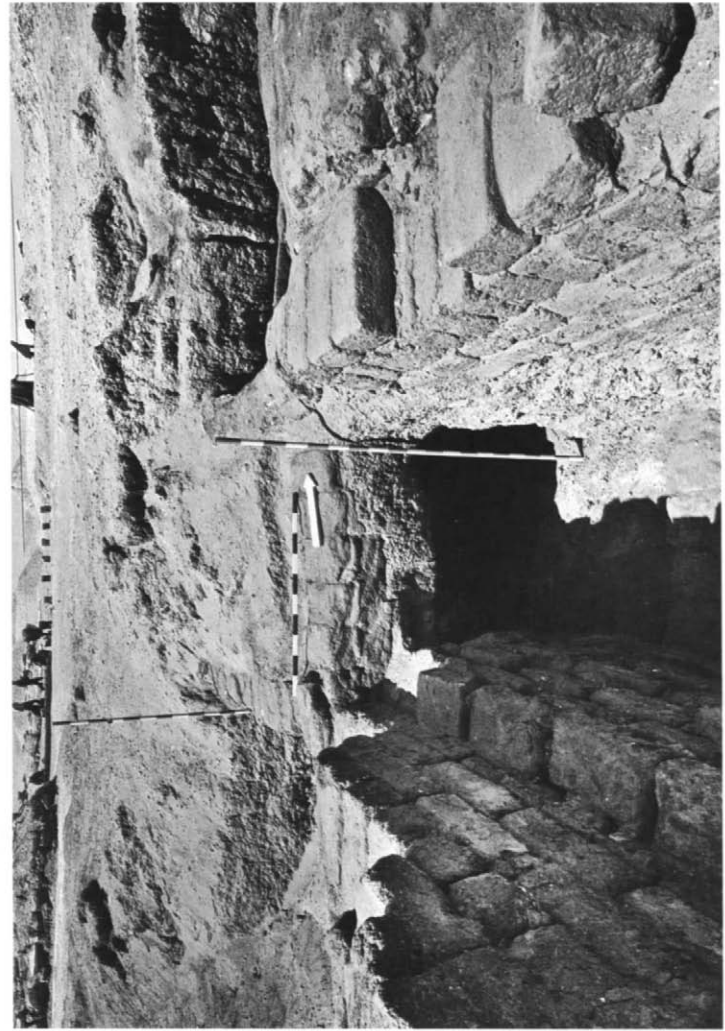
Pl. 58c. The southeast corner of the main Imhotep mastaba looking south-east (L13-14:1308).



Pl. 58d. Subfoundation and core of the main mastaba of Imhotep looking northwest (L89:82).



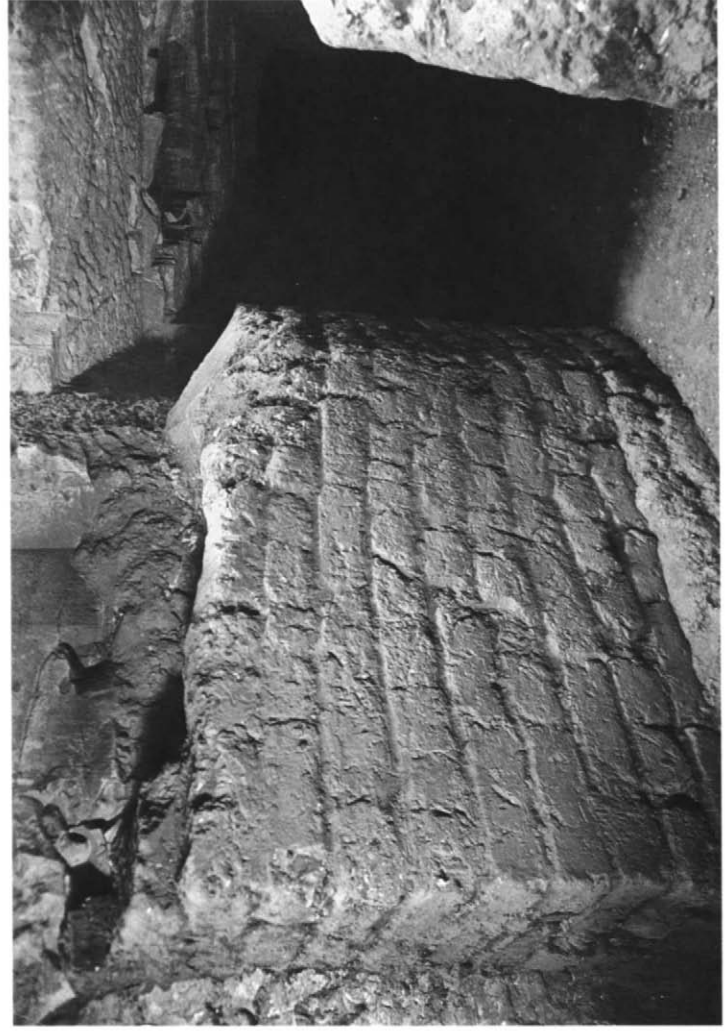
Pl. 59a. The stone core of the main mastaba of Imhotep looking south-east (L89:40).



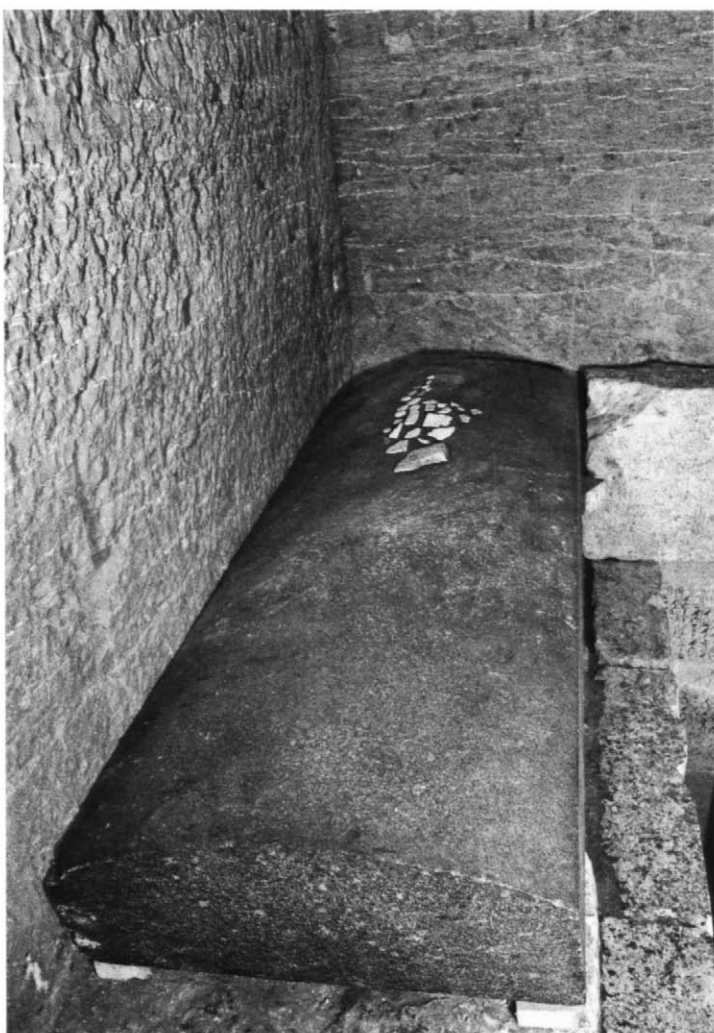
Pl. 59c. The entrance staircase into the Imhotep construction ramp looking west (L89:75).



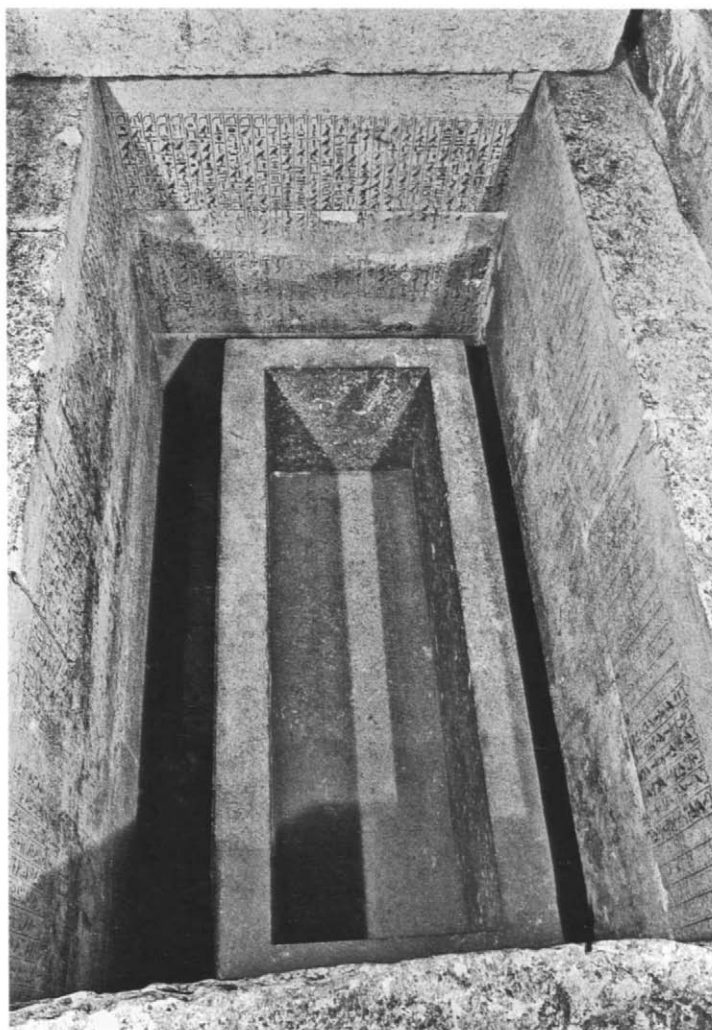
Pl. 59b. The entrance staircase into the Imhotep construction ramp looking north (L89:76).



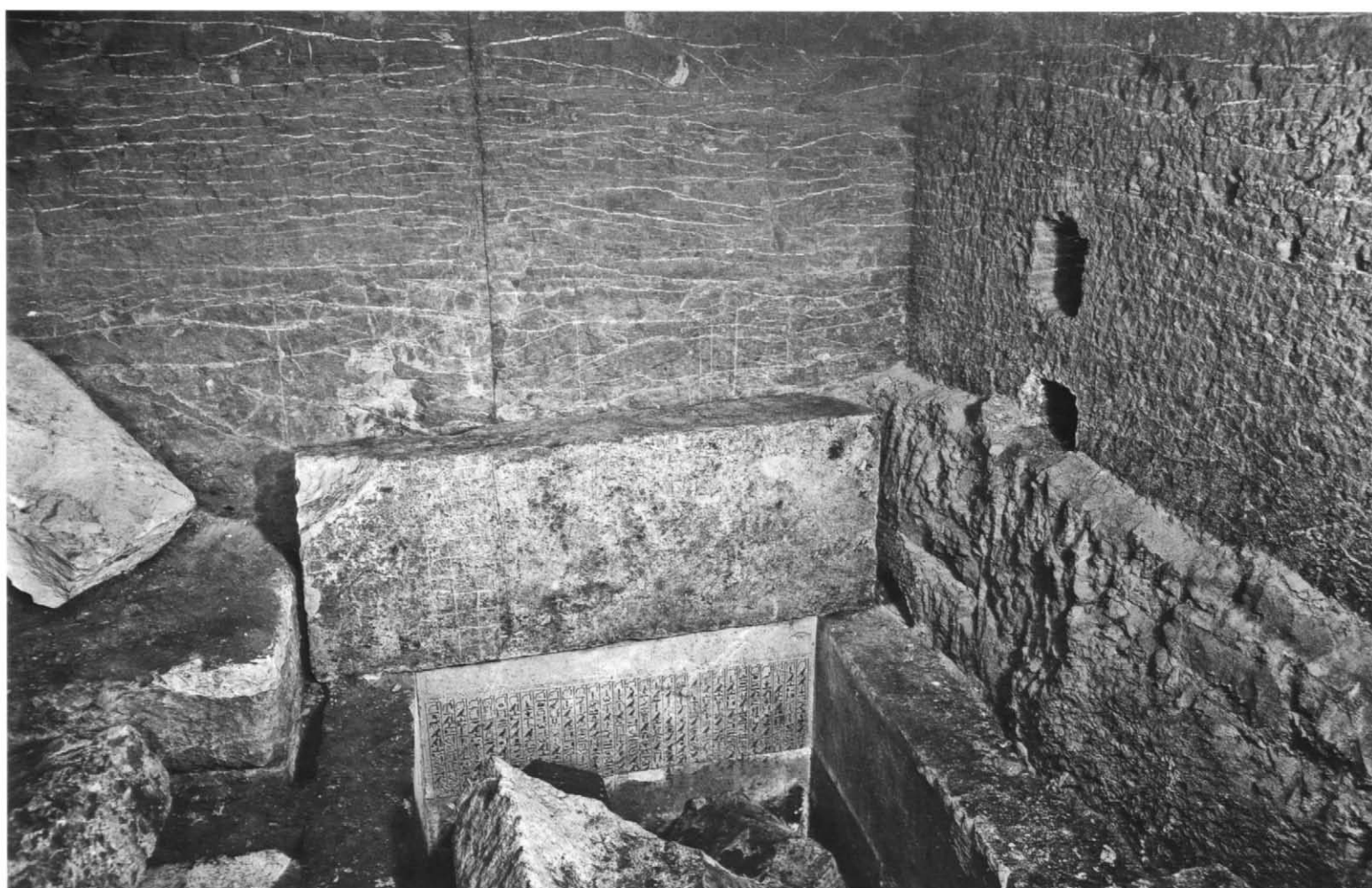
Pl. 59d. The curved passage into the crypt of Imhotep (L13-14:1343).



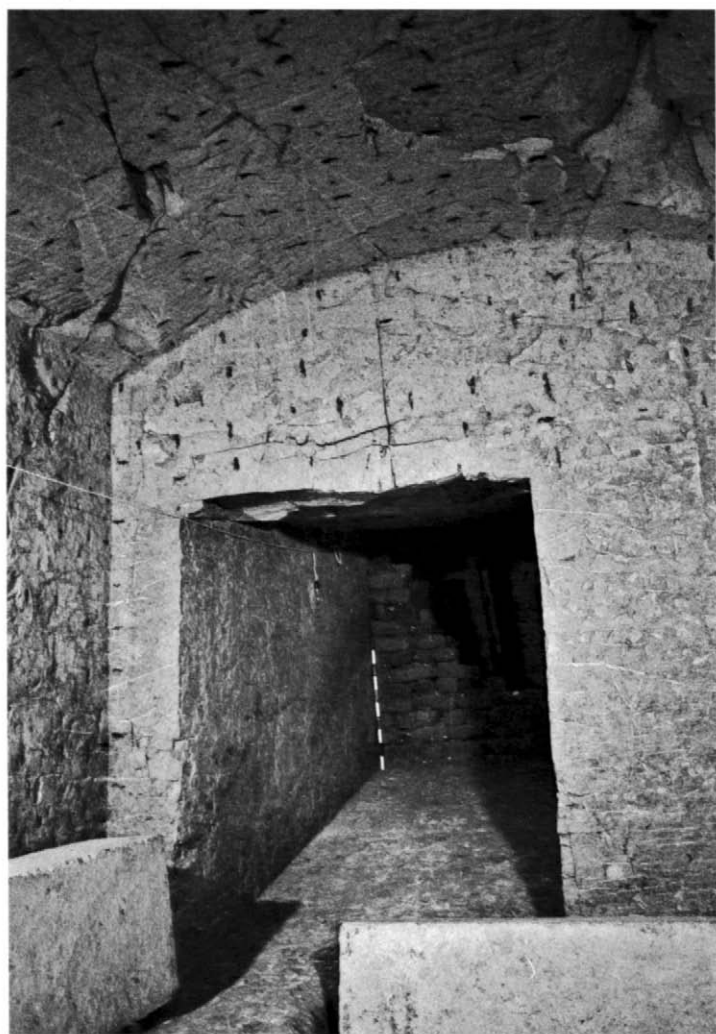
Pl. 60a. The lid of the Imhotep sarcophagus (L88:53).



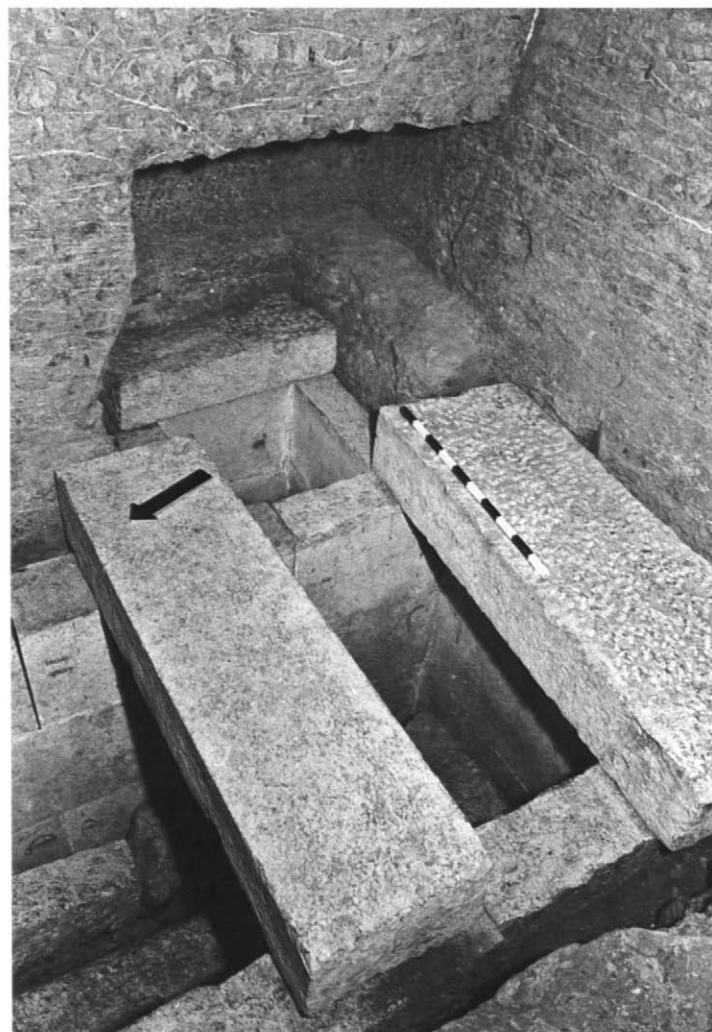
Pl. 60b. The open Imhotep sarcophagus (L88:66).



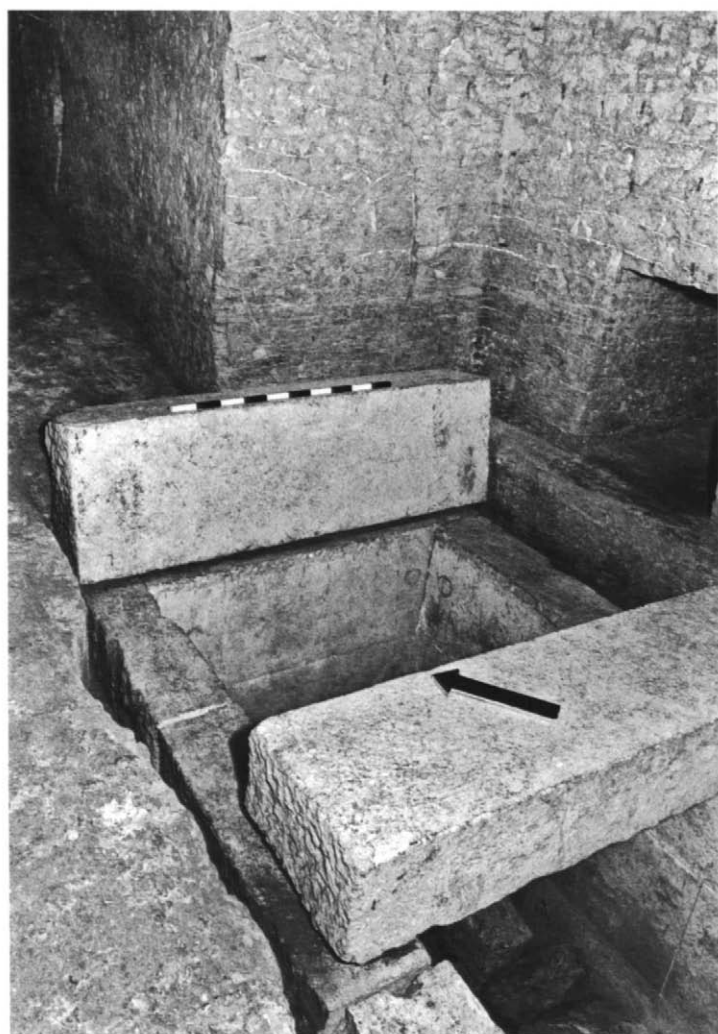
Pl. 60c. The Imhotep crypt as found in 1914 (L13-14:1344).



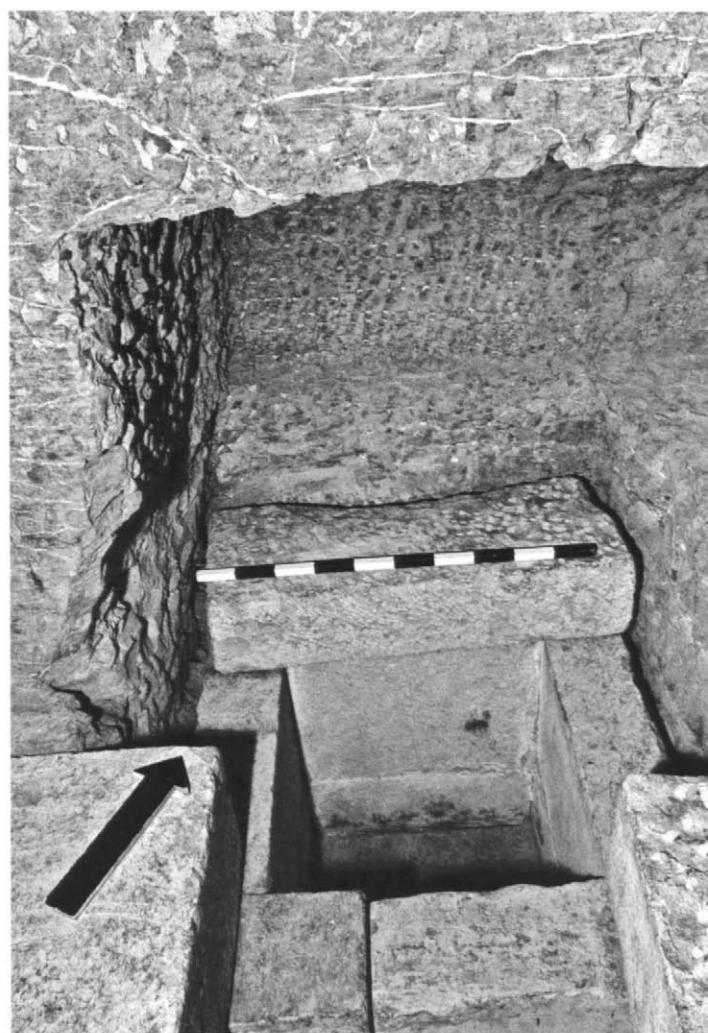
Pl. 61a. The entrance into crypt 5124 with black brush marks (L88:57).



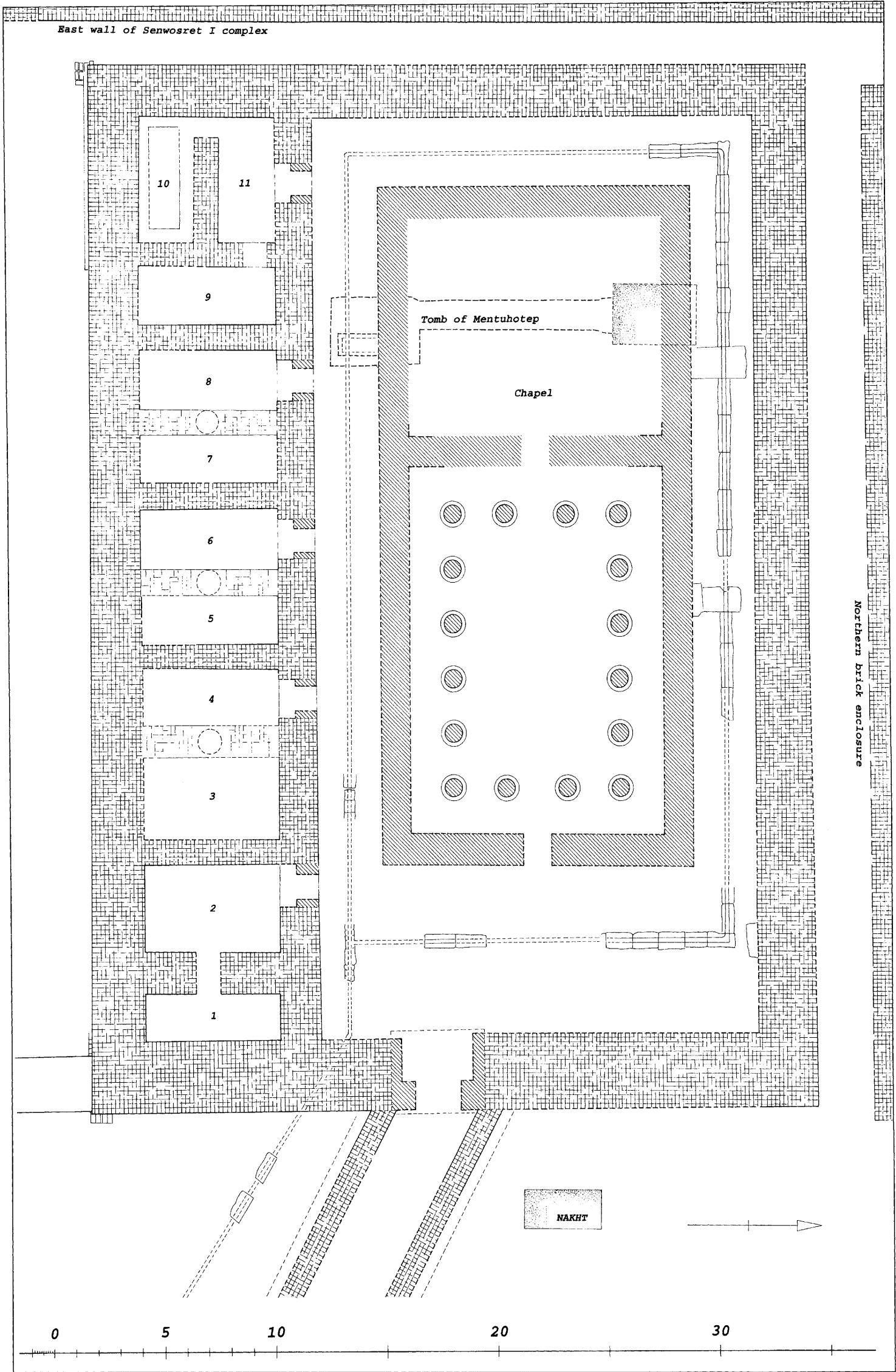
Pl. 61b. The sarcophagus pit of crypt 5124 looking southeast (L88:LIV33).



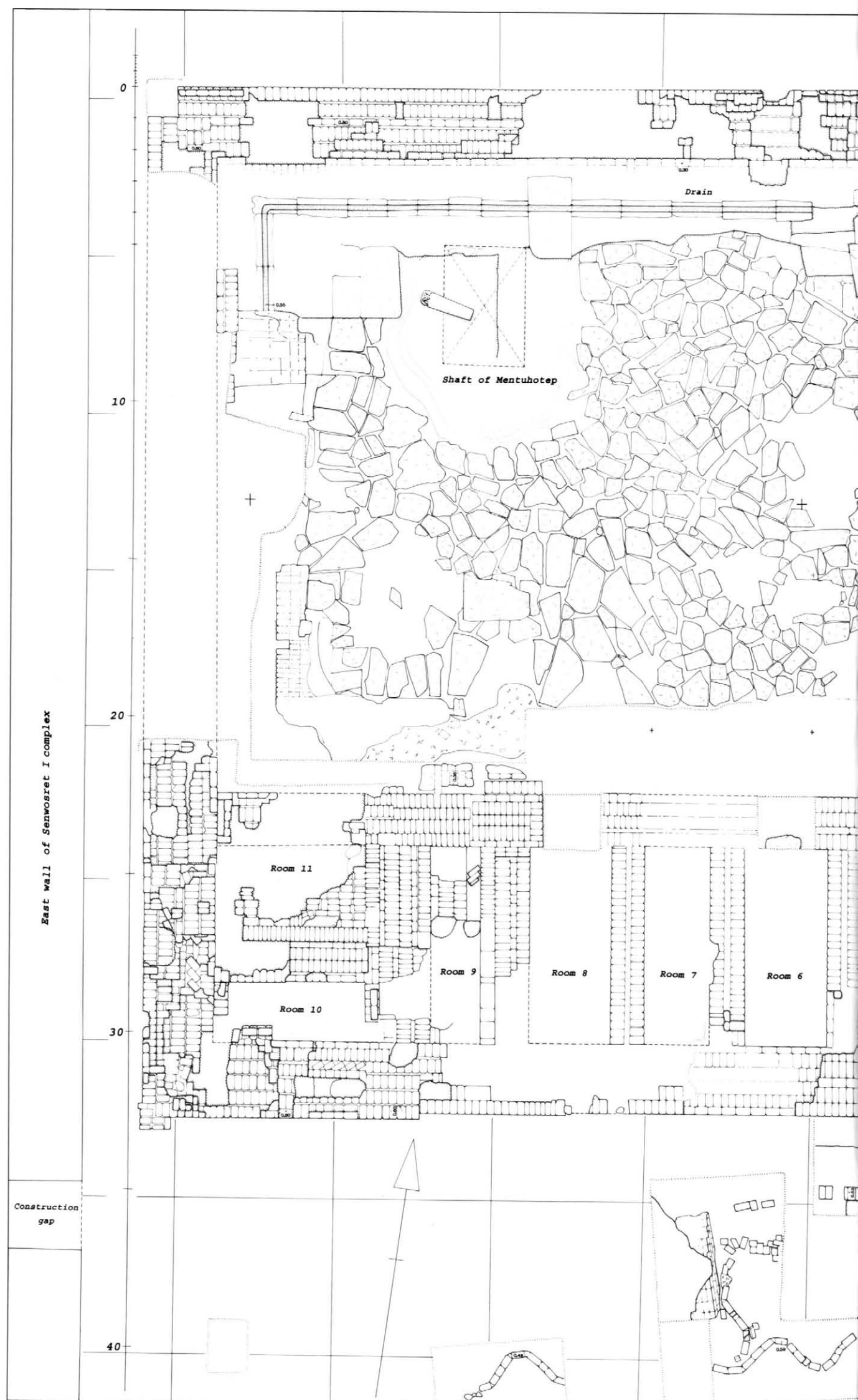
Pl. 61c. Sarcophagus pit and side niche of crypt 5124 (L88:LIV22).



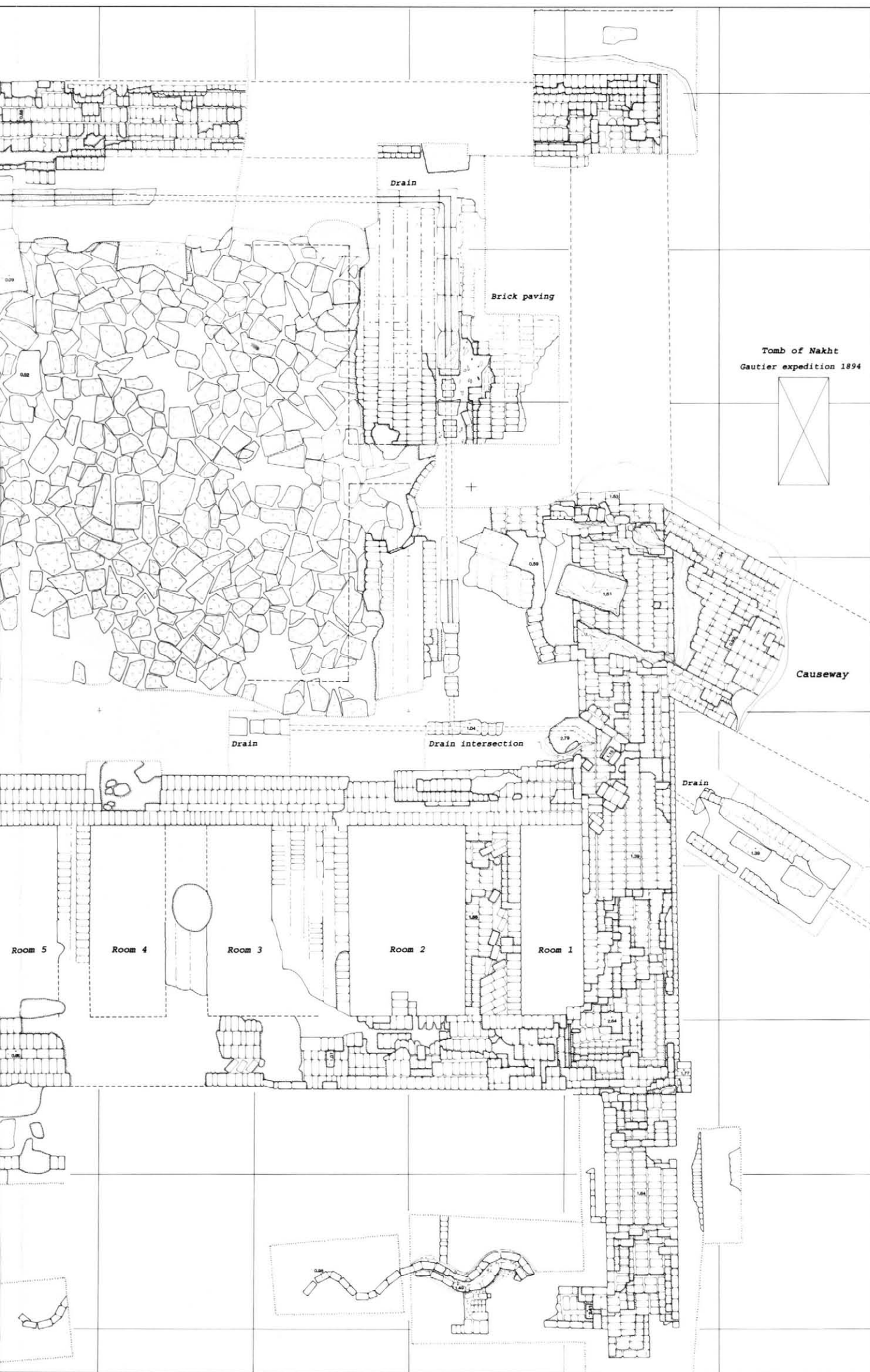
Pl. 61d. The canopic niche of tomb crypt with chisel marks on the rear wall (L88:LIV15).

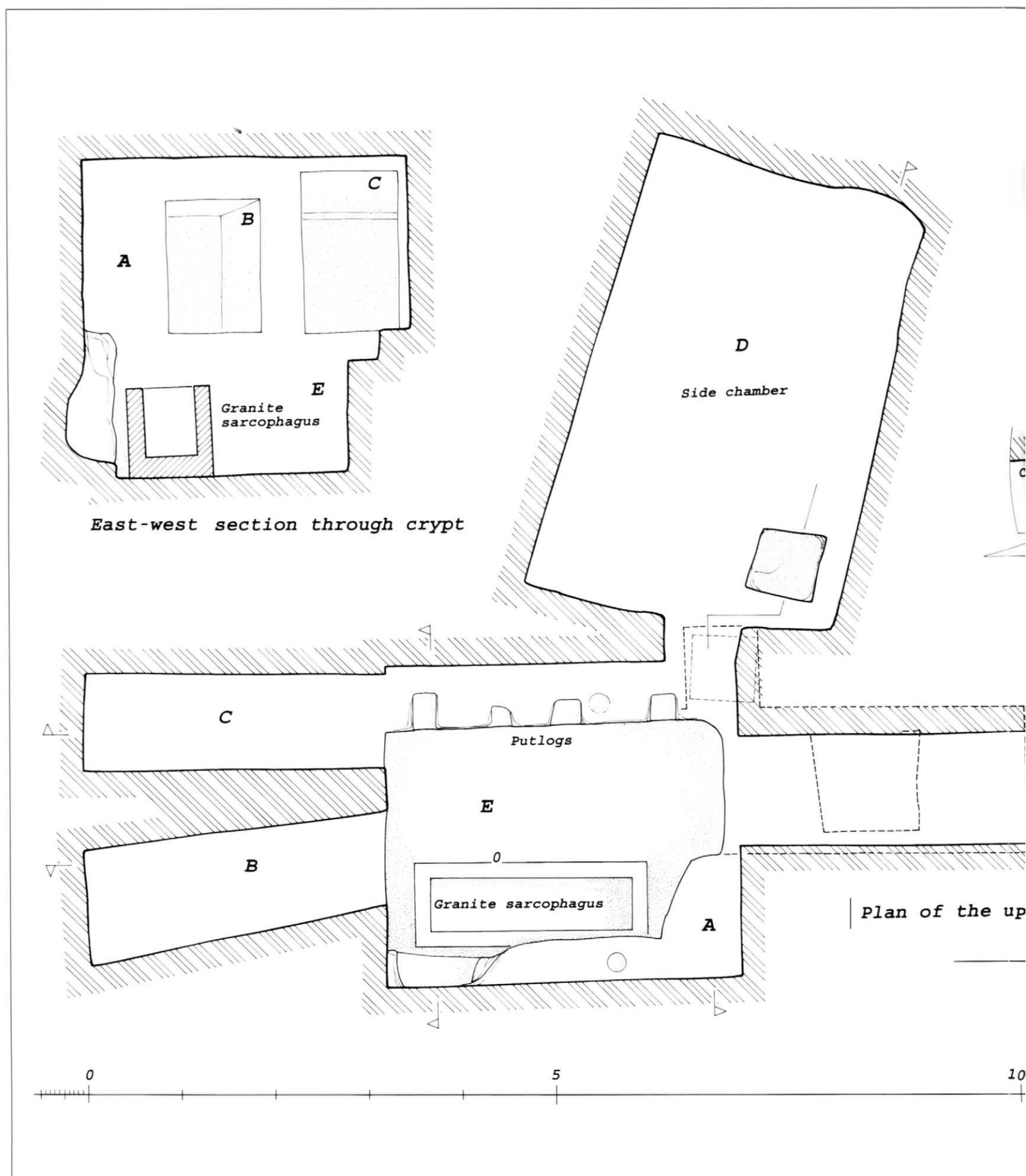


Pl. 62. Reconstructed plan of the Mentuhotep complex. Scale 1:200. Draw. D.A.

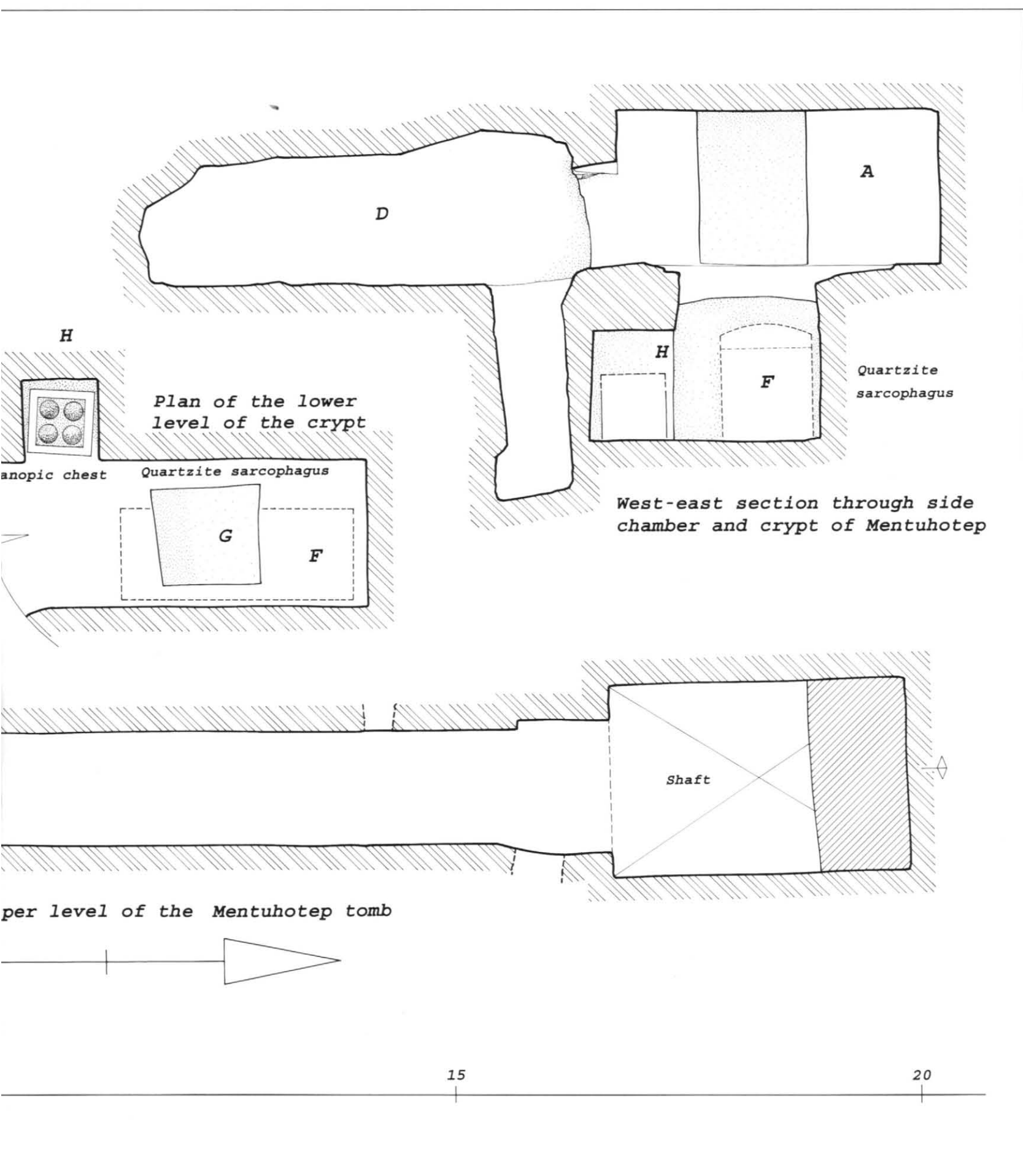


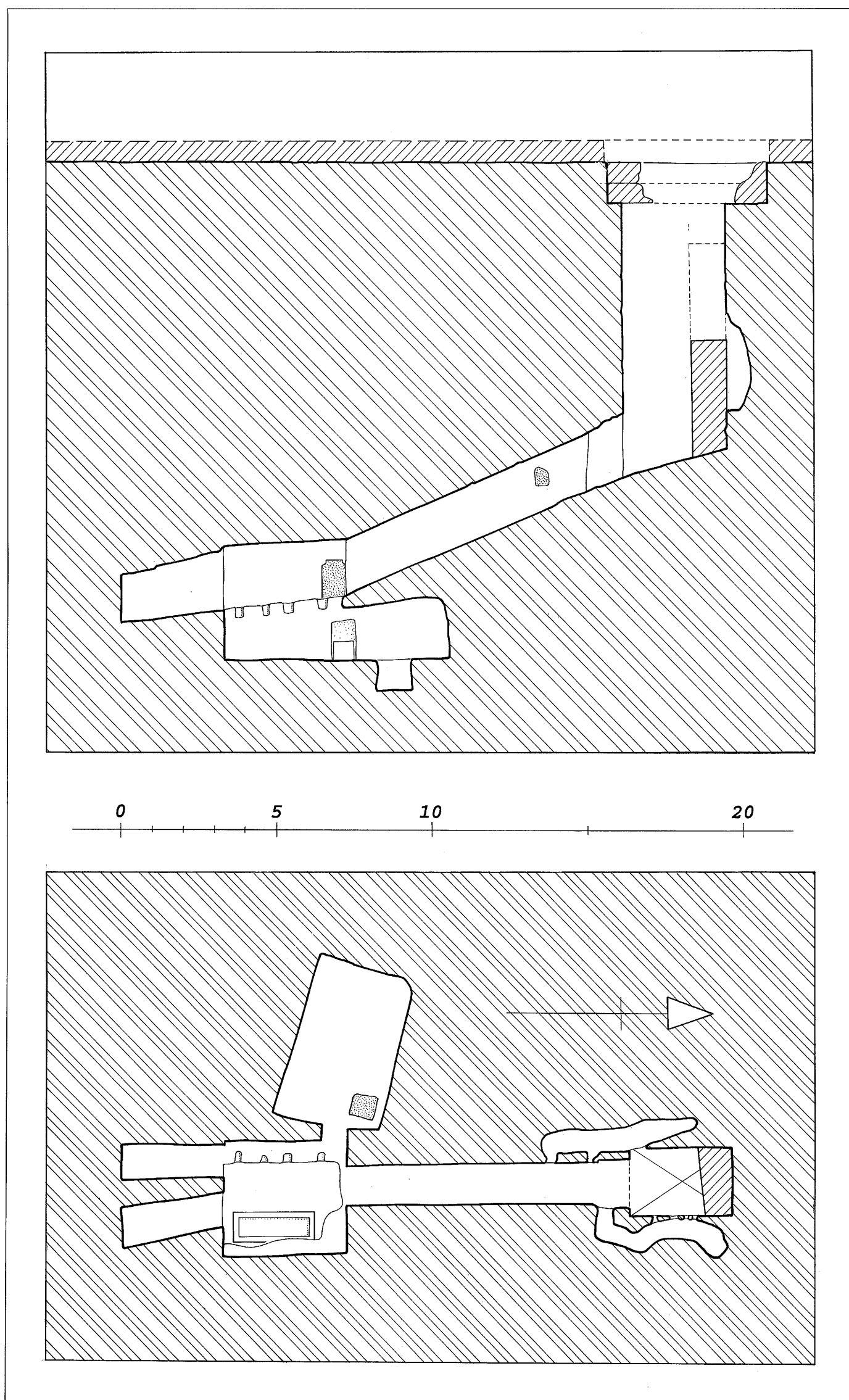
Pl. 63. Excavation plan of the Mentuhotep complex. Scale 1:150. Draw. R.V.



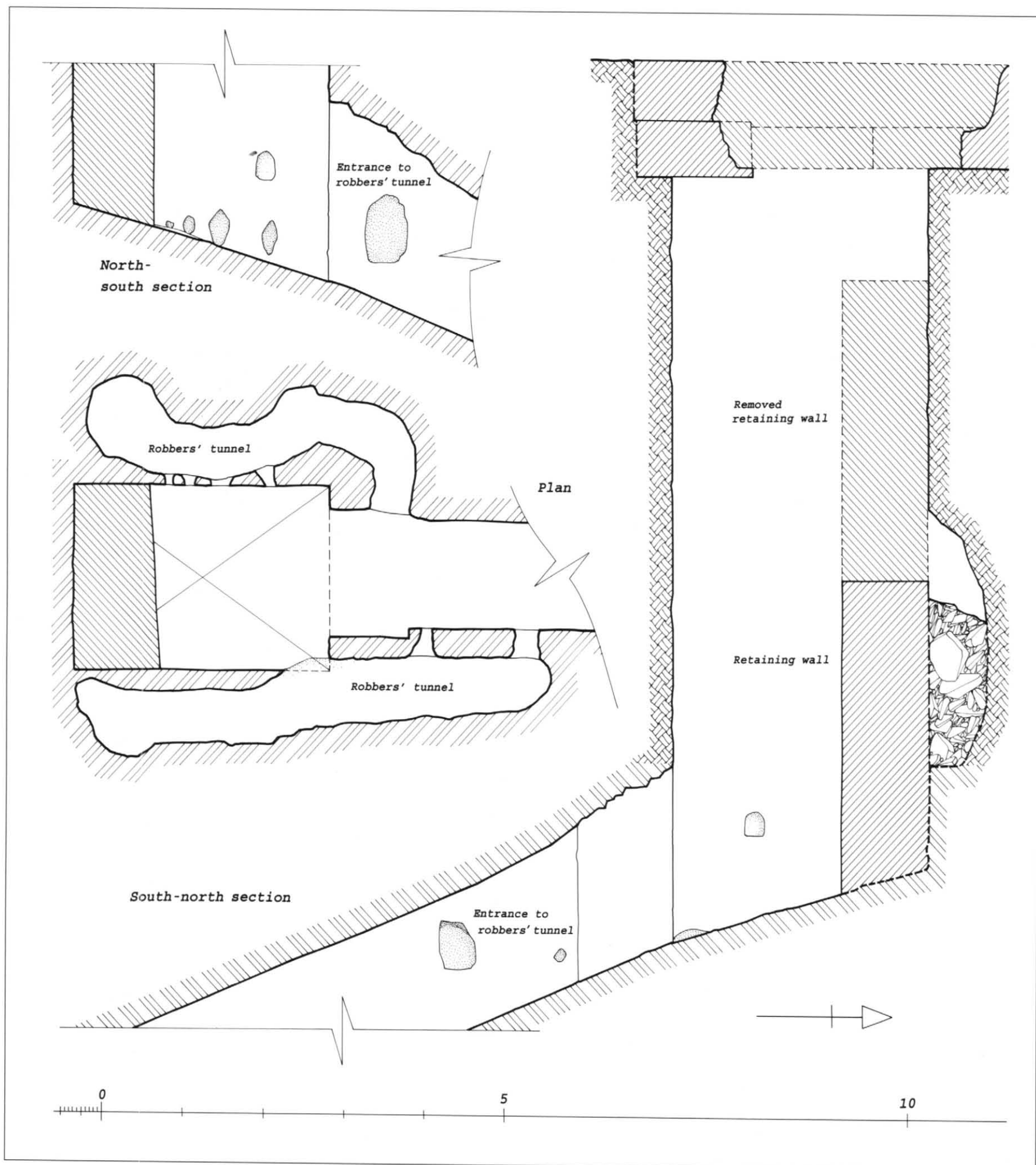


Pl. 64. Plan and sections of underground apartments of the Mentuhotep complex. Scale 1:50. Draw. R.V.

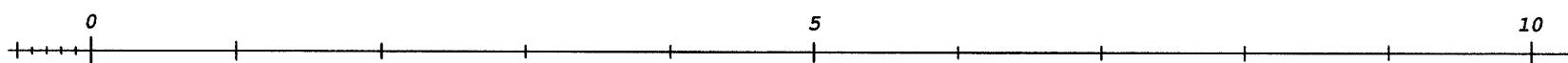
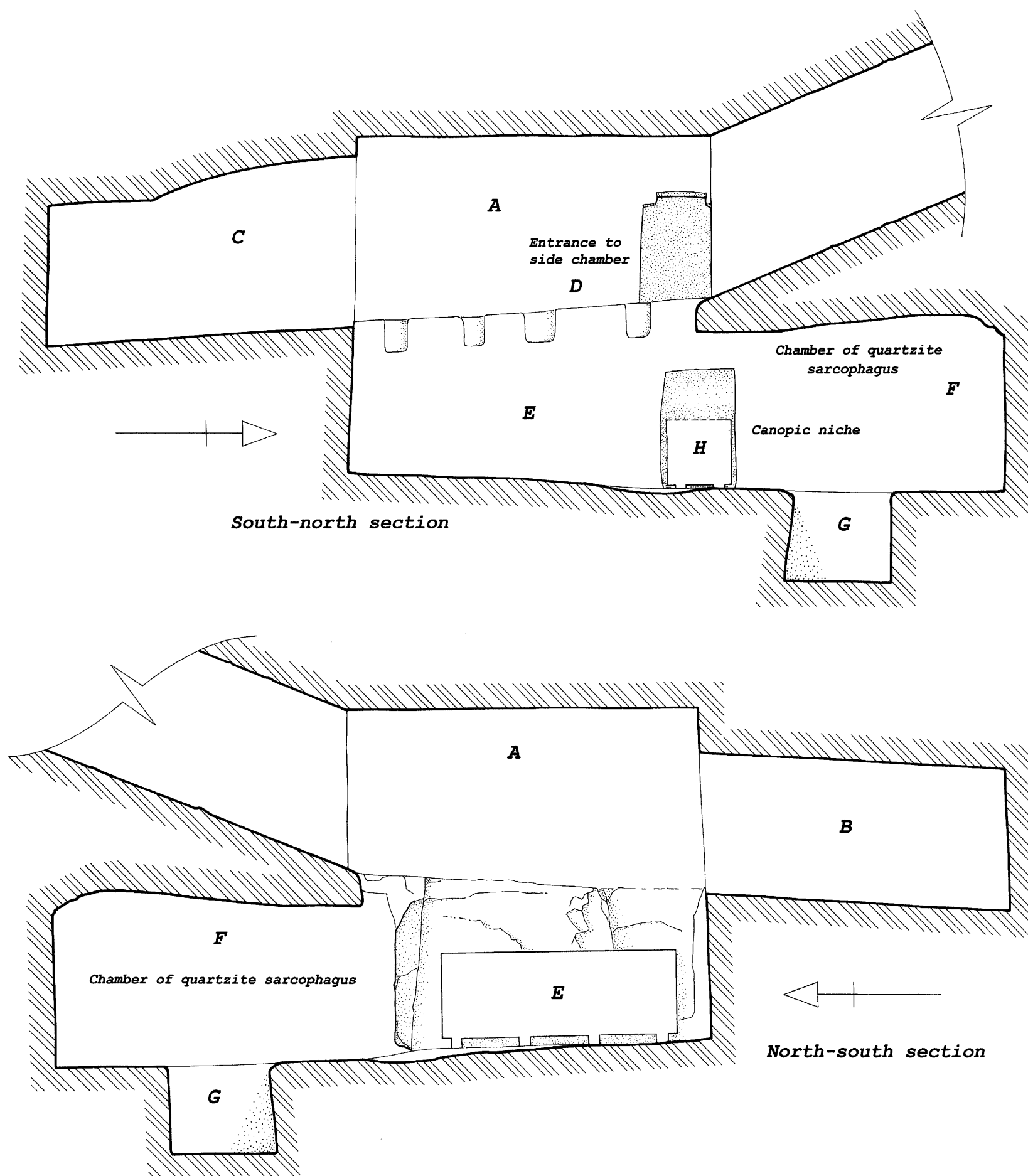




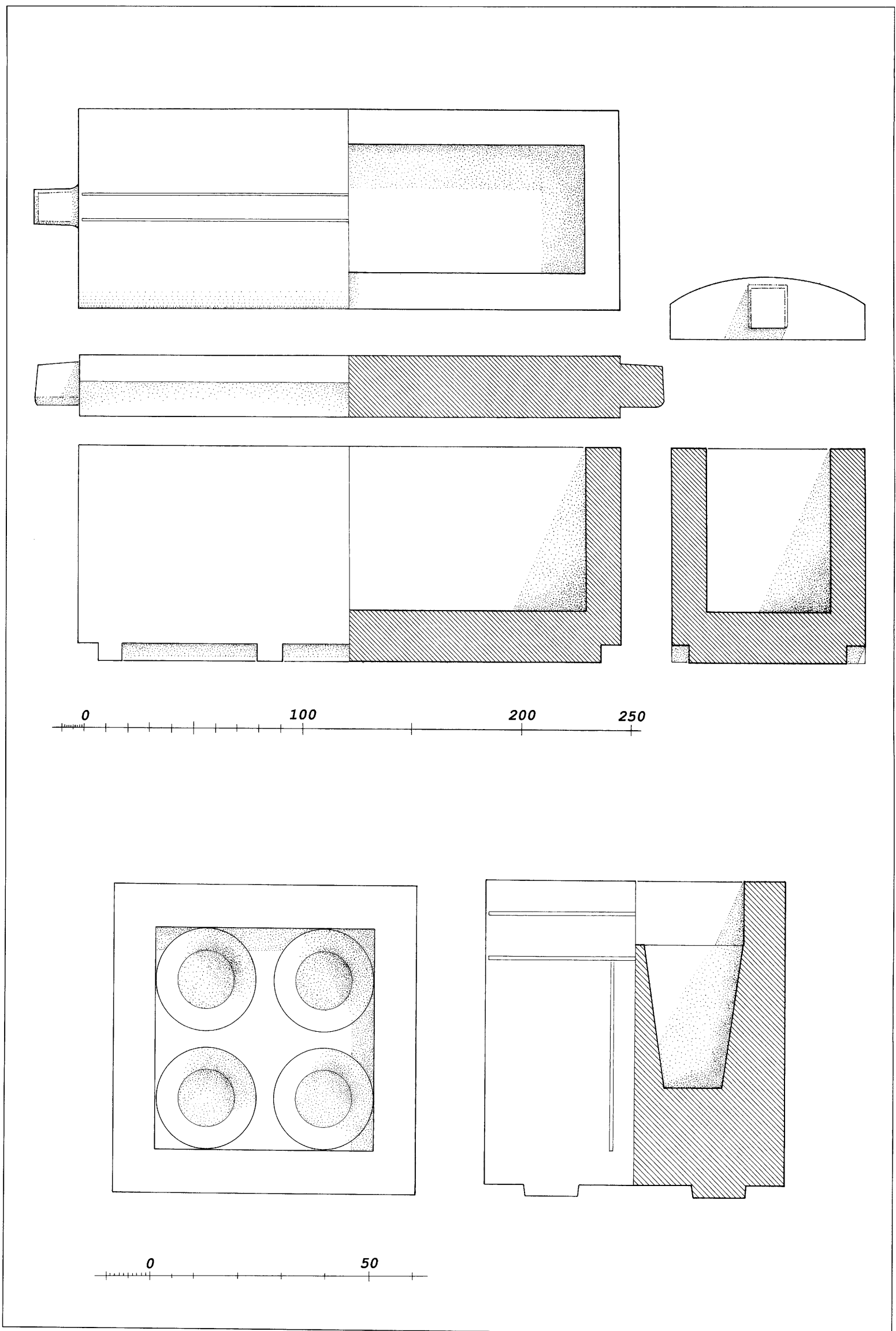
Pl. 65. South-north section and overall plan of the underground apartments of Mentuhotep. Scale 1:150.
Draw. R.V.



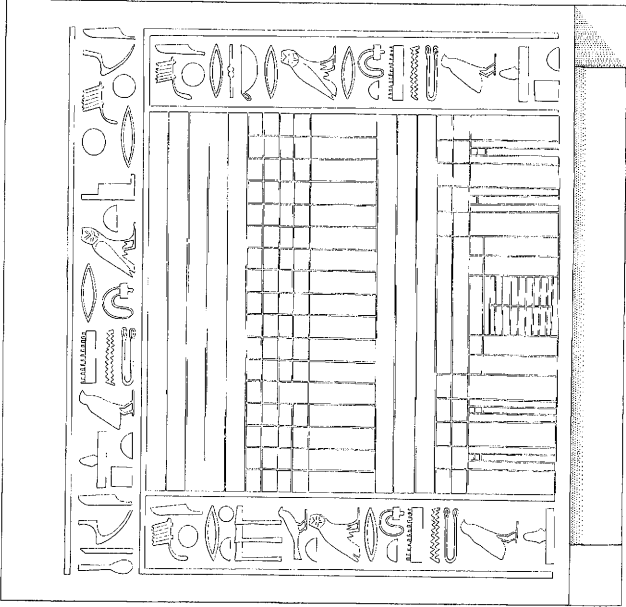
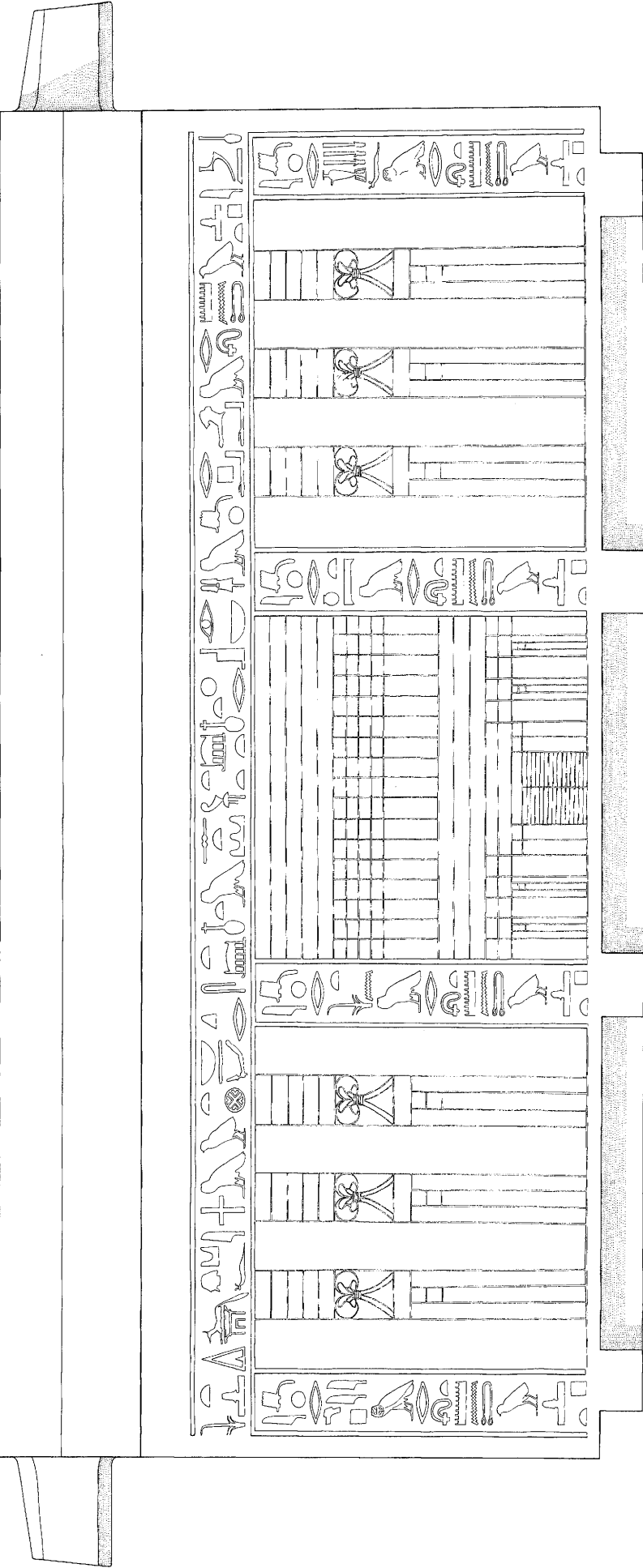
Pl. 66. Plan and sections of entrance shaft of the Mentuhotep tomb. Scale 1:50. Draw. R.V.



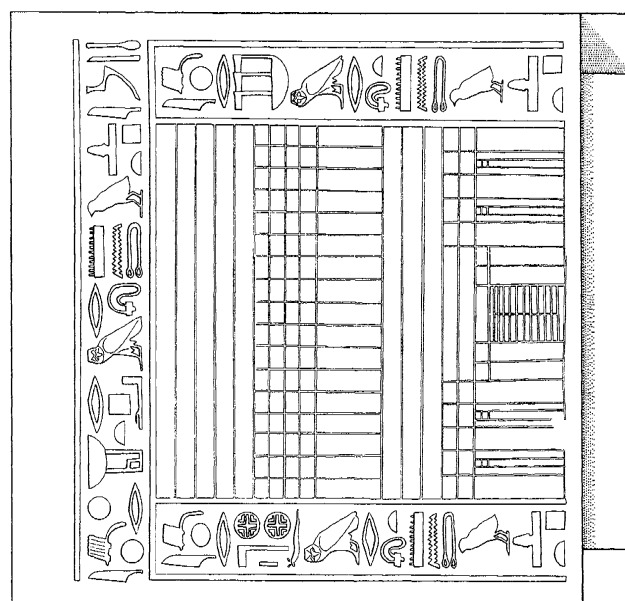
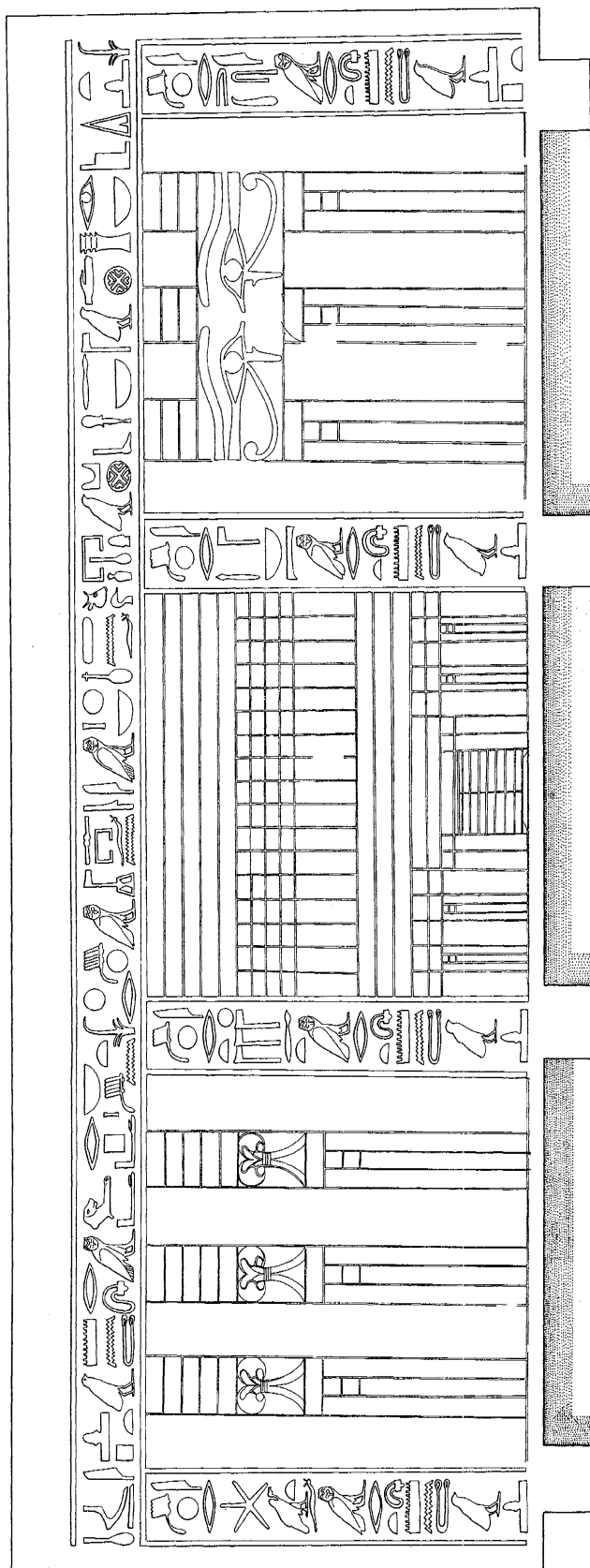
Pl. 67. Longitudinal sections of the crypt of Mentuhotep. Scale 1:50. Draw. R.V.



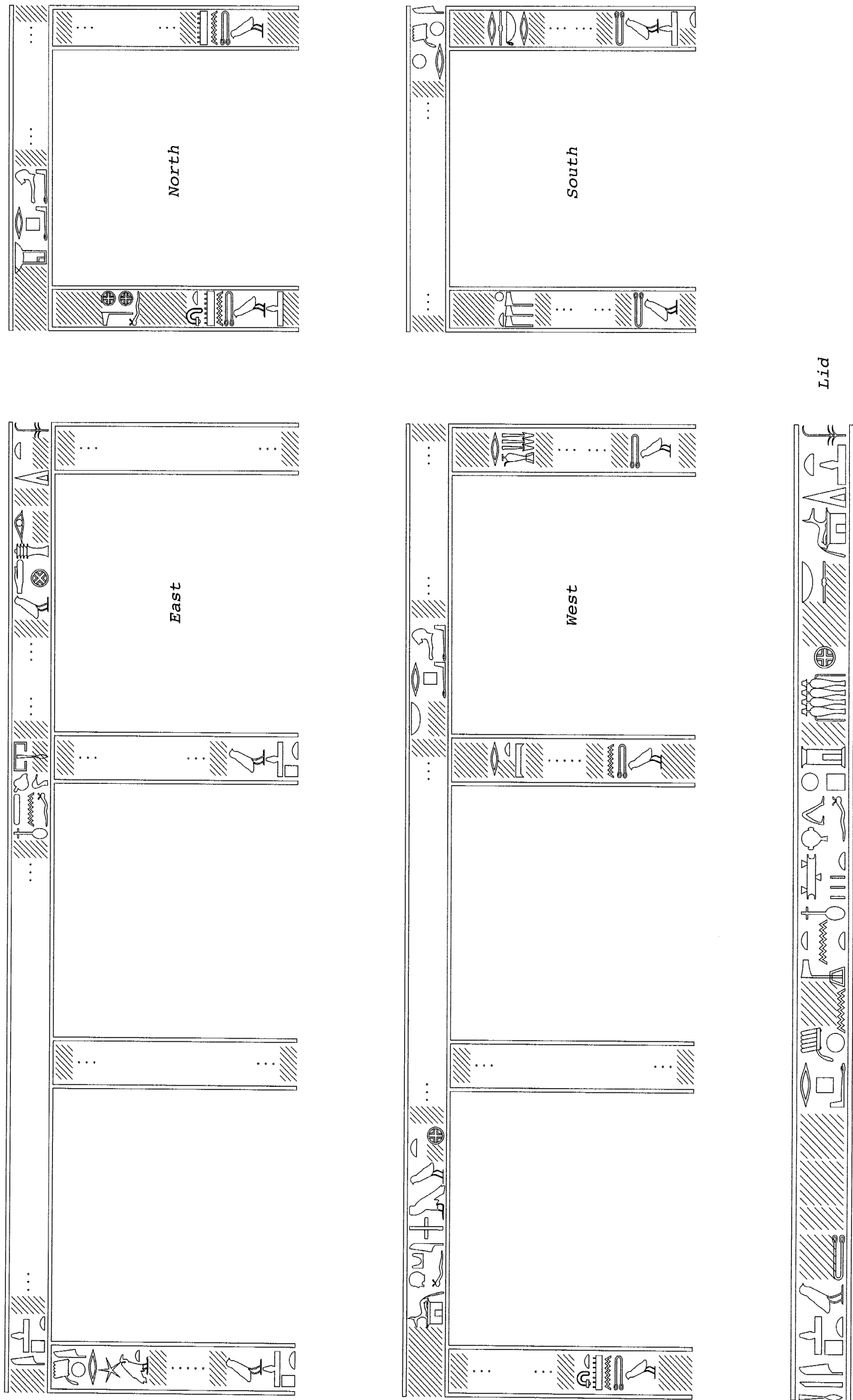
Pl. 68. The granite sarcophagus (see pl. 85b-d) and the quartzite canopic chest of Mentuhotep. Scale 1:20 and 1:10.
Draw. D.A.



Pl. 70. West and south side of the exterior decoration of the granite sarcophagus of Mentuhotep. Draw. W.S. and J.J.



Pl. 71. East and north side of the exterior decoration of the granite sarcophagus of Mentuhotep. Draw. W.S. and J.J.



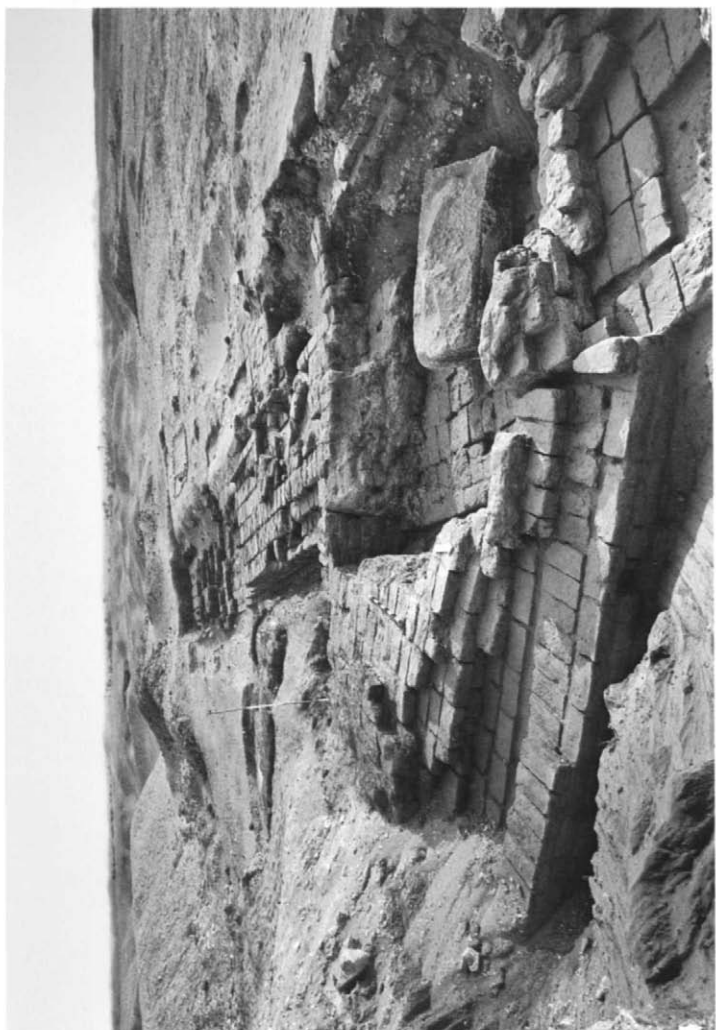
Pl. 72. Reconstruction of the inscriptions on the quartzite sarcophagus of Mentuhotep by James P. Allen.



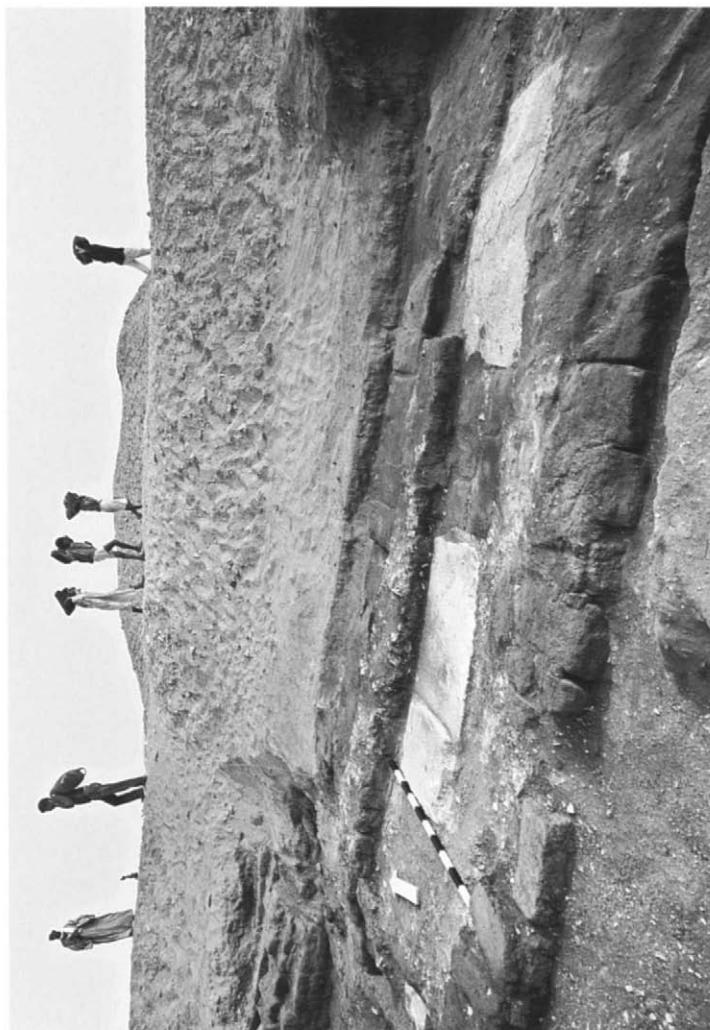
Pl. 73a. Upper end of the causeway of Mentuhotep, with hole indicating the threshold of the gate of the enclosure, looking west (L88:XXIV 36).



Pl. 73c. Foundations for the drain along the causeway looking east (L88:X 1/2).



Pl. 73b. Connection of the causeway (left), with the east wall of the Mentuhotep enclosure, looking south (L88:XXIV 34).



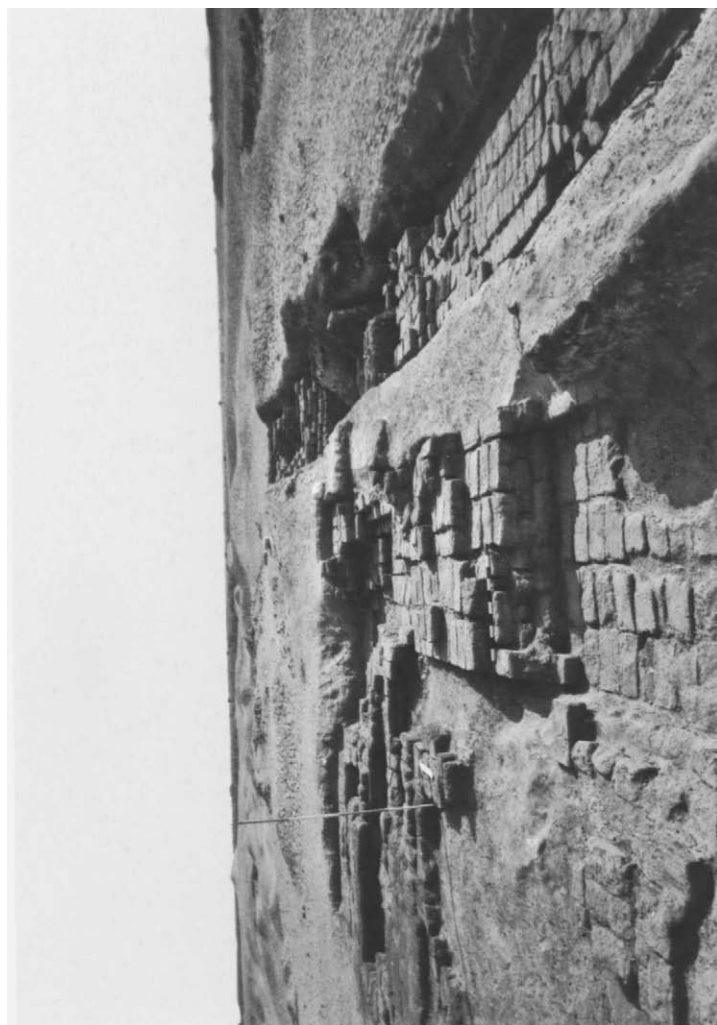
Pl. 73d. Foundations for the drain along the causeway looking north (L88:X 15).



Pl. 74a. Storage buildings in the southeast corner of the Mentuhotep enclosure looking northwest (L88:V 23).



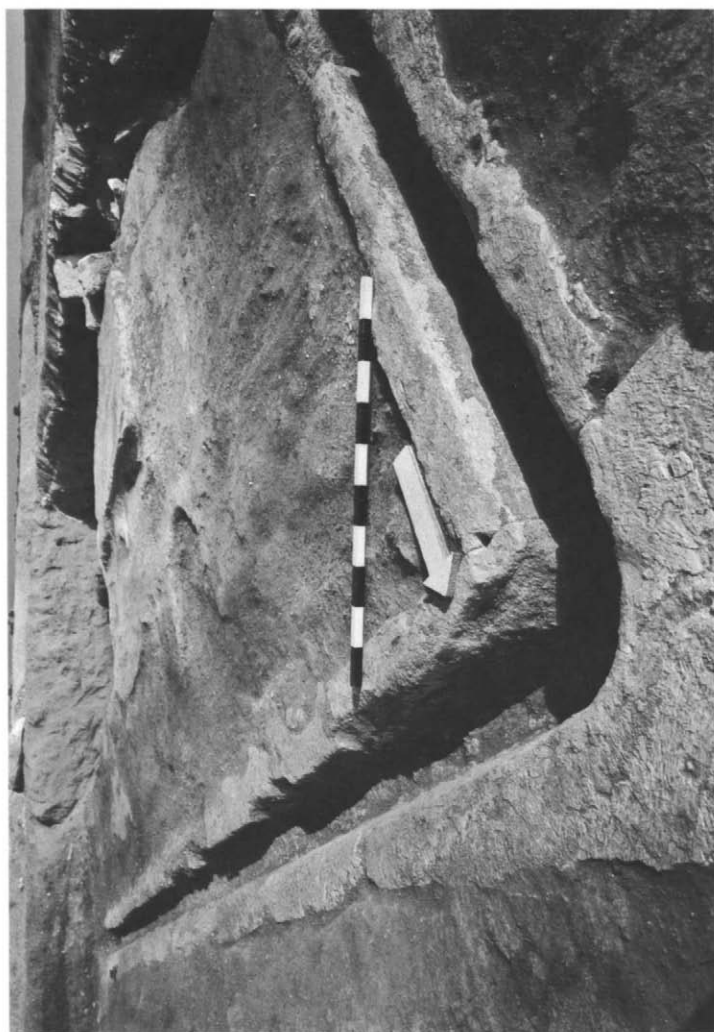
Pl. 74c. Stone subfoundation of the inner court of Mentuhotep looking southwest (L88:XIII 6).



Pl. 74b. Southwest corner of the Mentuhotep enclosure and east wall of the Senwosret I complex (right) looking south (L88:V 21).



Pl. 74d. Detail of the stone subfoundation of the inner court of Mentuhotep (L88:LXVIII 10).



Pl. 75a. Northwest corner of the drain around the Mentuhotep cult chapel
(L88:XVI 3).



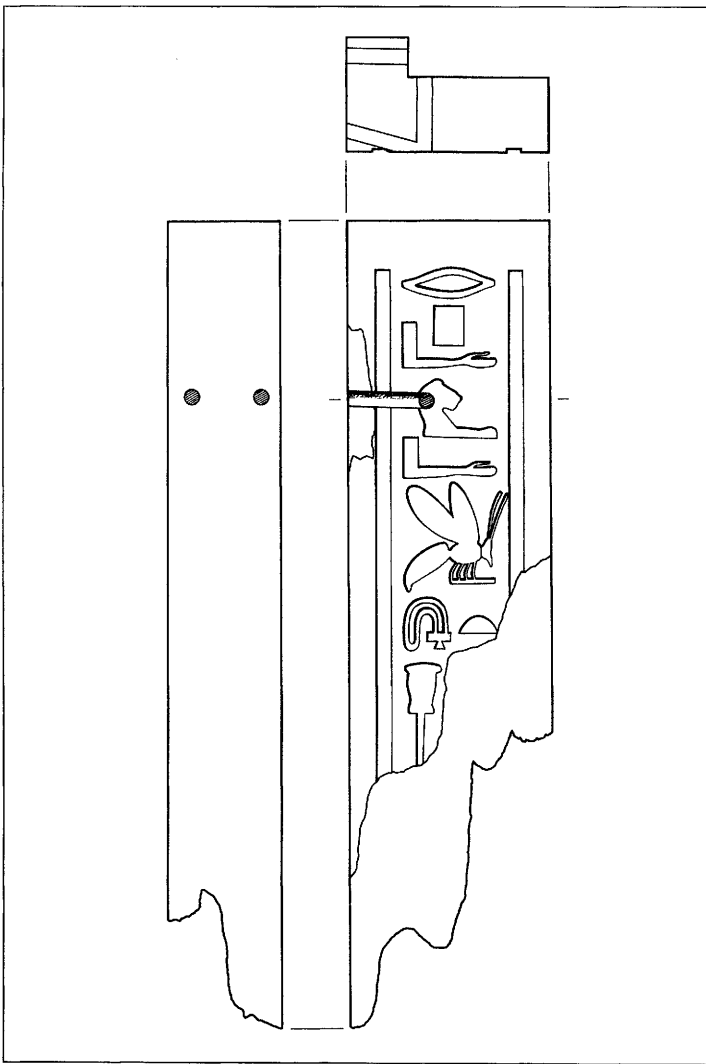
Pl. 75b. Northeast corner of the drain around the Mentuhotep cult chapel
(L89:105).



Pl. 75c. Northeast corner of the drain around the Mentuhotep cult chapel
(L88:I 4).



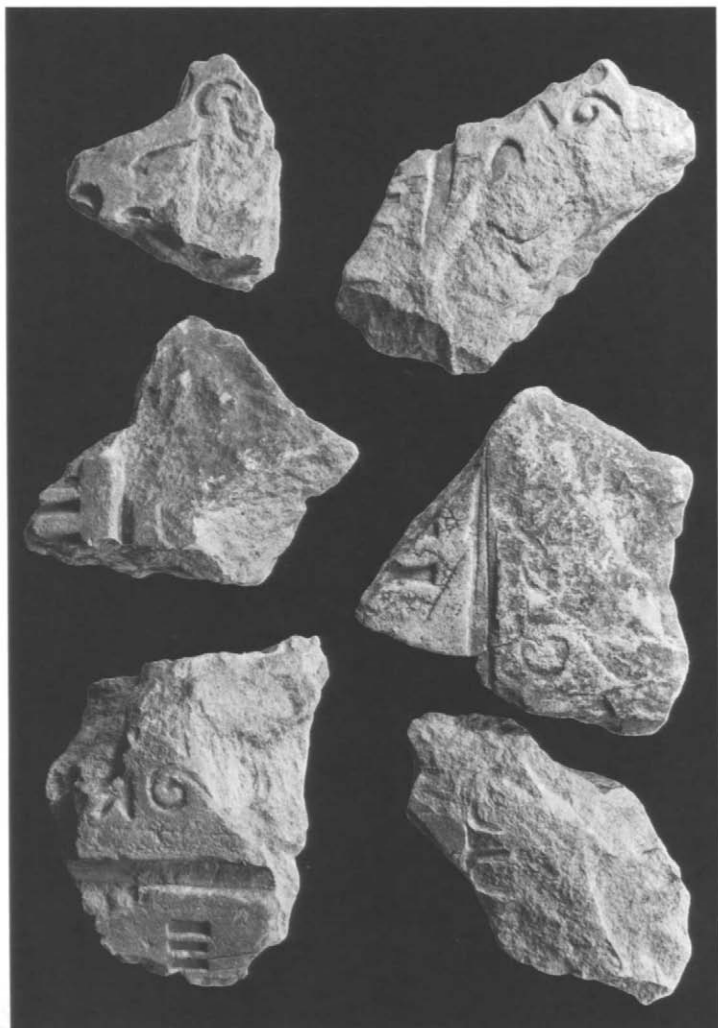
Pl. 75d. Northeast corner of the drain around the Mentuhotep cult chapel
(L88:I 15/16).



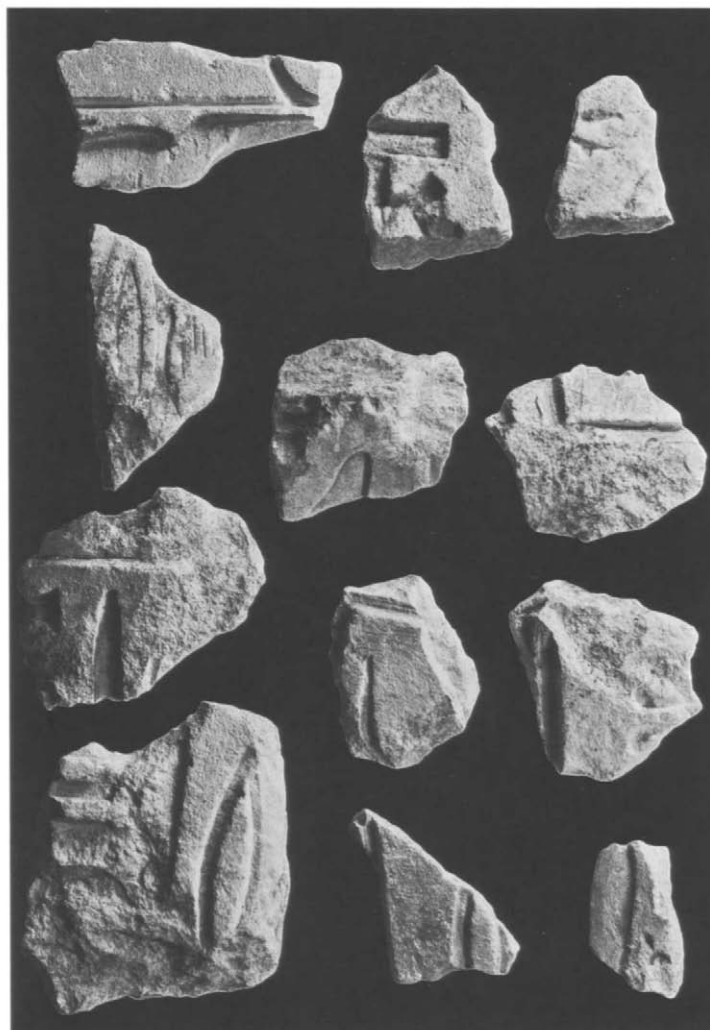
Pl. 76a. Part of a wood door of a statue shrine of Mentuhotep. Draw. W.S.



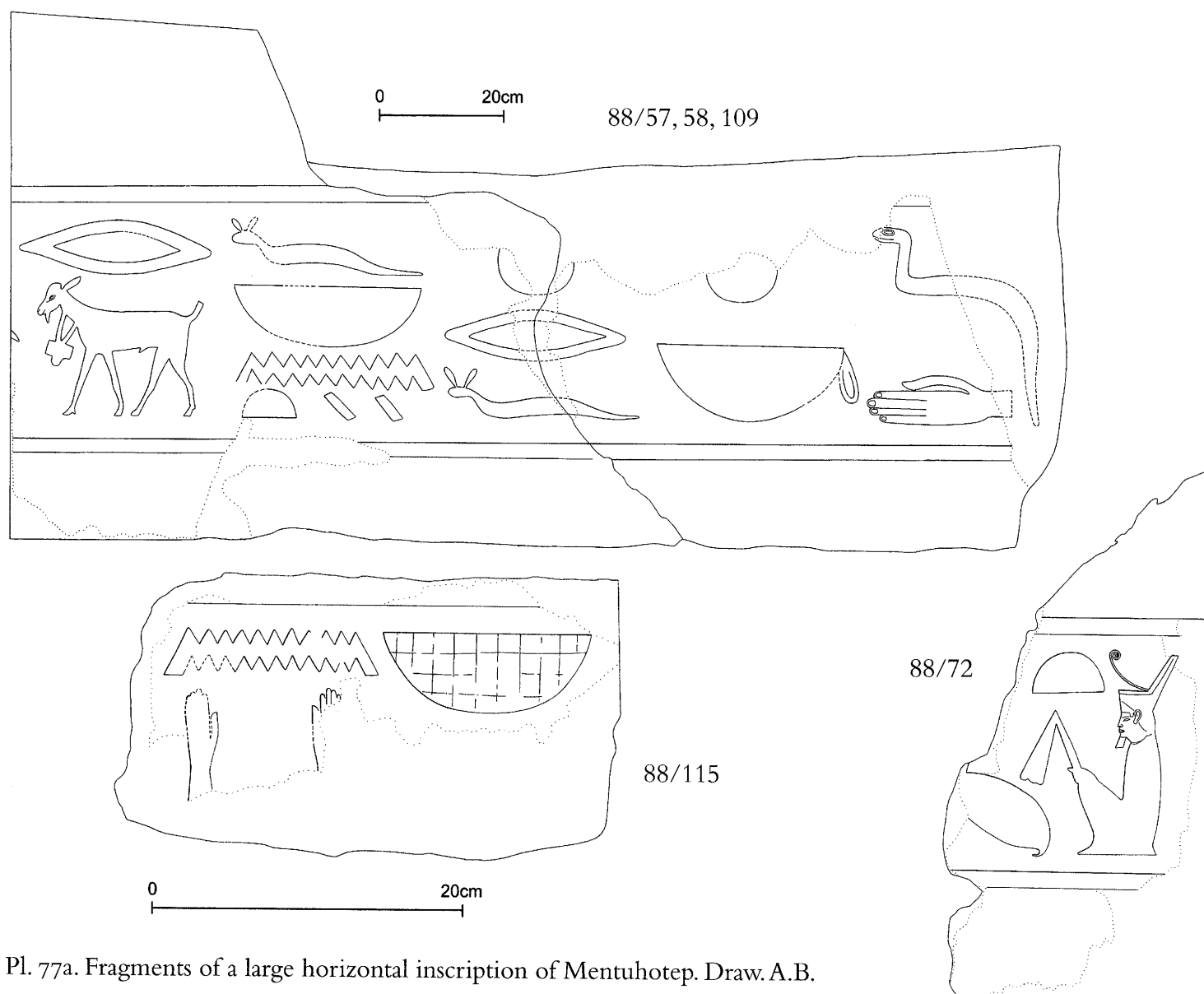
Pl. 76b. Sunk inscriptions of an offering list of Mentuhotep (L89:311).



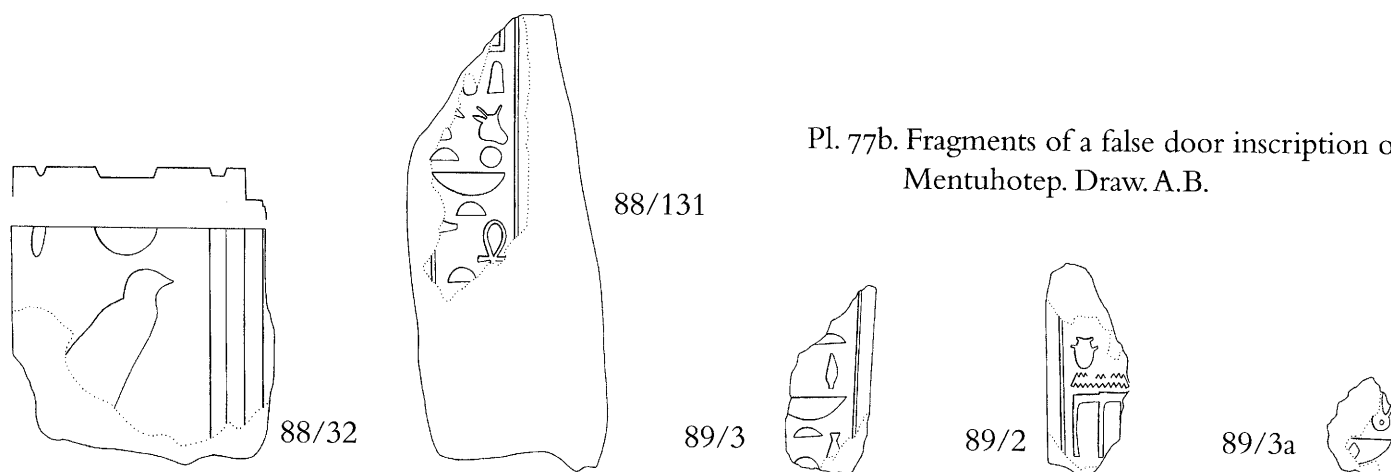
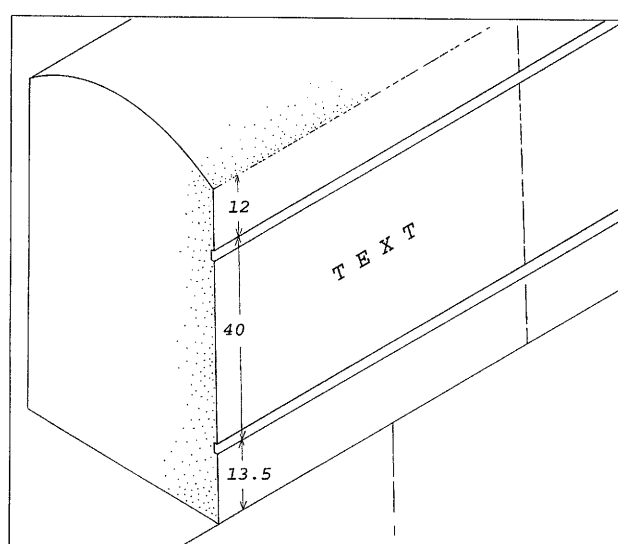
Pl. 76c. Sunk inscriptions of an offering list of Mentuhotep (L89:314).



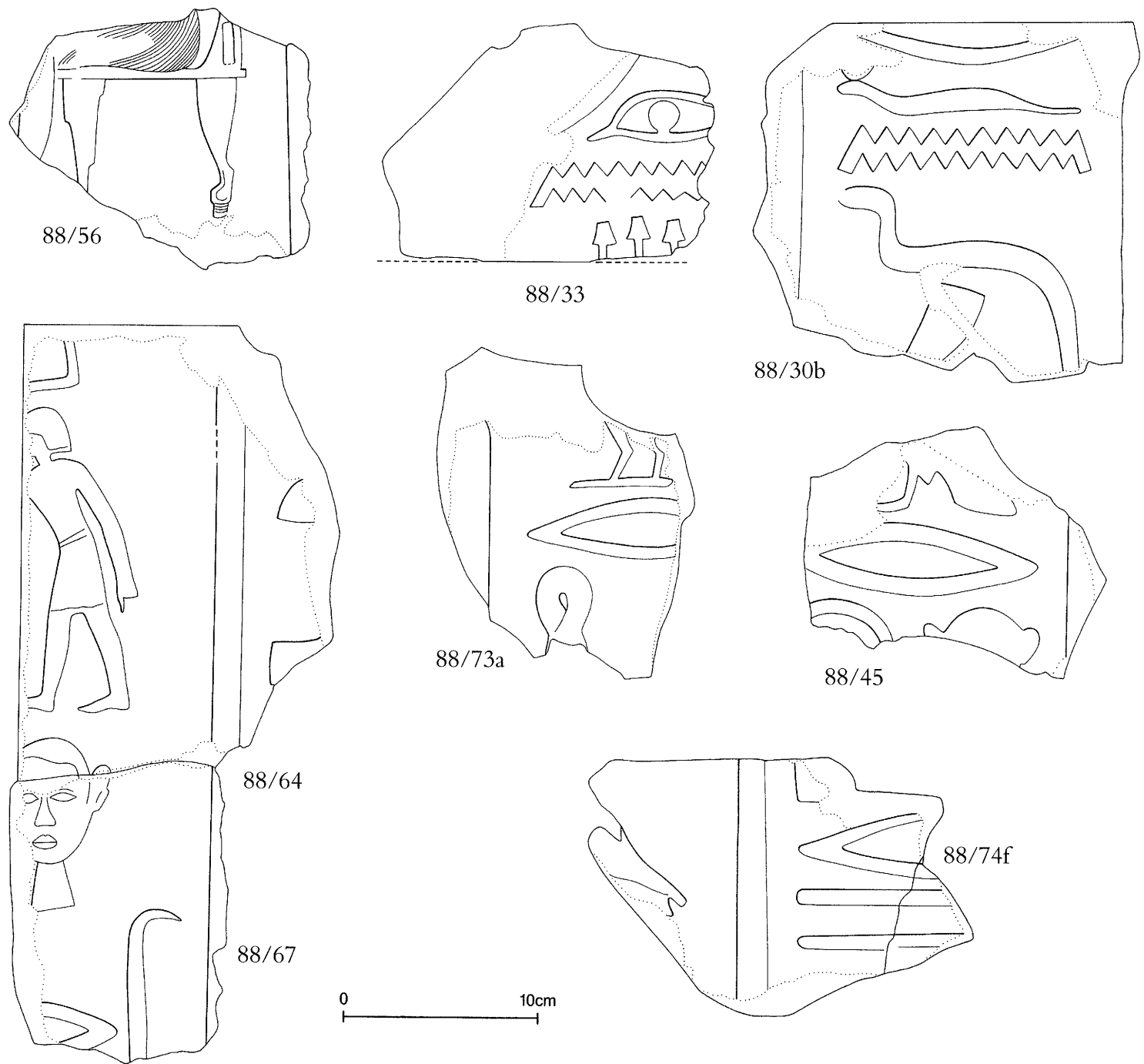
Pl. 76d. Sunk inscriptions of an offering list of Mentuhotep (L89:316).



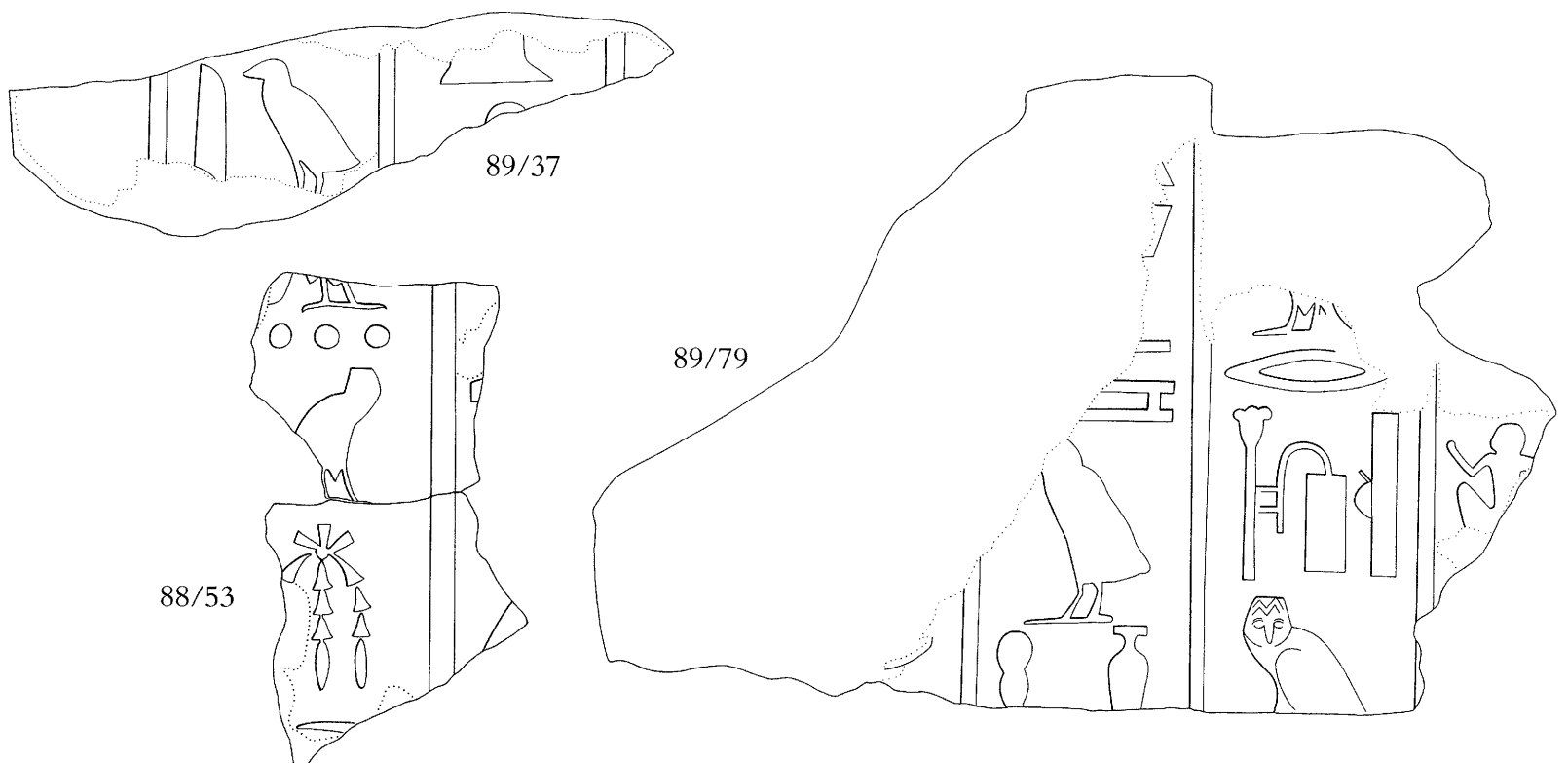
Pl. 77a. Fragments of a large horizontal inscription of Mentuhotep. Draw. A.B.



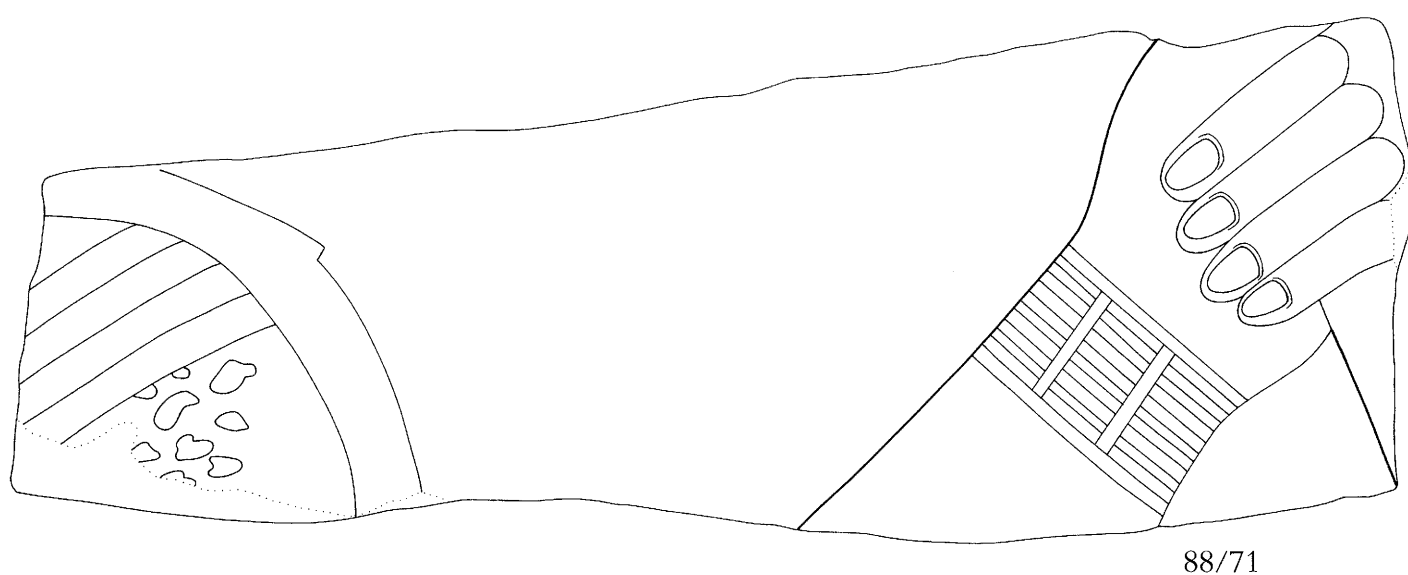
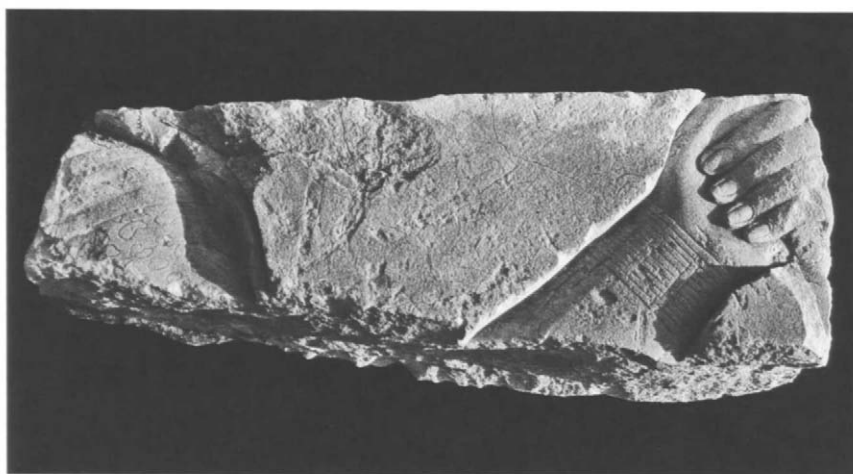
Pl. 77b. Fragments of a false door inscription of
Mentuhotep. Draw. A.B.



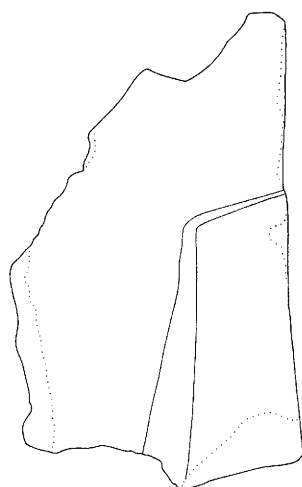
Pl. 78a. Seven fragments of a large sunk Mentuhotep inscription. Scale 1:3. Draw. A.B.



Pl. 78b. Three fragments of medium-sized sunk Mentuhotep inscriptions. Scale 1:3. Draw. A.B.

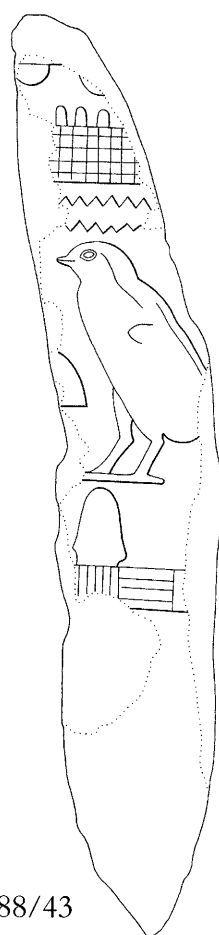


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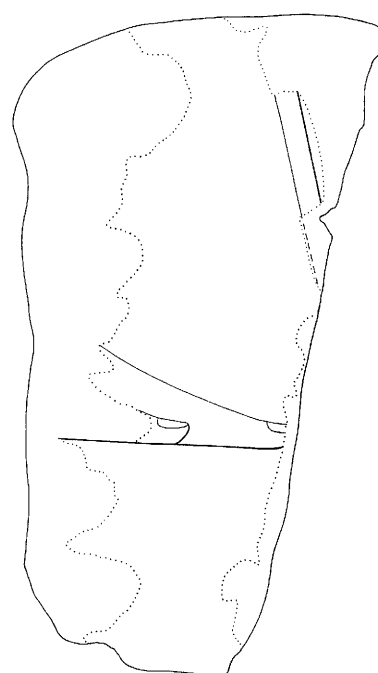


88/107g

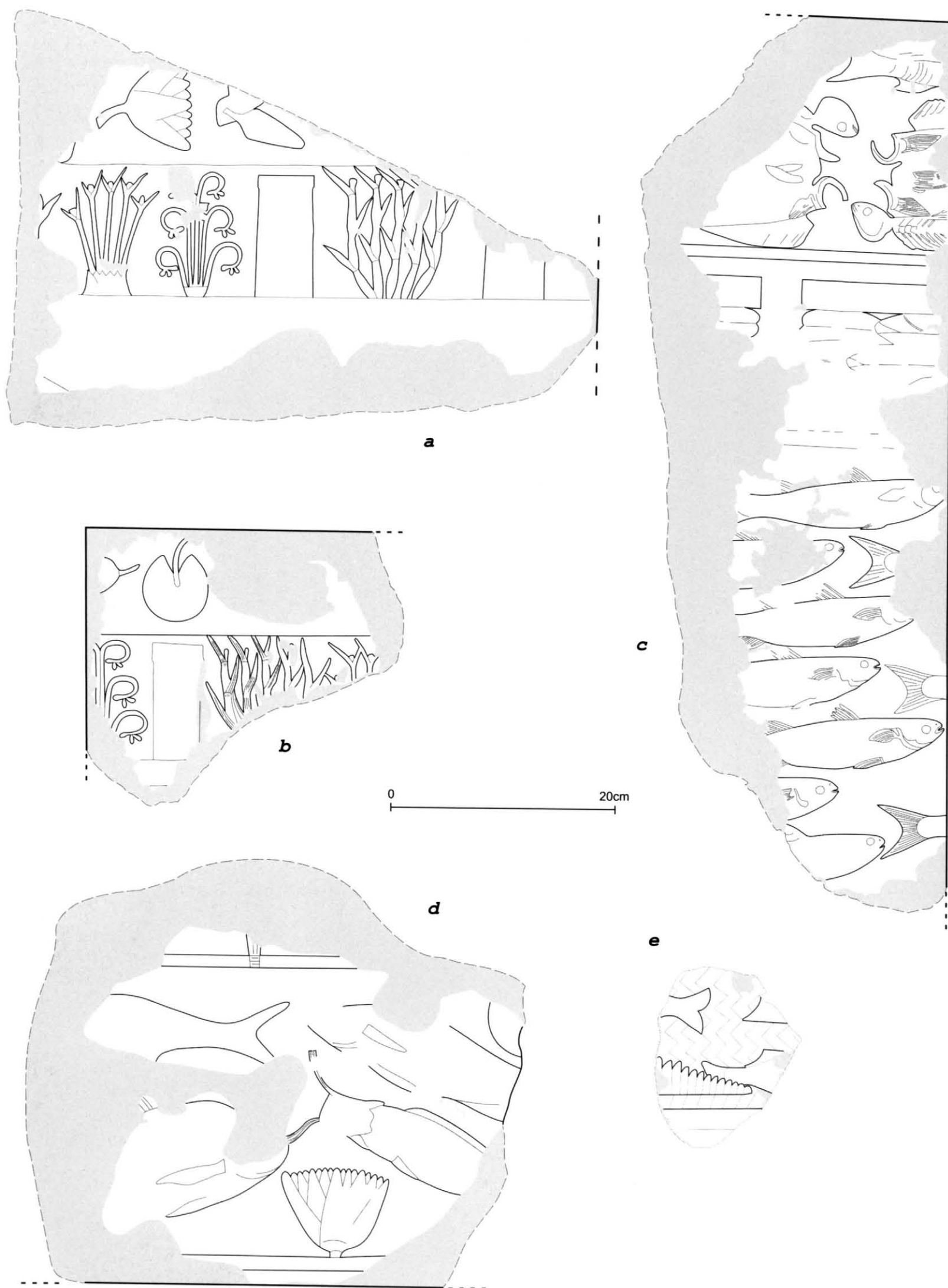
0 10cm



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88/49



Pl. 80. Relief fragments of marsh scenes from tomb of Mentuhotep: (a) MMA o8.200.57; (b) MMA o8.200.58; (c) MMA 13.188.2; (d) 88/60; (e) 89/94. Scale 1:4. Draw. J.J.



Pl. 81a. Fragment of marsh scene. MMA 08.200.57 (L7-8:558).



Pl. 81b. Fragment of marsh scene
MMA 13.188.2 (L12-13:219).



Pl. 81c. Fragment of marsh scene MMA 08.200.58 (L12-13:238).

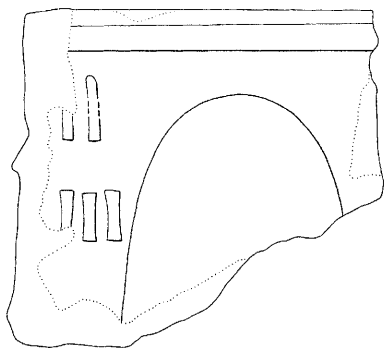


Pl. 81d. Fragment of marsh scene (L88:XL11).

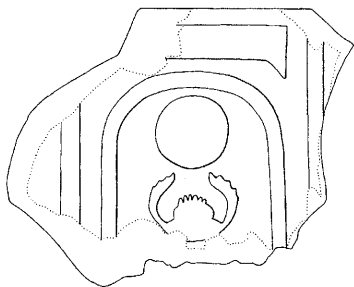


Pl. 81e. Fragment of marsh scene (L89:287).

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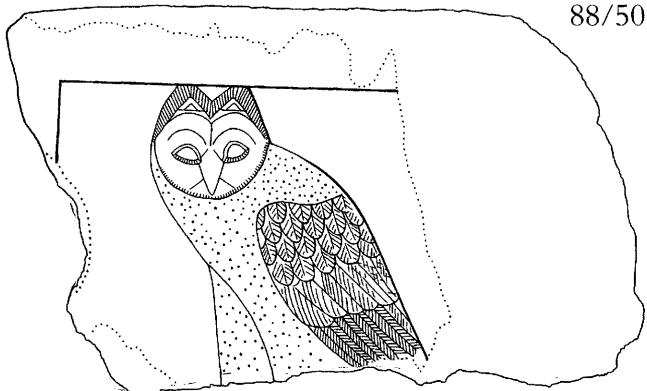


L88:46.13

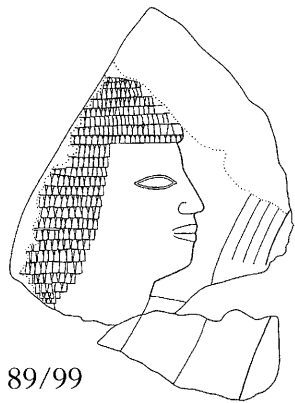


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88/50



L89.308

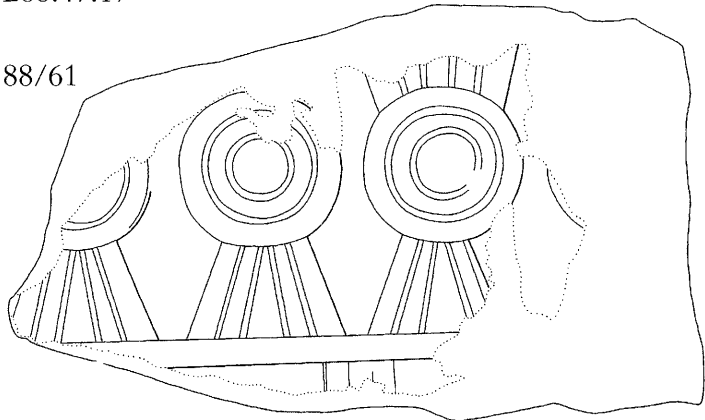


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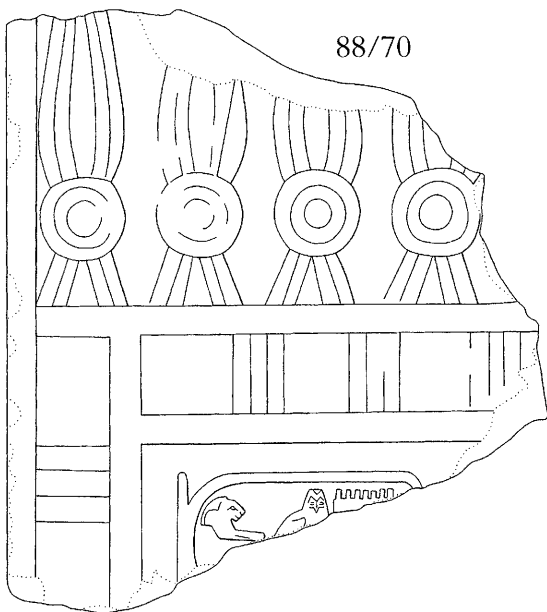


L88:47.17

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L88:41.28

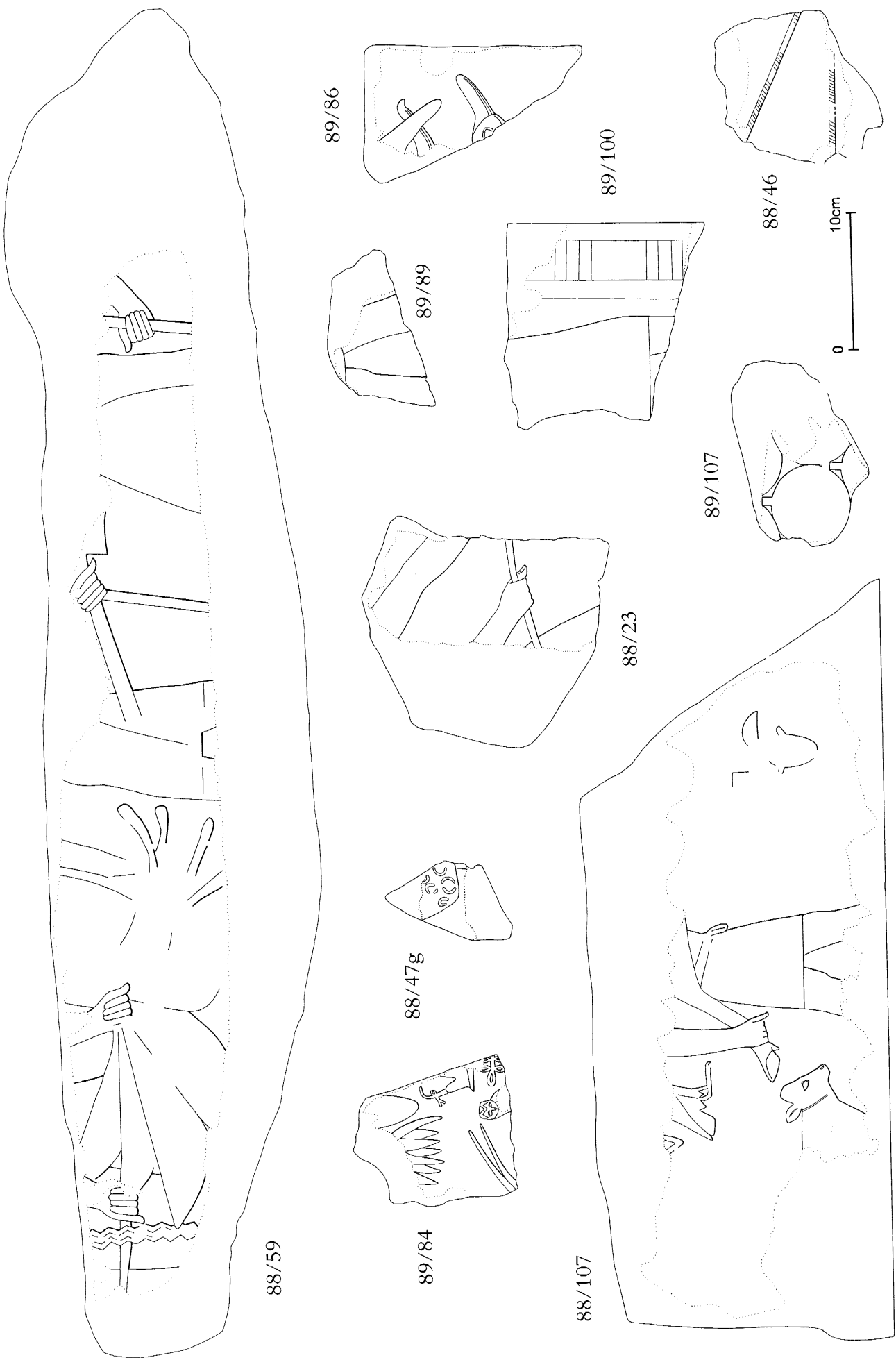


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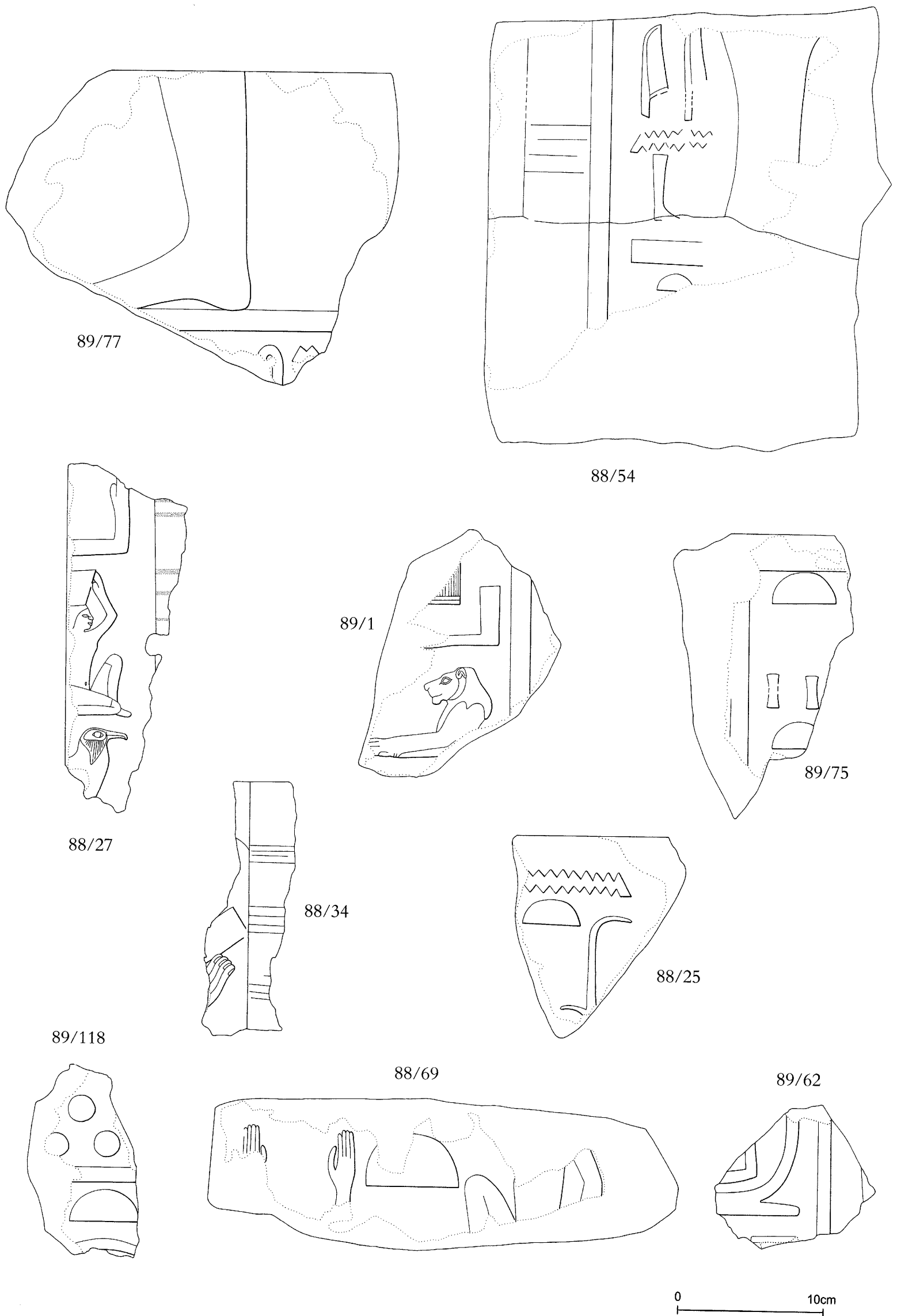
L88:41.25



Pl. 82. Relief fragments from the funerary chapel of Mentuhotep. Scale 1:4, except for 88/50, scale 1:2. Draw. A.B.



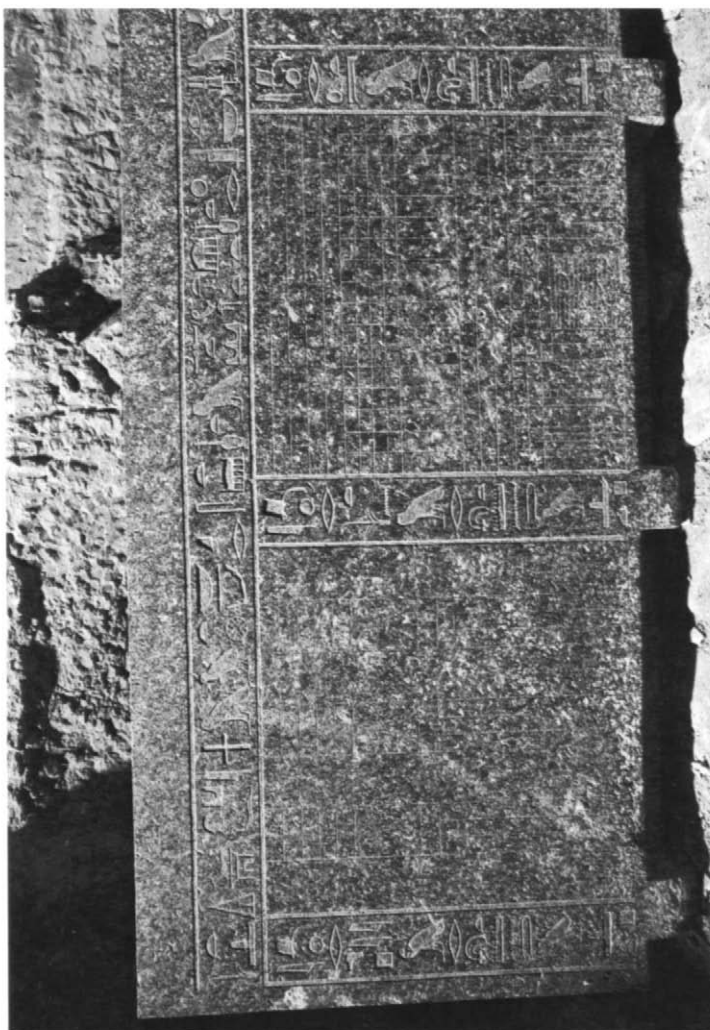
Pl. 83. Fragments of raised reliefs and inscriptions of the funerary chapel of Mentuhotep. Scale 1:4. Draw. A.B.



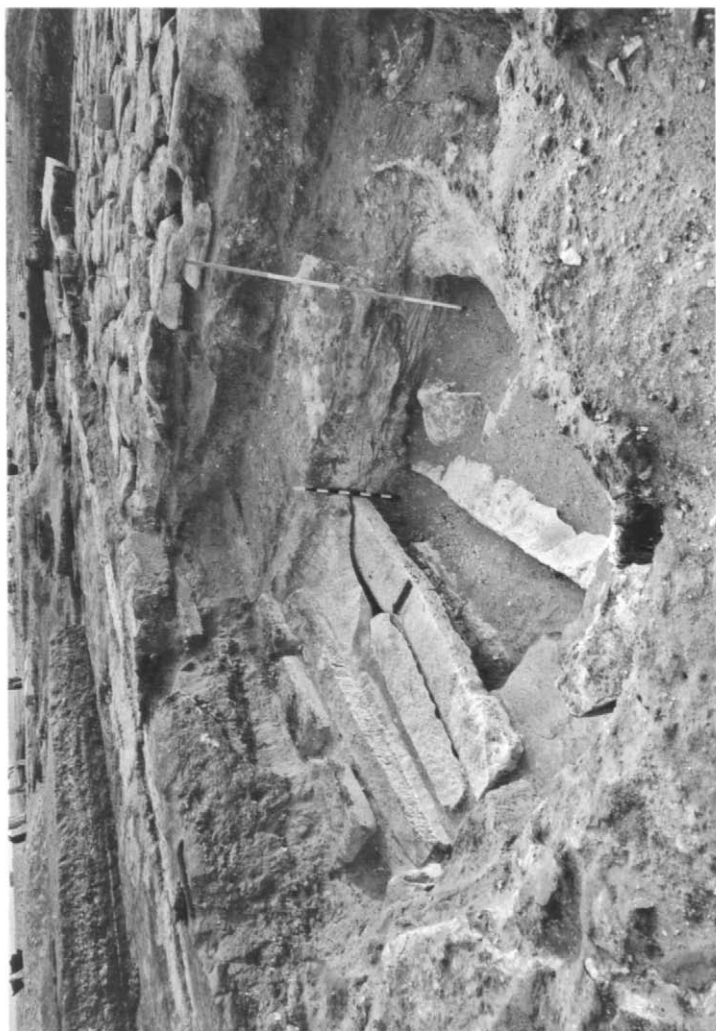
Pl. 84. Fragments of raised reliefs and inscriptions of the funerary chapel of Mentuhotep. Scale 1:3. Draw. A.B.



Pl. 85b. The granite sarcophagus of Mentuhotep after the chamber was cleaned (L88:XL 21a/22).



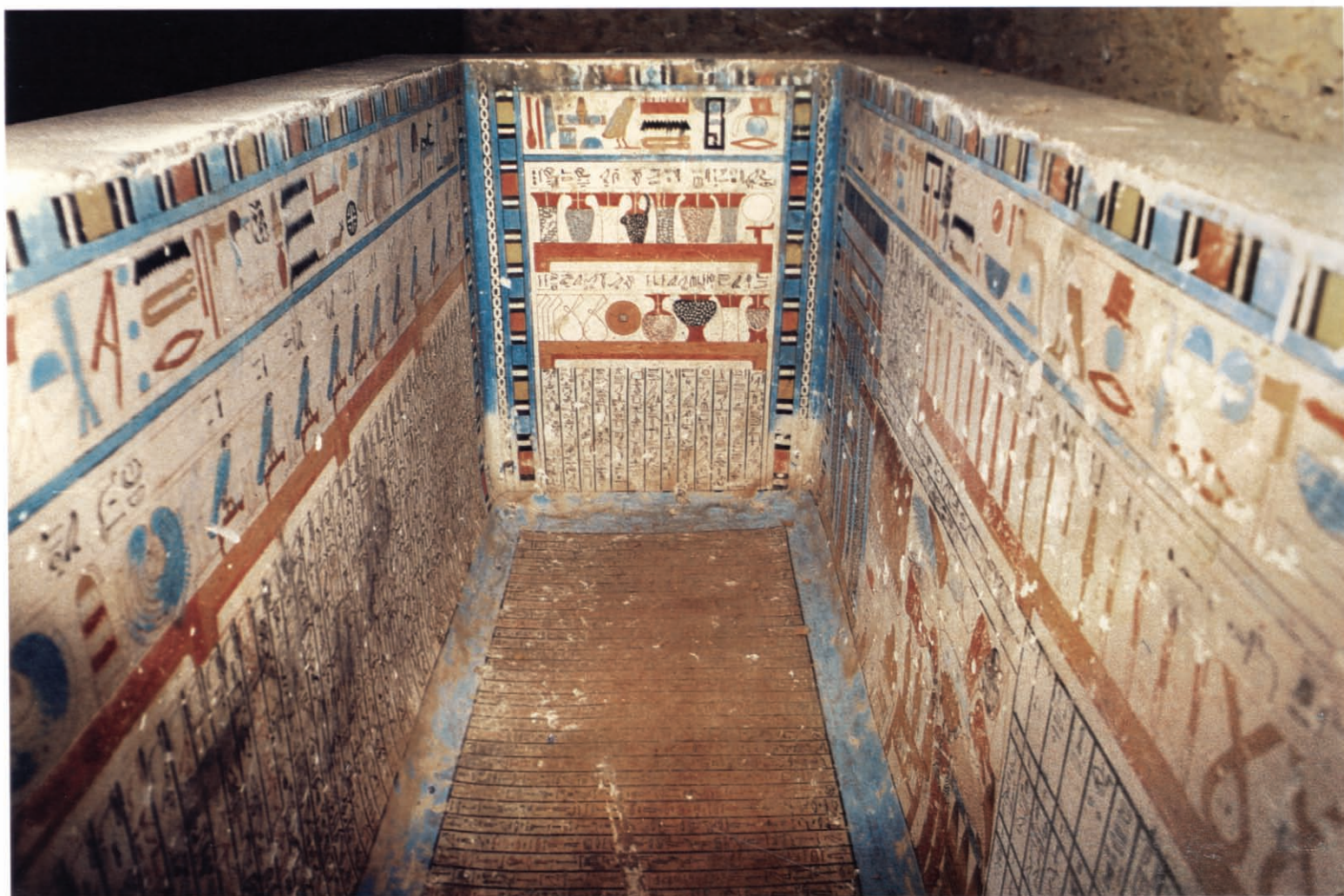
Pl. 85d. North end of west side of the granite sarcophagus of Mentuhotep (L89:670). Photo Dieter Johannes.



Pl. 85a. The mouth of the Mentuhotep shaft looking northeast (L88:LIX 22).



Pl. 85c. North end of the granite sarcophagus of Mentuhotep (L89:671). Photo Dieter Johannes.



Pl. 86a. Details of sarcophagus painting, interior looking north. Photo Dieter Johannes.



Pl. 86b. Details of sarcophagus painting, interior false door at north end of east side. Photo Dieter Johannes.



Pl. 87a. Details of sarcophagus painting, interior, north end of east side. Photo Dieter Johannes.



Pl. 87b. Details of sarcophagus painting, interior, center of east side. Photo Dieter Johannes.



Pl. 88a. Details of sarcophagus painting, interior, north end of east side. Photo Dieter Johannes.



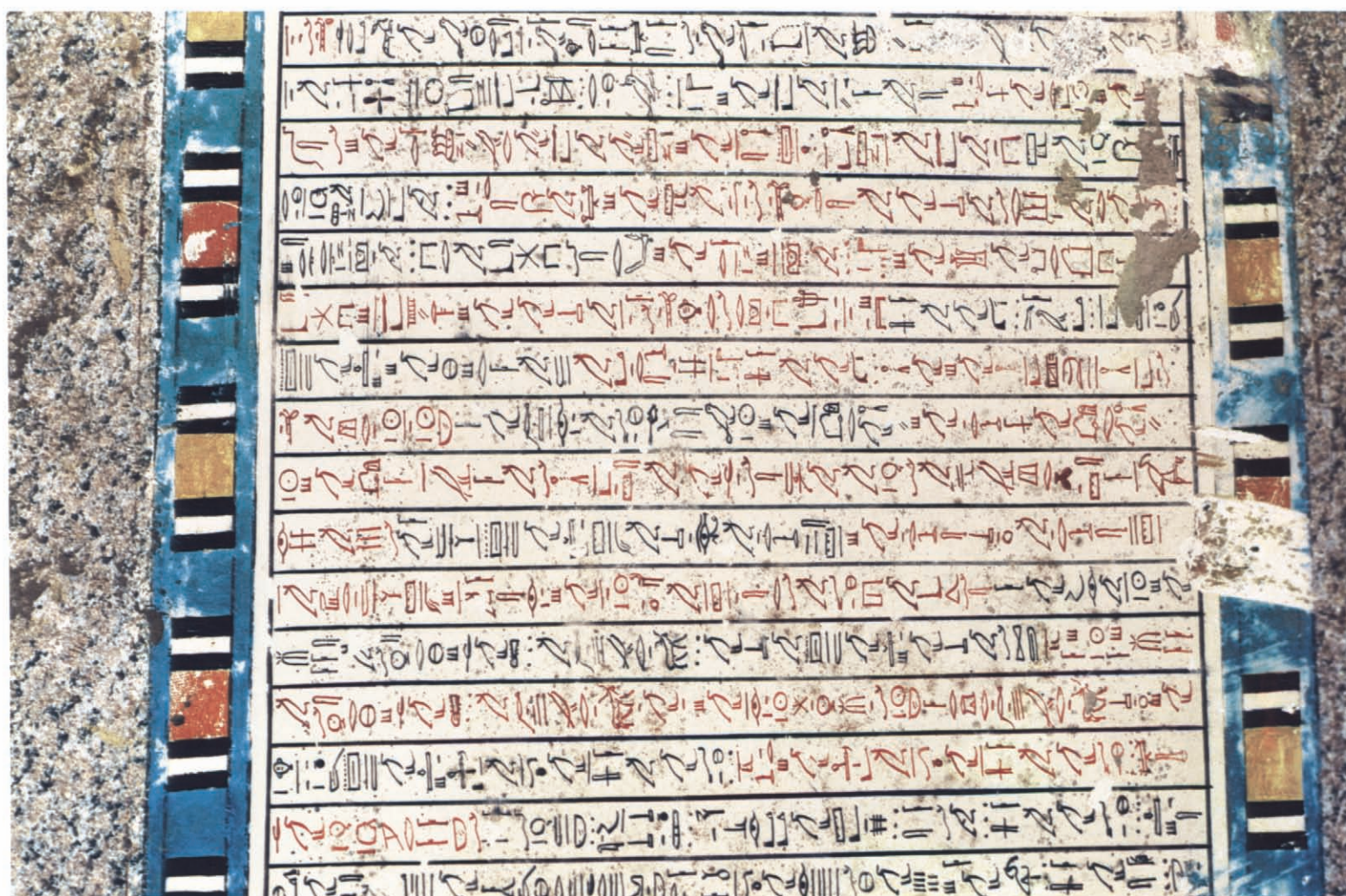
Pl. 88b. Details of sarcophagus painting, interior, center of east side. Photo Dieter Johannes.



Pl. 91b. Details of sarcophagus painting, interior, north end. Photo
Dieter Johannes.



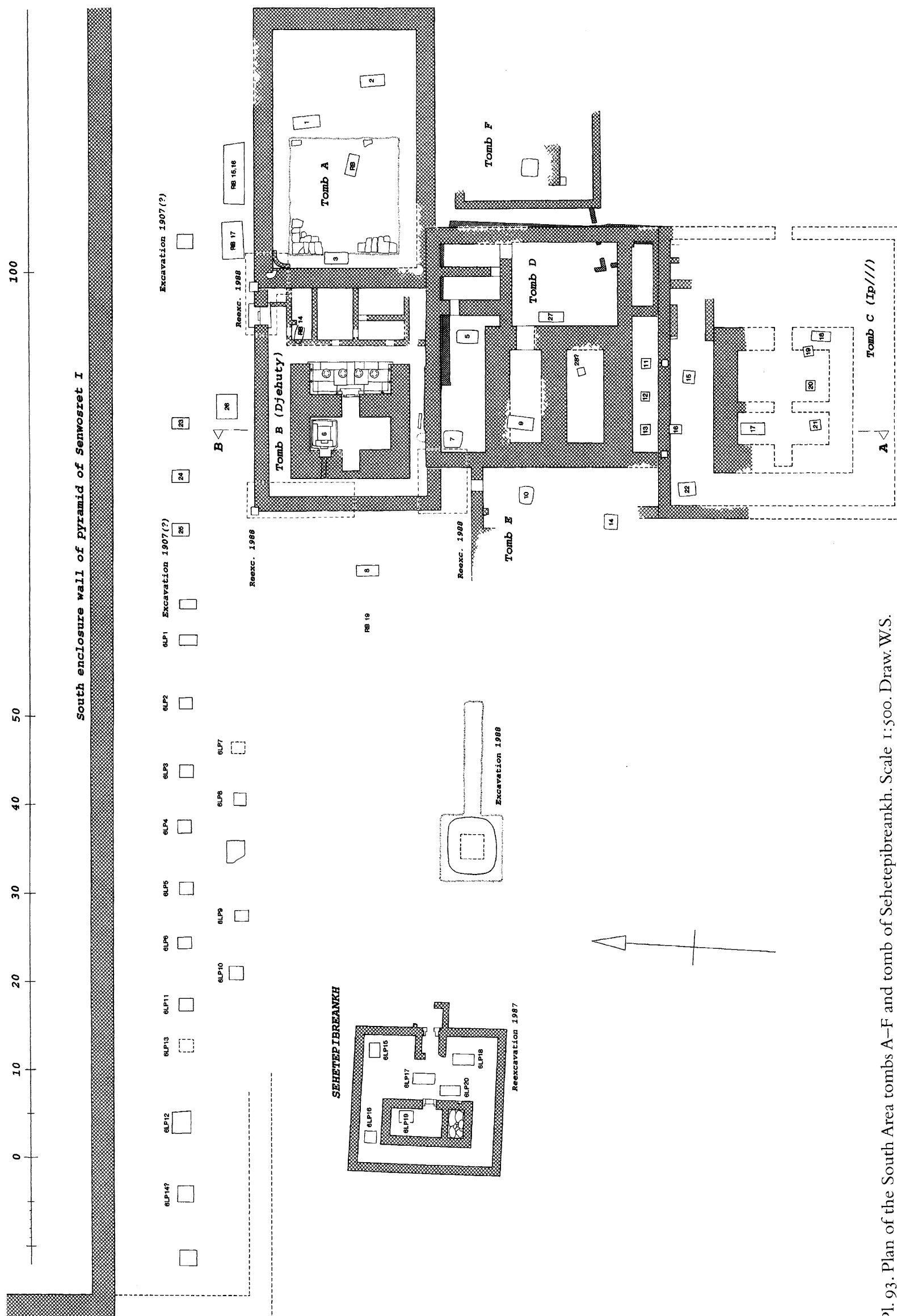
Pl. 91a. Details of sarcophagus painting, interior, north end. Photo
Dieter Johannes.



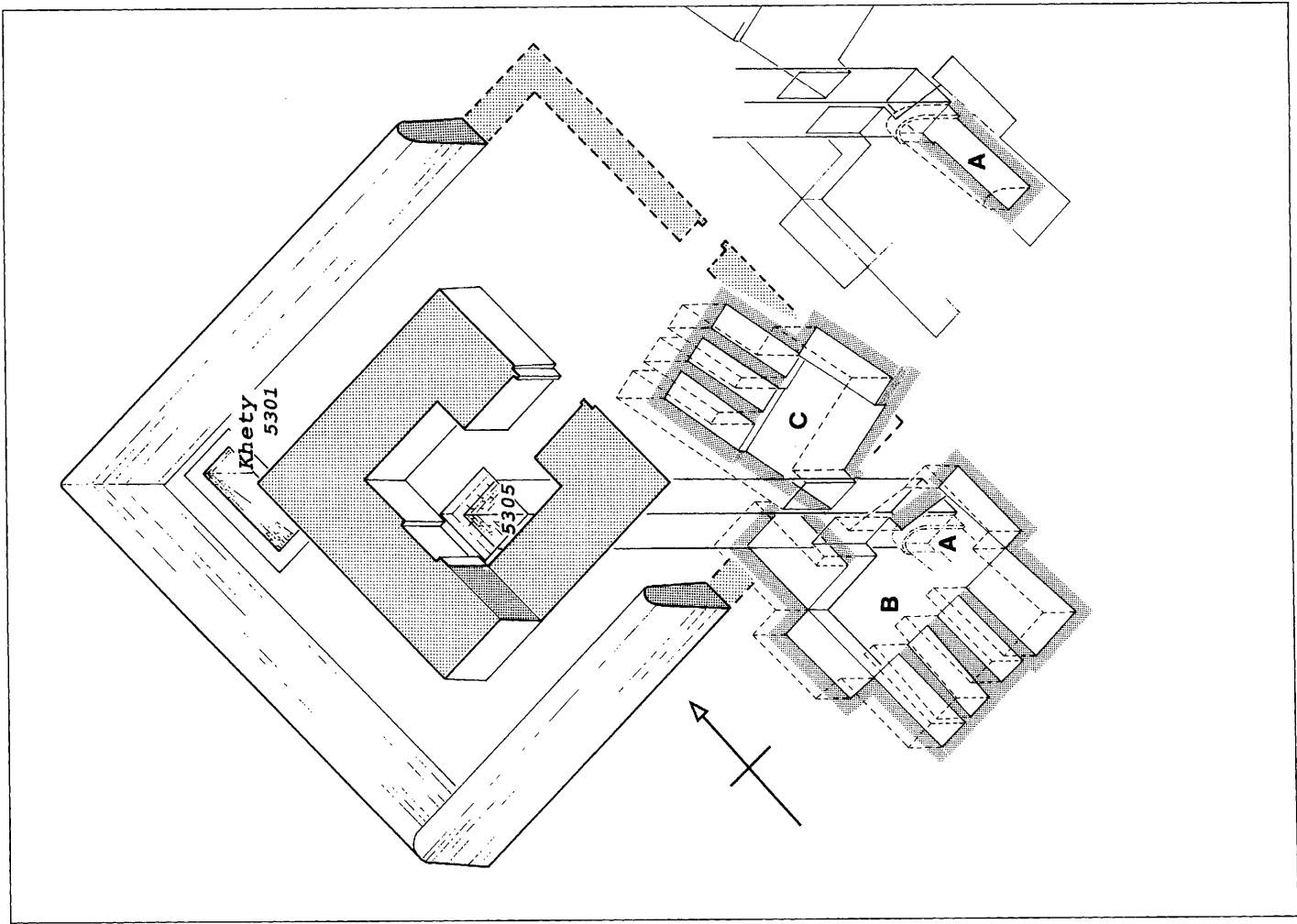
Pl. 92b. Details of sarcophagus lid, center of lid. Photo Dieter Johannes.



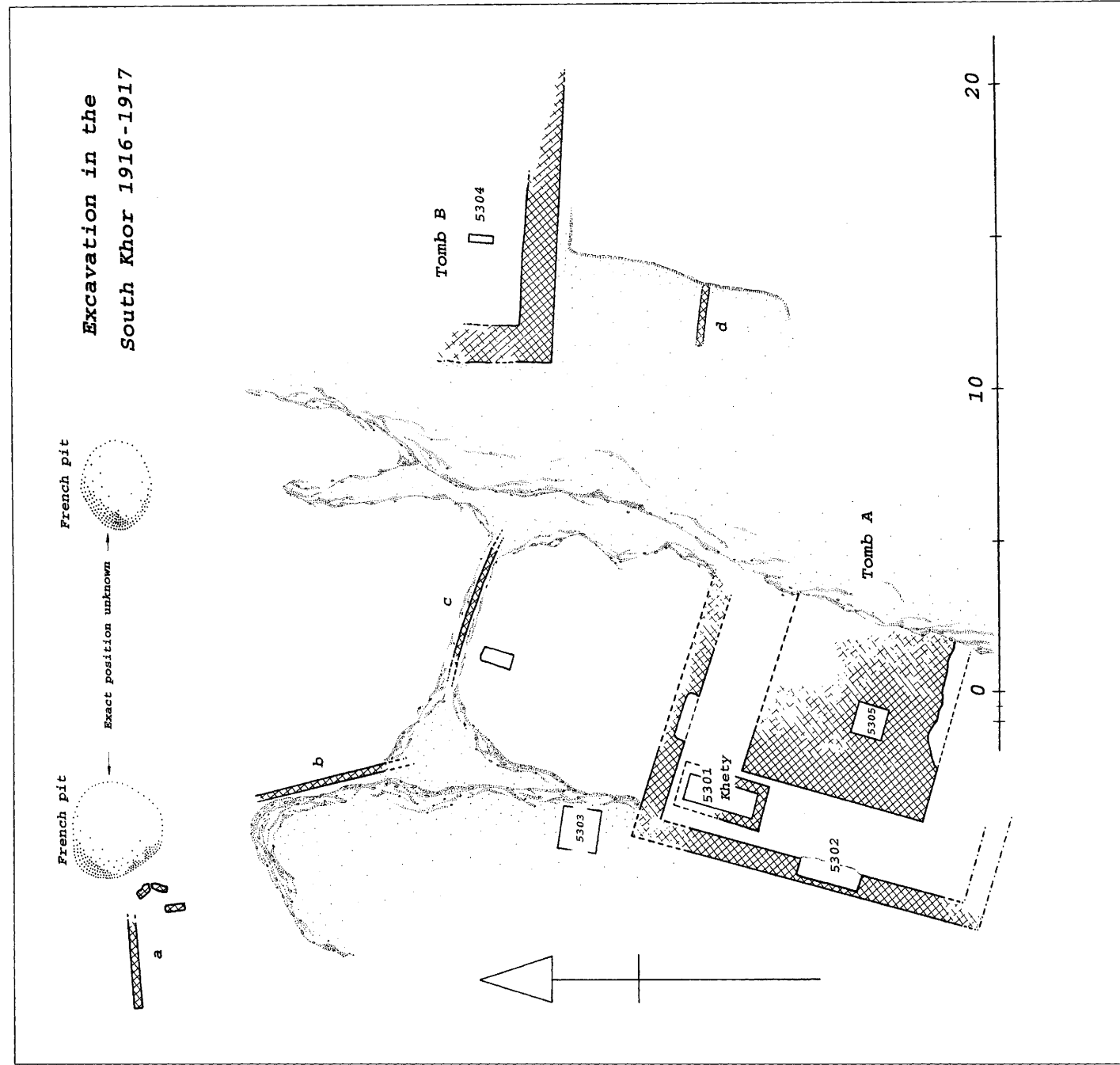
Pl. 92a. Details of sarcophagus lid, interior, north end of lid. Photo Dieter Johannes.



Pl. 93. Plan of the South Area tombs A-F and tomb of Sehetepibreankh. Scale 1:500. Draw. W.S.



Pl. 94b. Isometric view of south-*khor* tomb A. Draw. W.S.



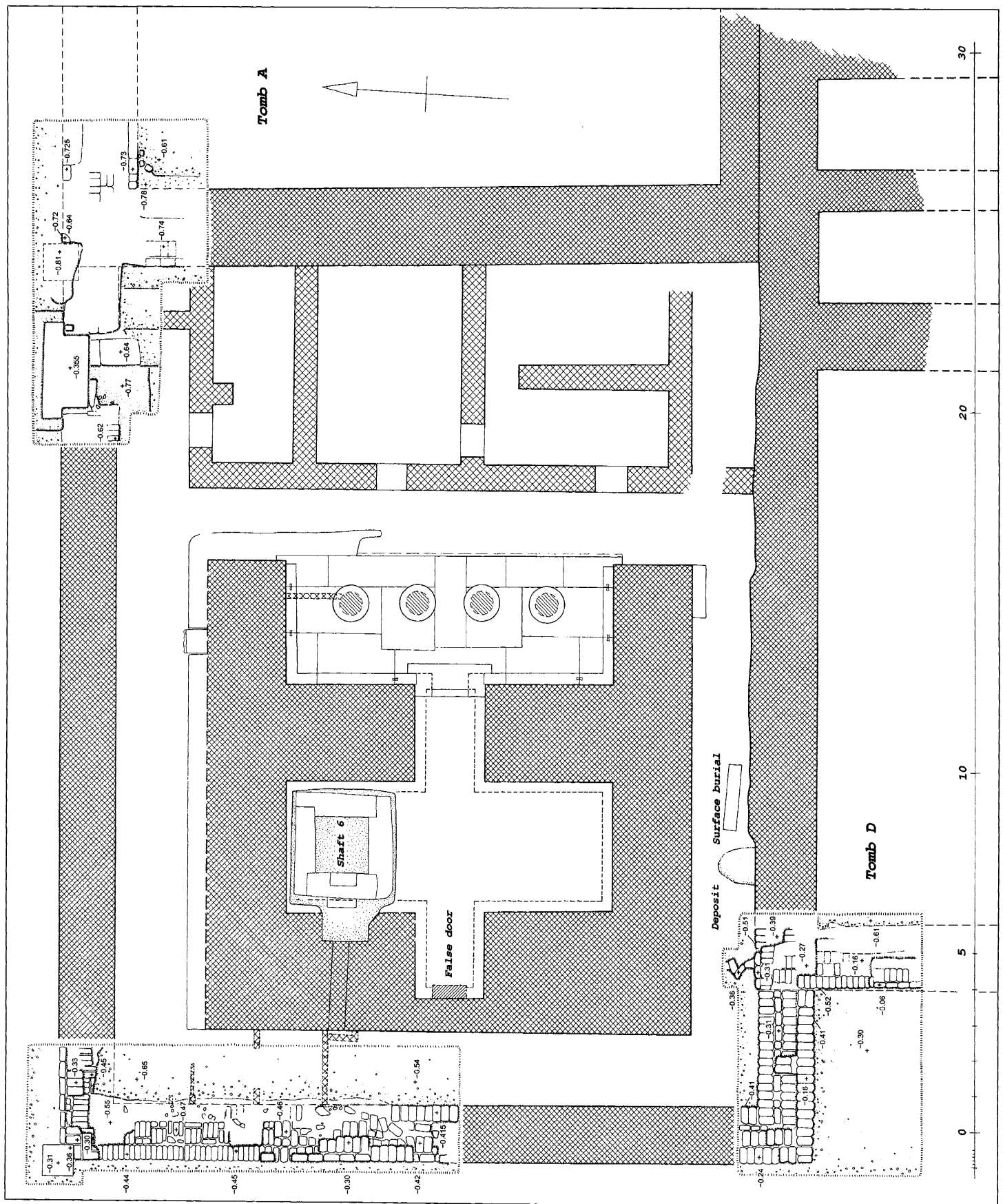
Pl. 94a. Plan of the excavation in the south *khor*. Scale 1:200. Draw. W.S.



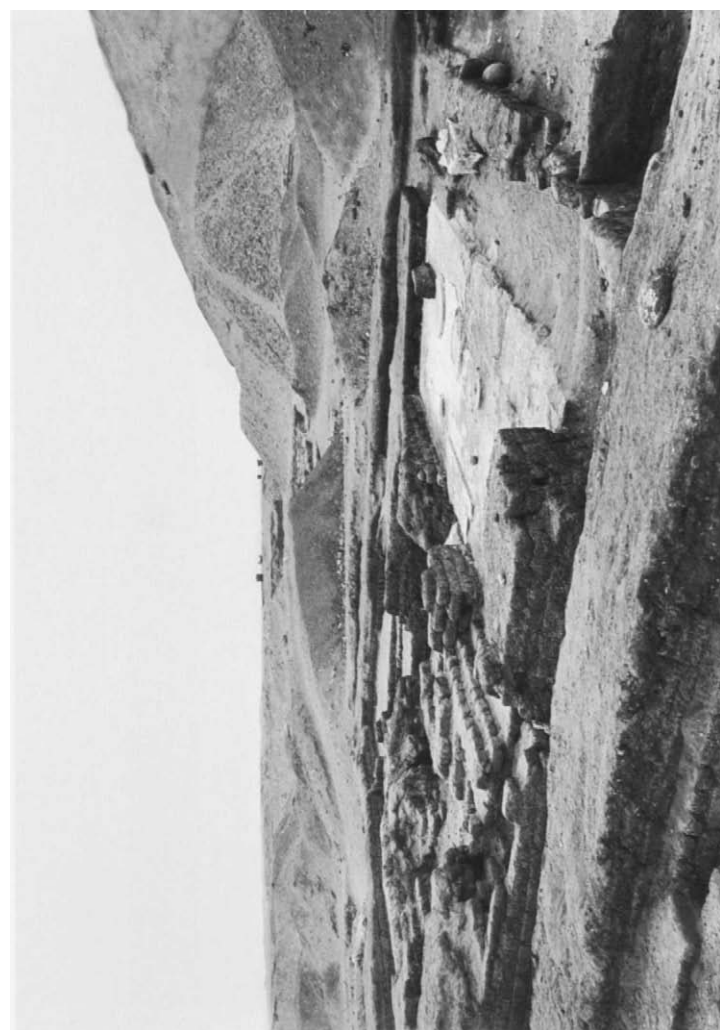
Pl. 95a. The South Area looking south. The southern enclosure wall of Senwosret I is at the lower left corner (L32-33:214).



Pl. 95b. The South Area looking south, with the Djehuty complex in the center (L32-33:165).



Pl. 96. Plan of South Area tomb complex of Djehuty. Scale 1:150. Draw. W.S.



Pl. 97a. The tomb of Djehuty looking northwest (L3 I-32:148).



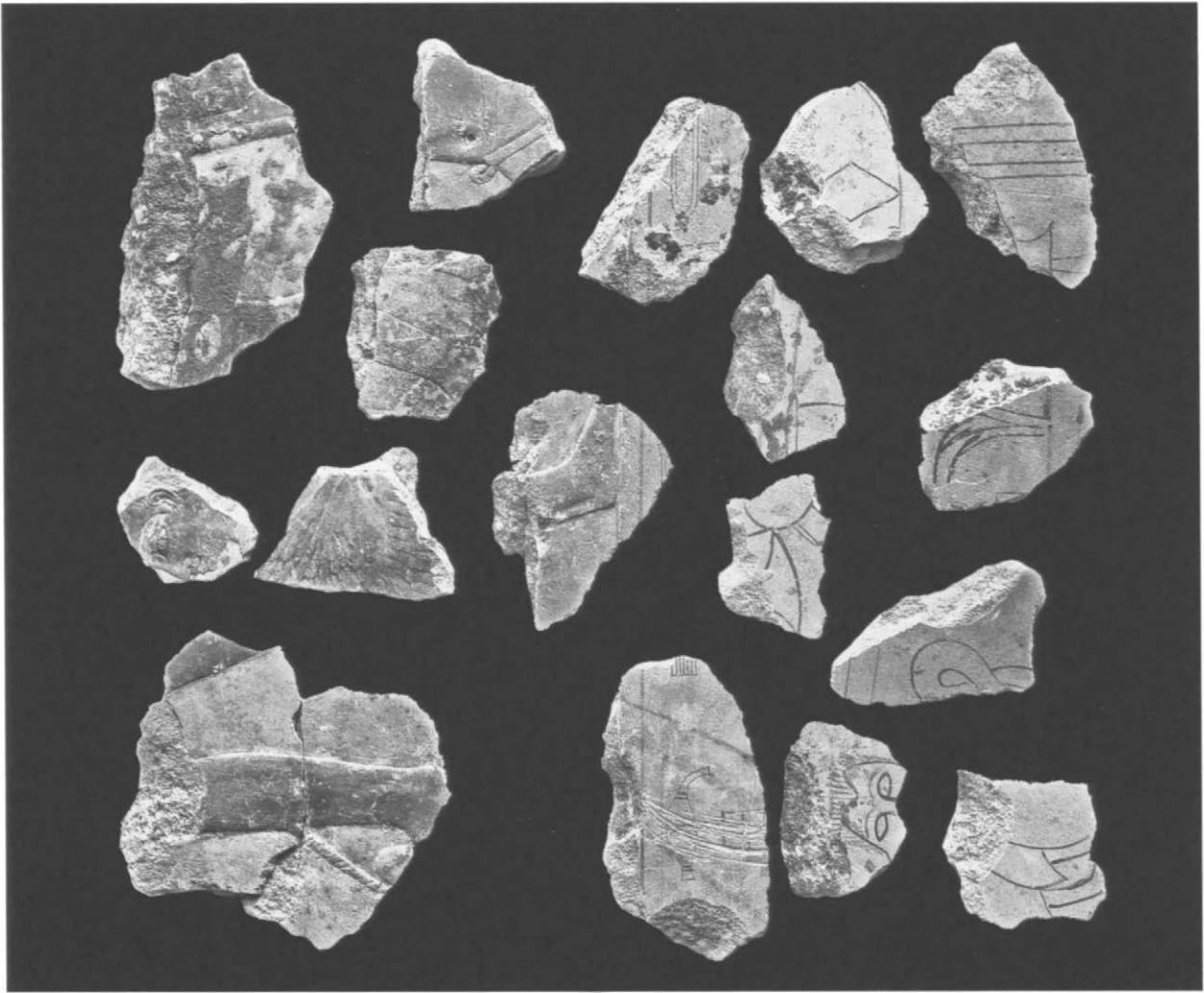
Pl. 97b. The tomb of Djehuty looking southwest (L3 I-32:147).



Pl. 97c. The tomb of Djehuty looking south (L3 I-32:146).



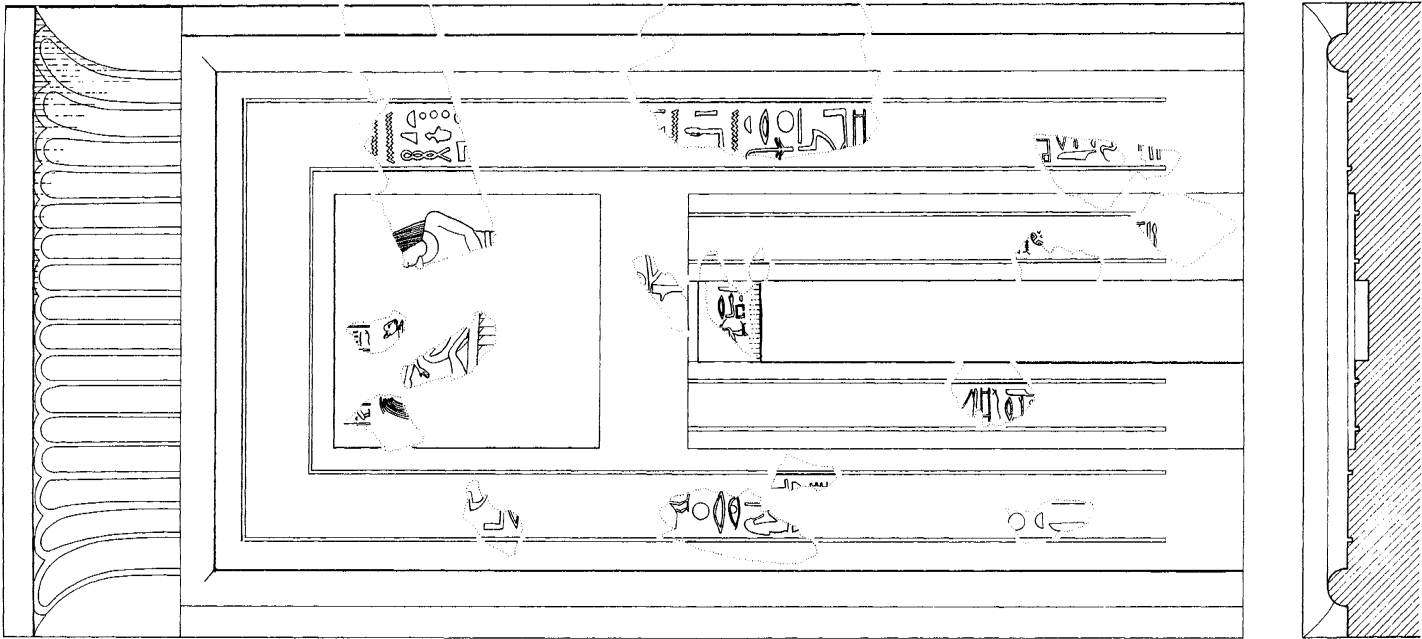
Pl. 97d. The tomb of Djehuty, western court, looking south (L3 I-32:149).



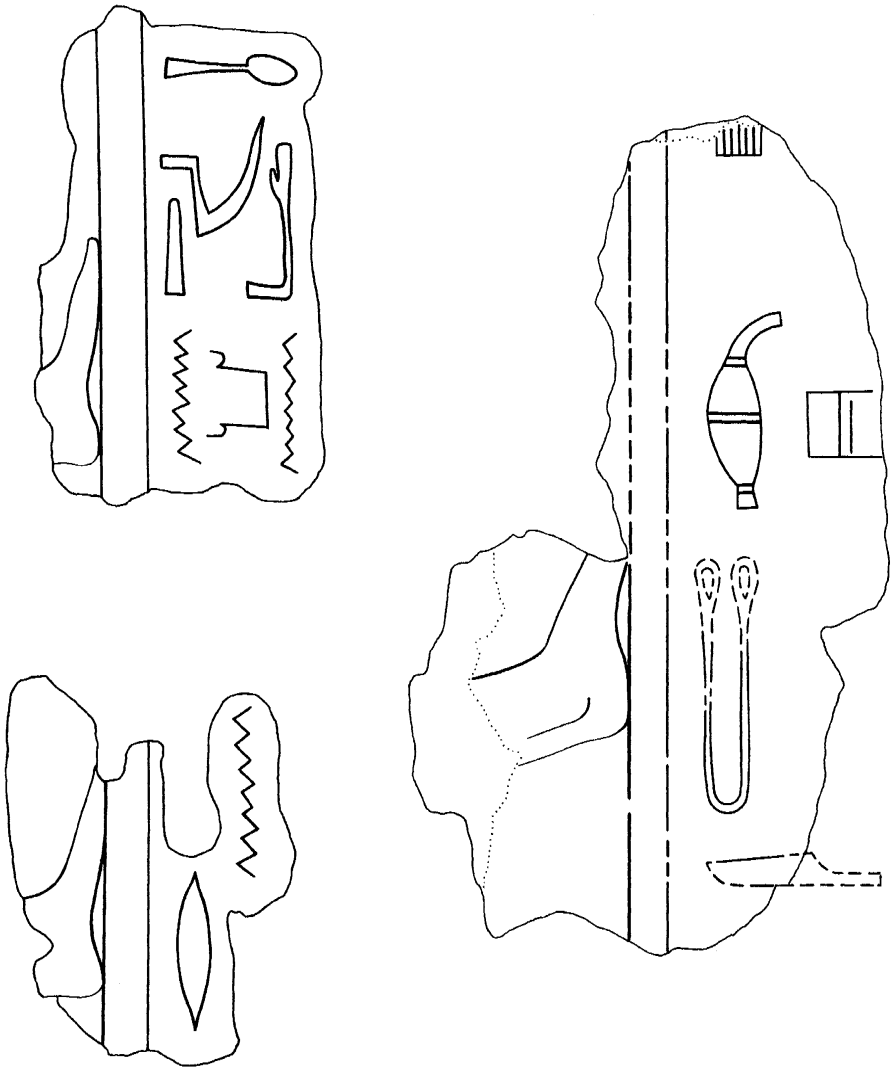
Pl. 98b. Relief fragments from the Djehuty funerary chapel (L33-34:128).



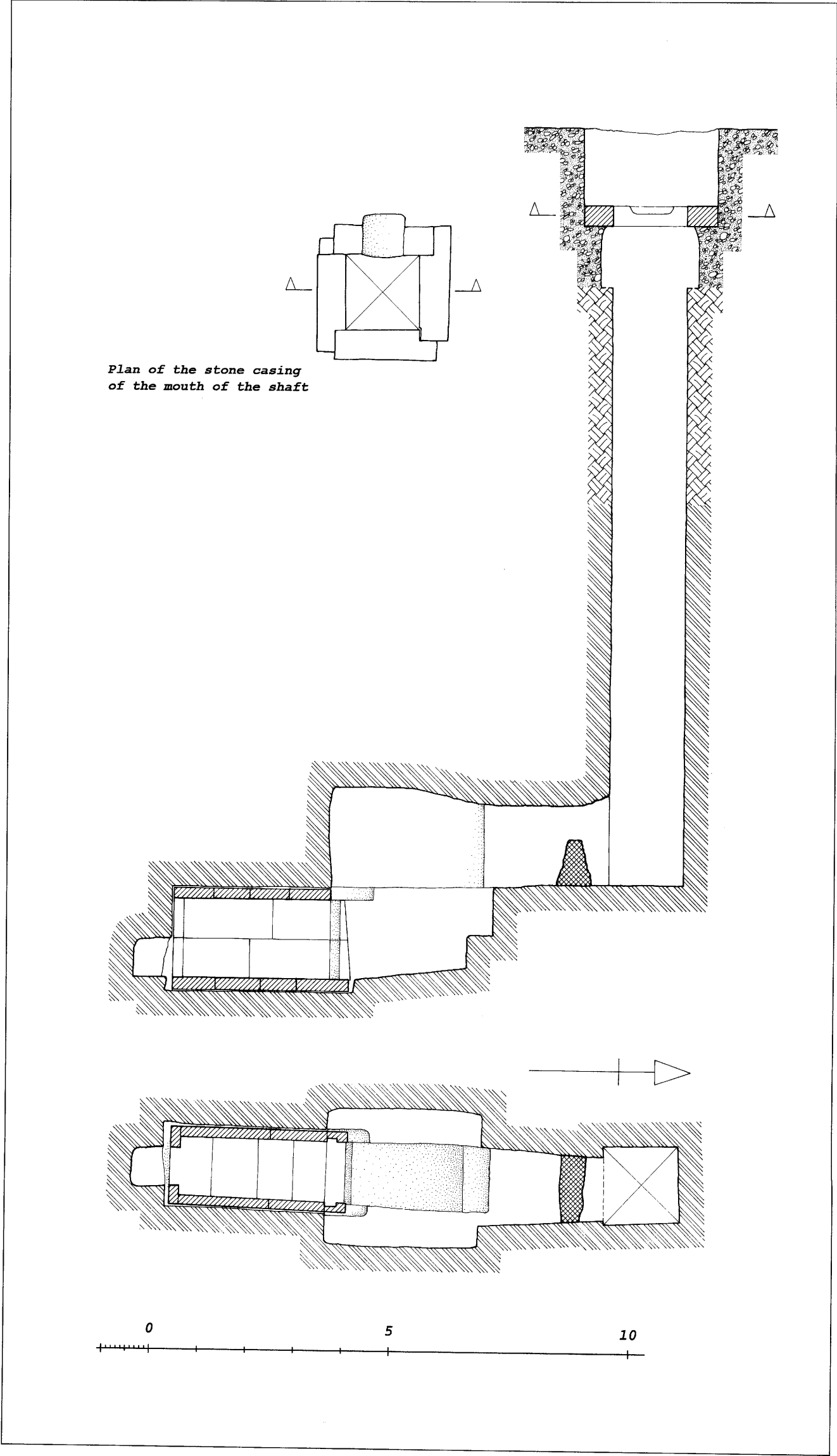
Pl. 98a. Fragments of the false door of the Djehuty funerary chapel (L31-32:219).



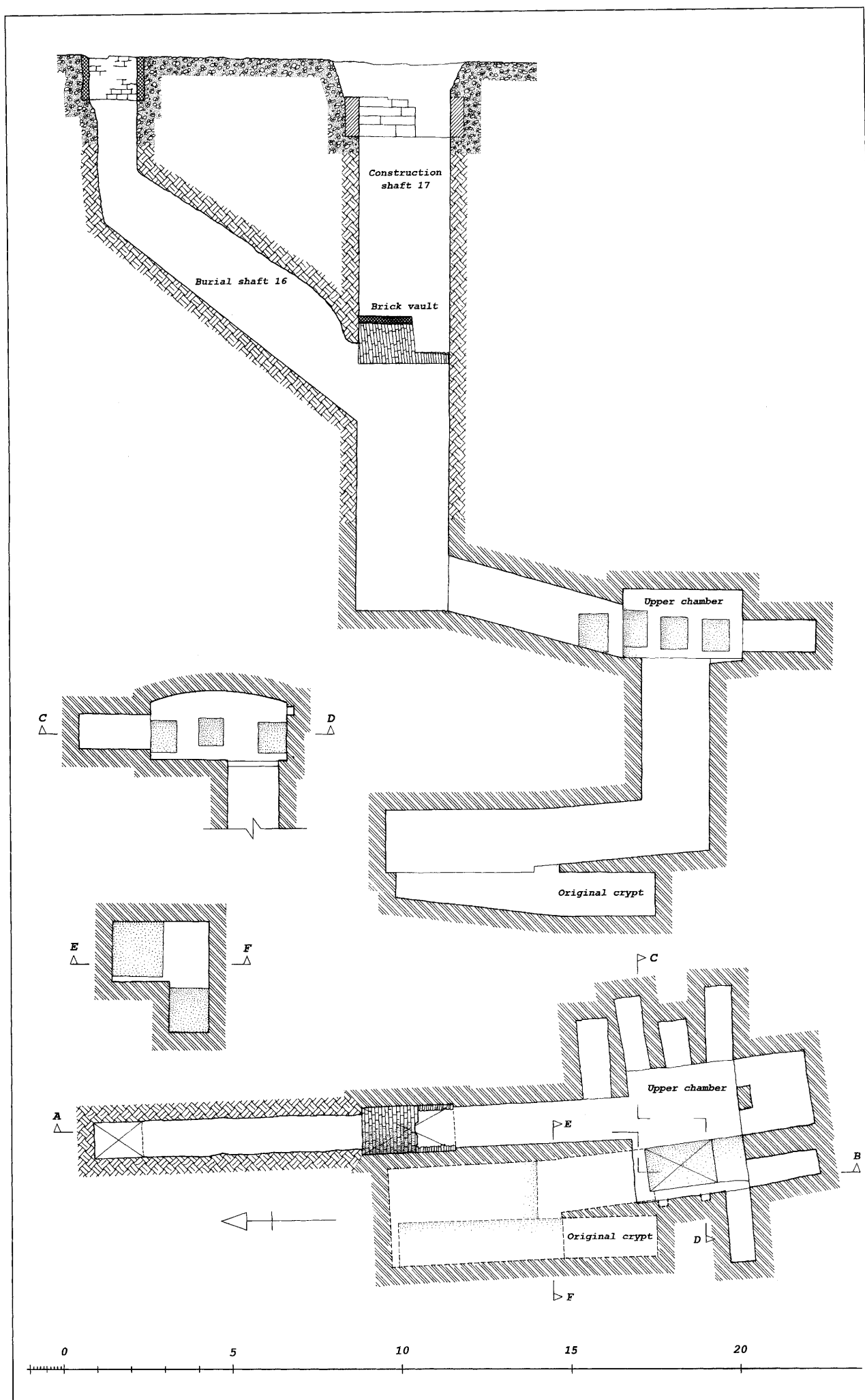
Pl. 99a. Reconstruction of the false door of the Djehuty funerary chapel. Draw. W.S.



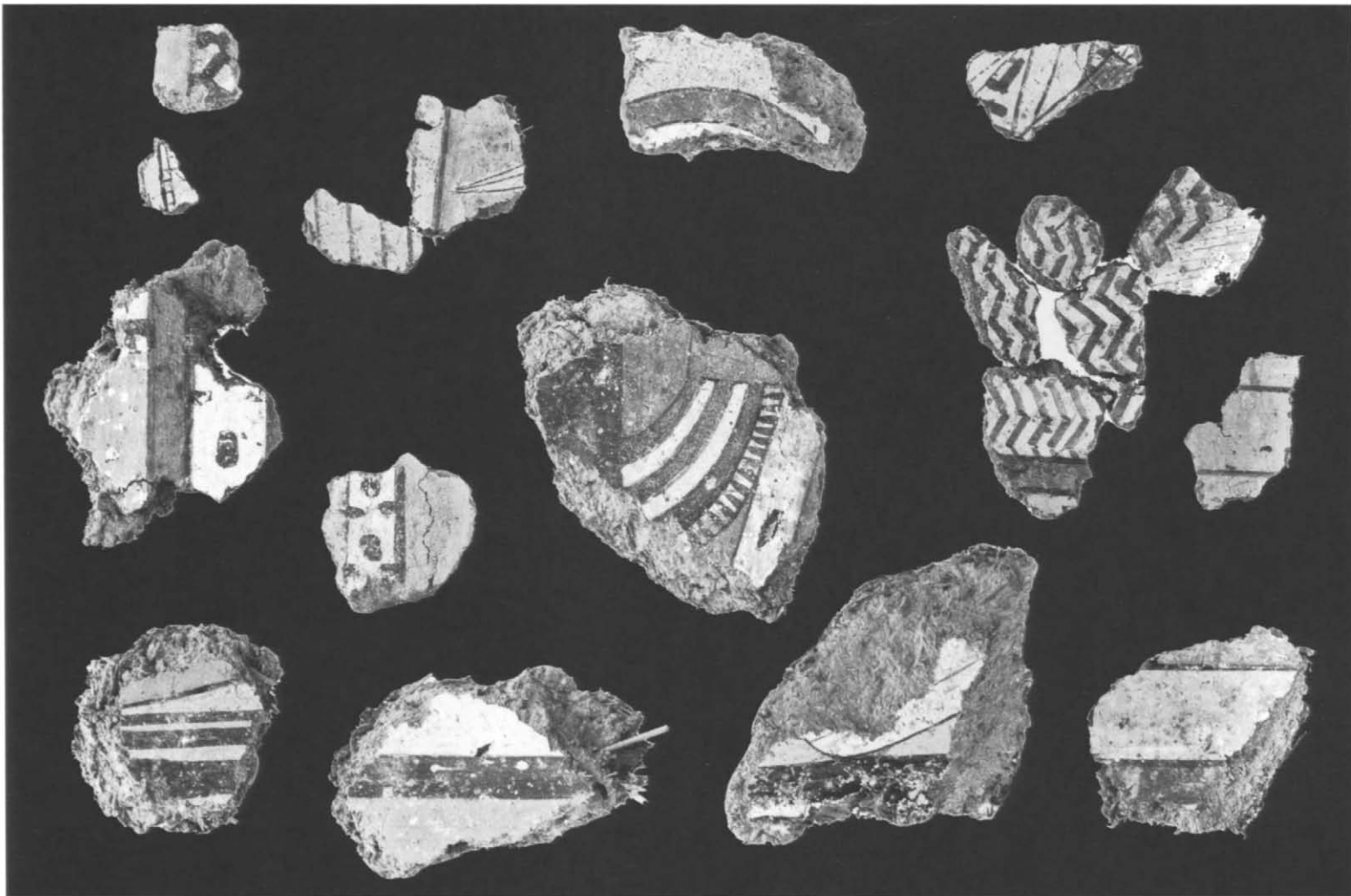
Pl. 99b. Relief fragments from the Djehuty funerary chapel. Draw. W.S.



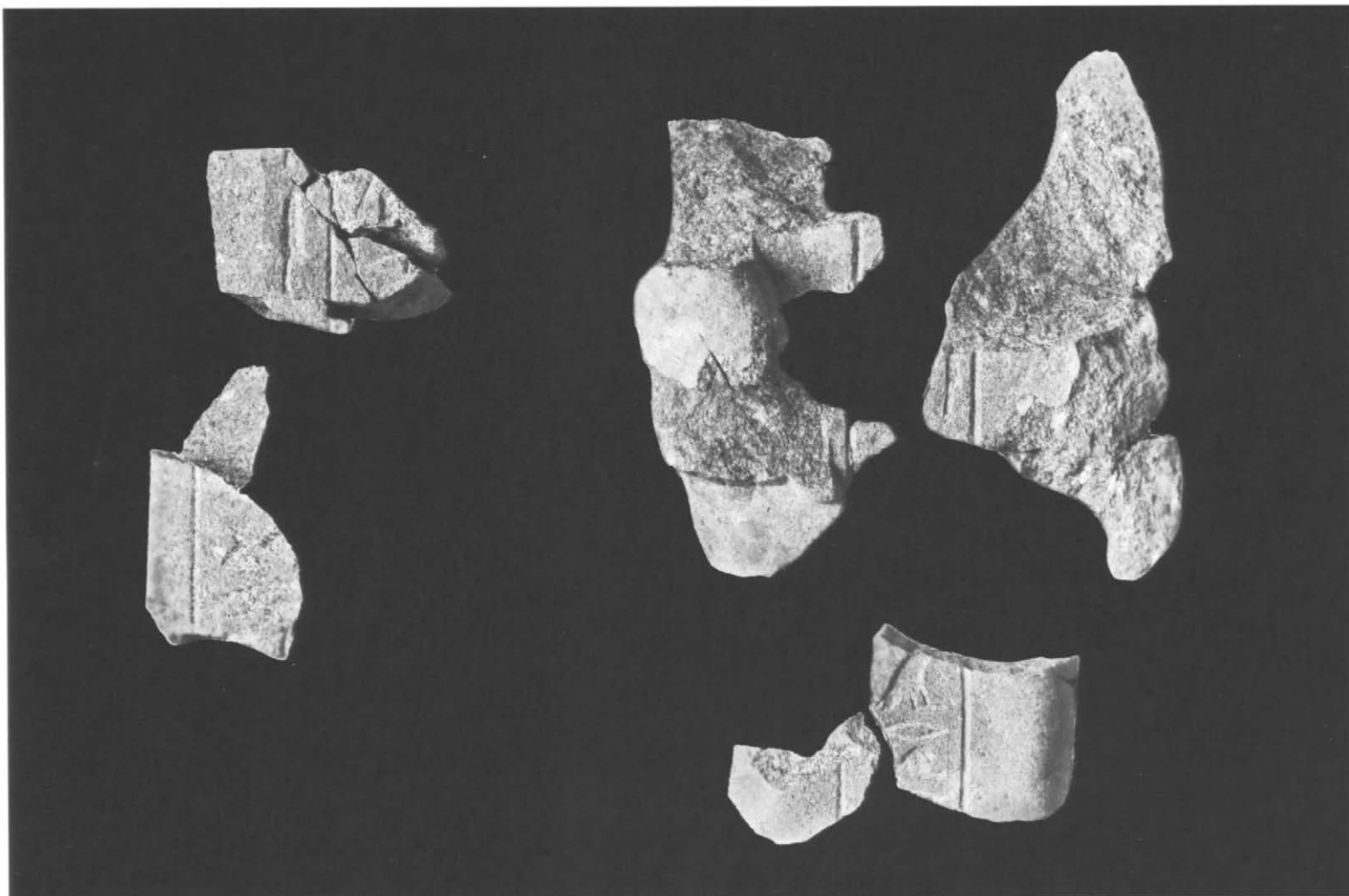
Pl. 100. Plan and section of the underground apartments of the tomb of Djehuty (shaft 6). Scale 1:100.
Draw. W.S.



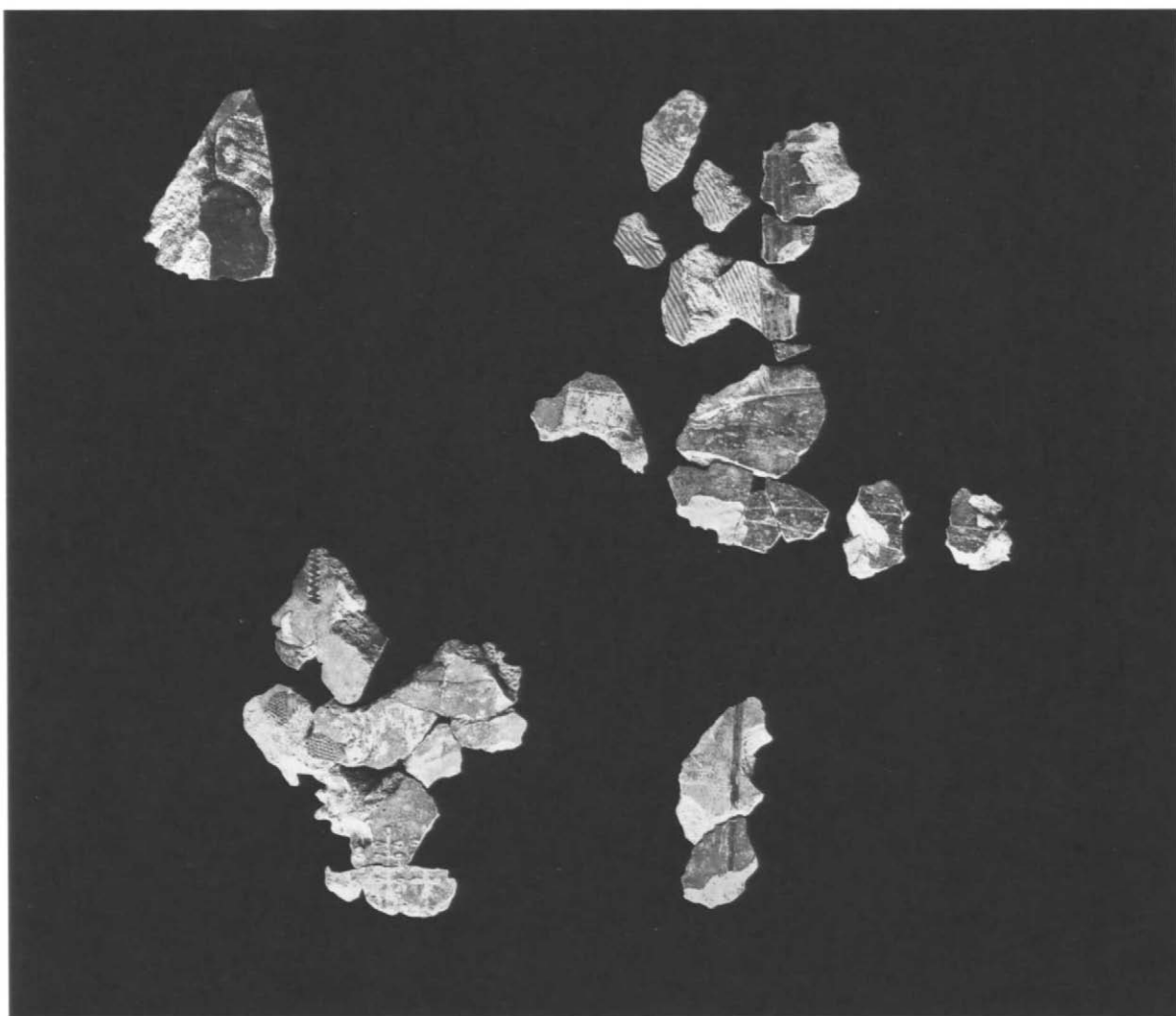
Pl. 101. Plan and sections of the underground apartments of tomb C of Ip///. Scale 1:150. Draw. W.S.



Pl. 102a. Fragments of painted wall plaster from tomb C of Ip/// (L33-34:98).



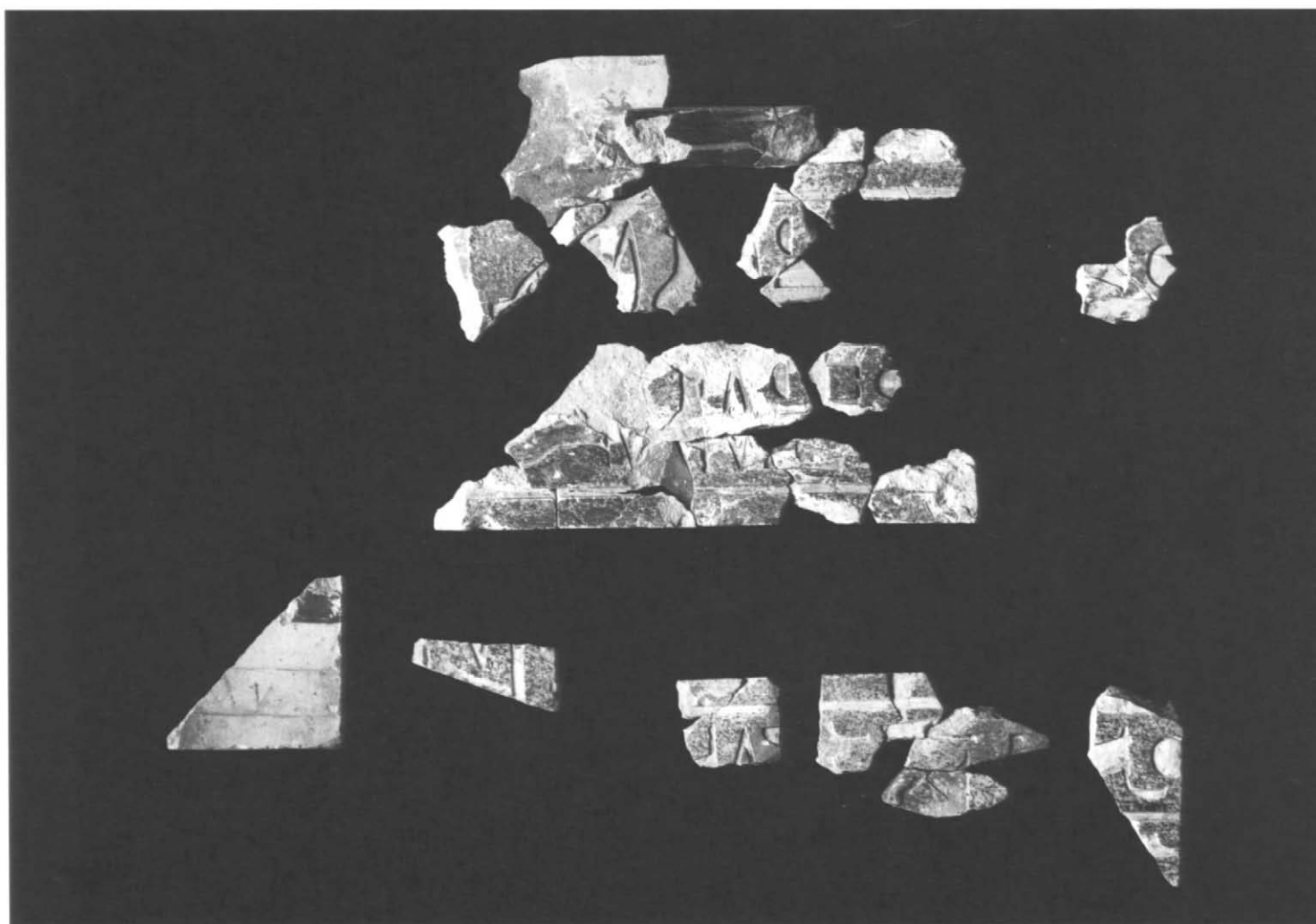
Pl. 102b. Inscribed fragments from tomb C of Ip/// (L33-34:133).



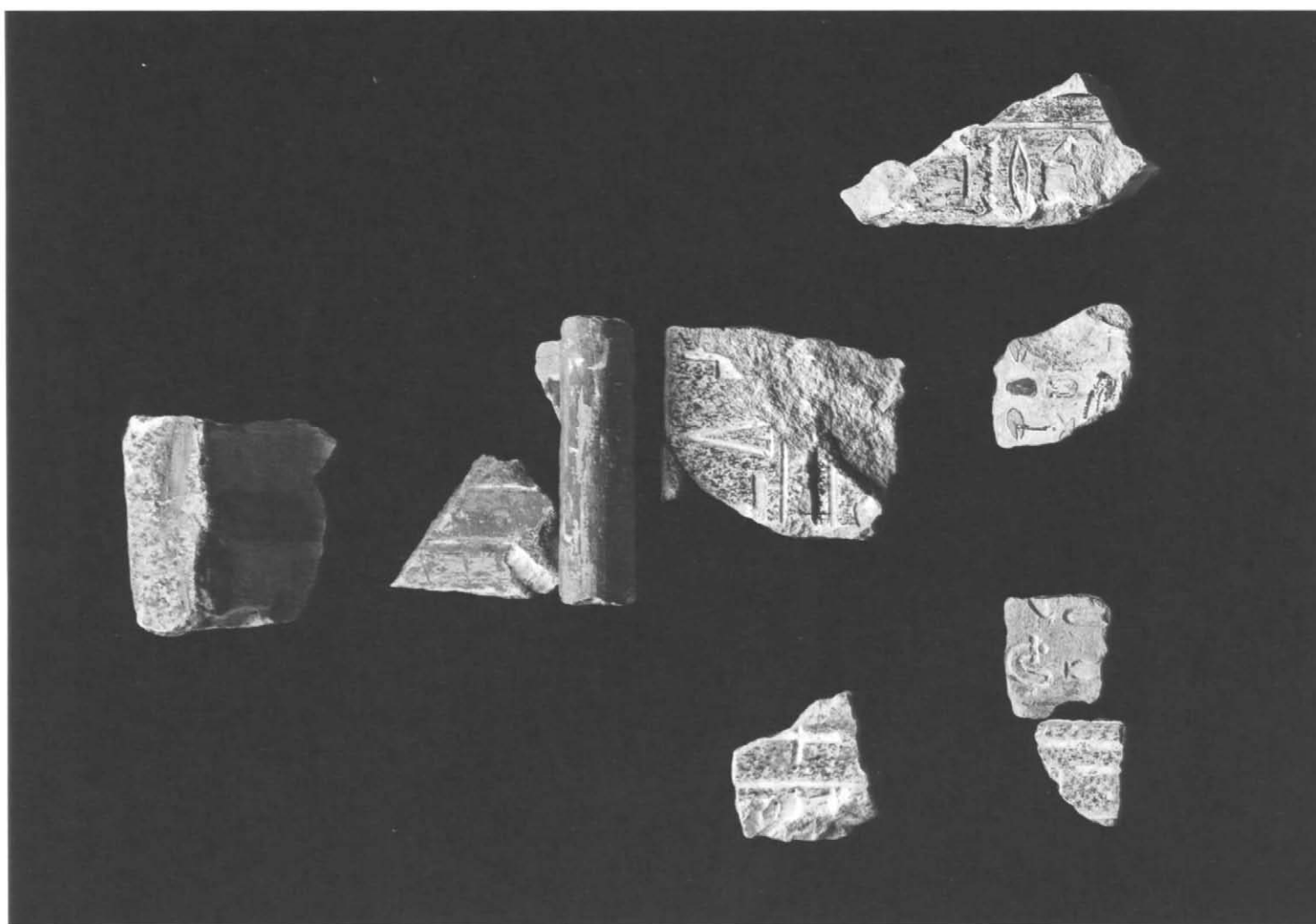
Pl. 103b. Wall relief fragments from tomb C of Ip/// (L31-32:242).



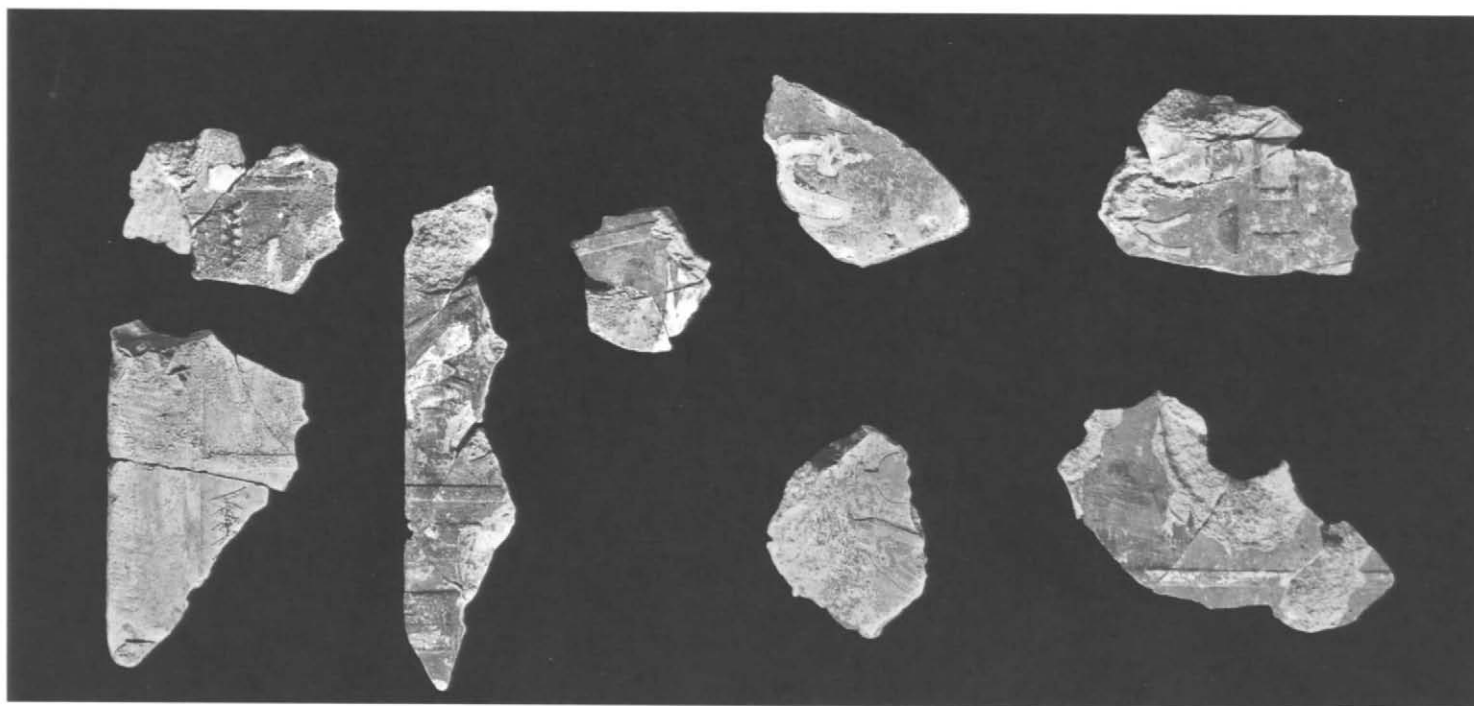
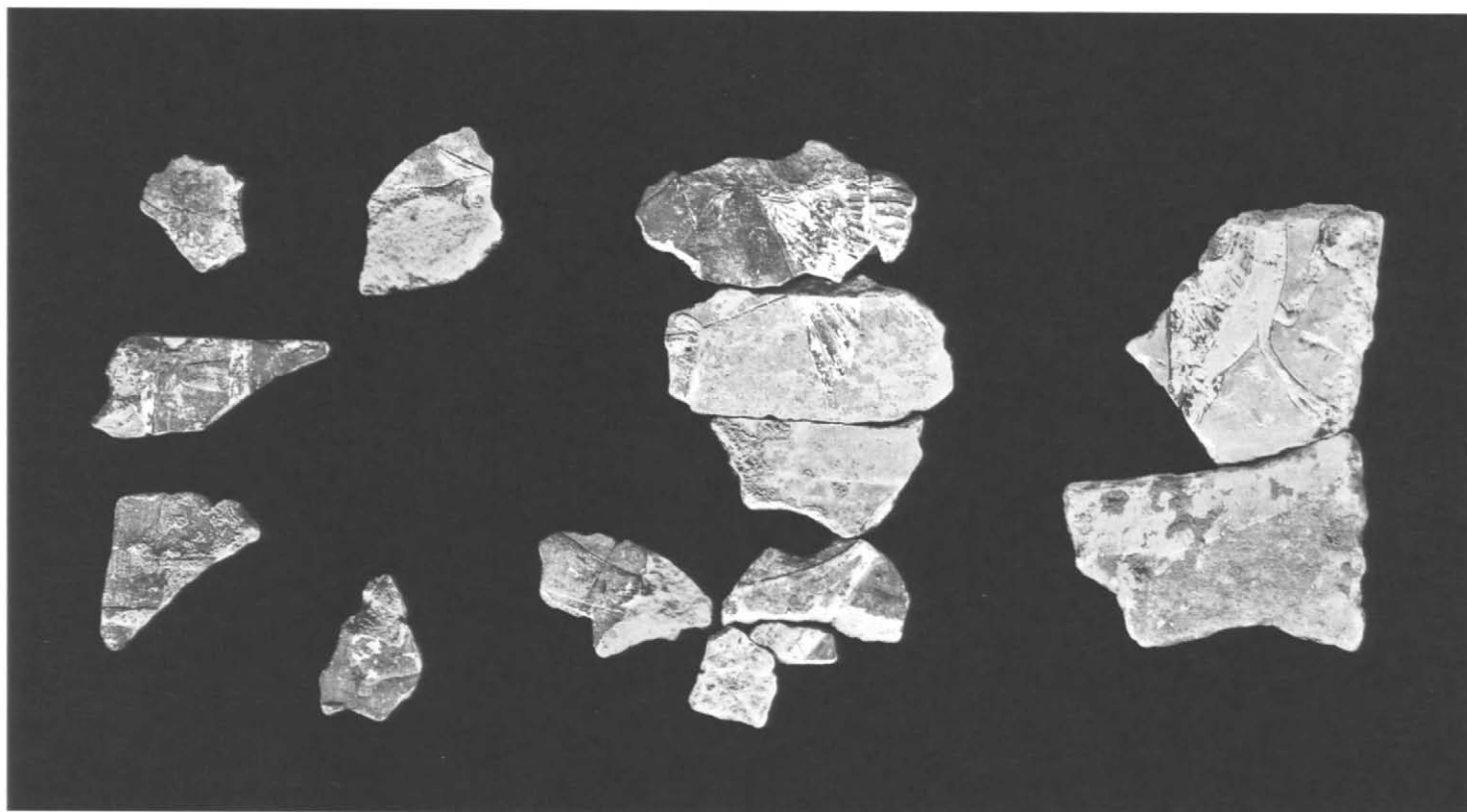
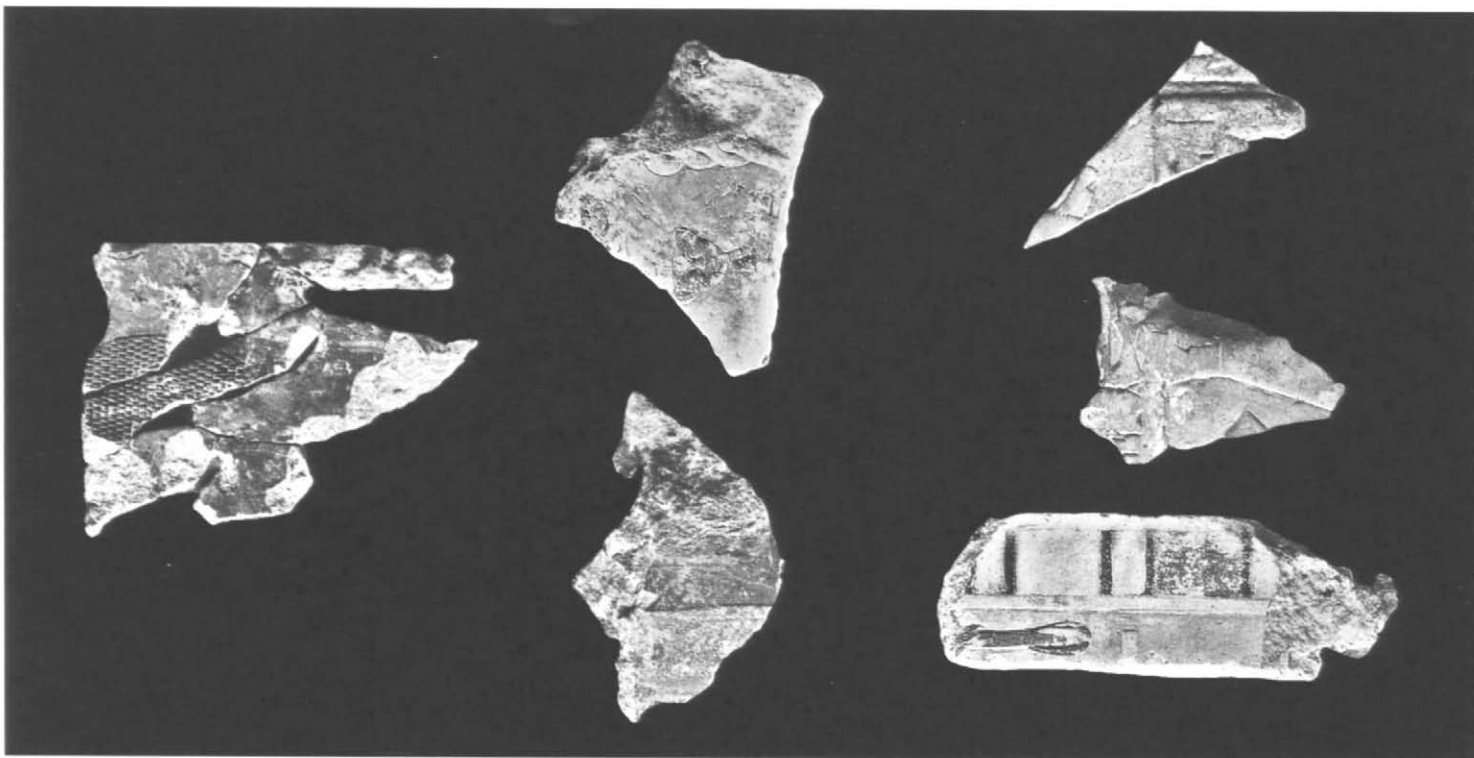
Pl. 103a. False door fragments from tomb C of Ip/// (L31-32:249).



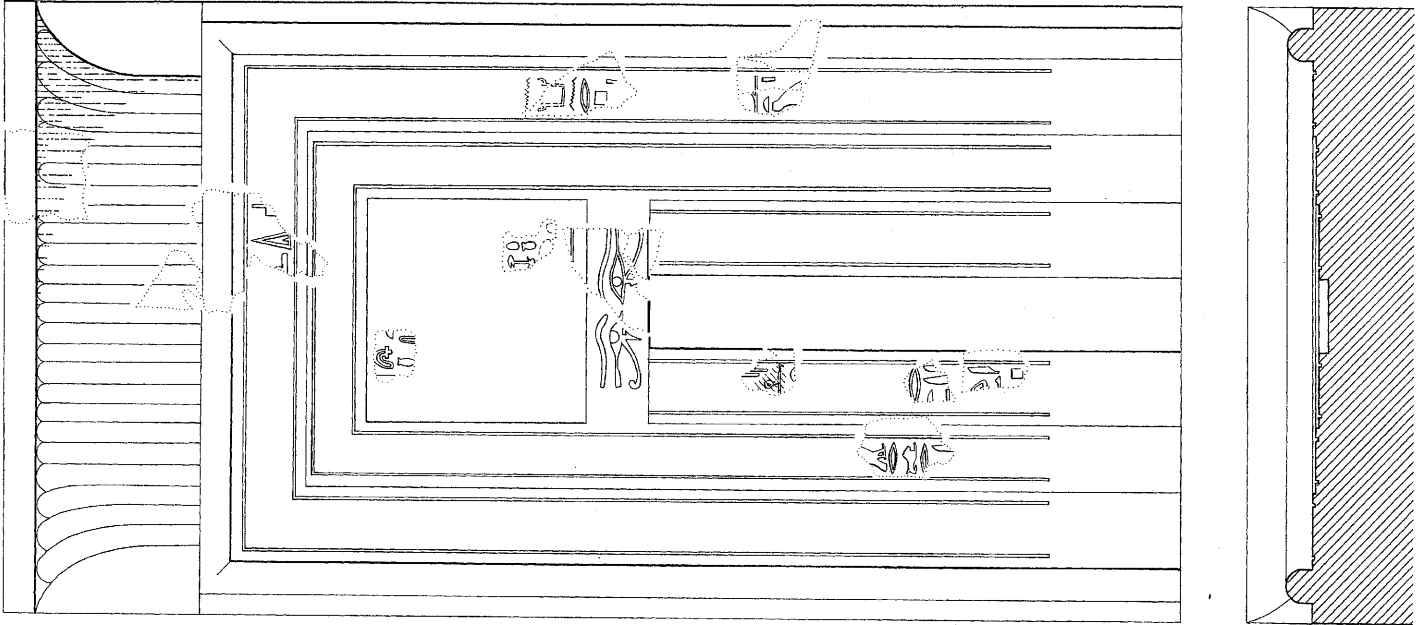
Pl. 104b. False door fragments from tomb C of Ip/// (L31-32:243).



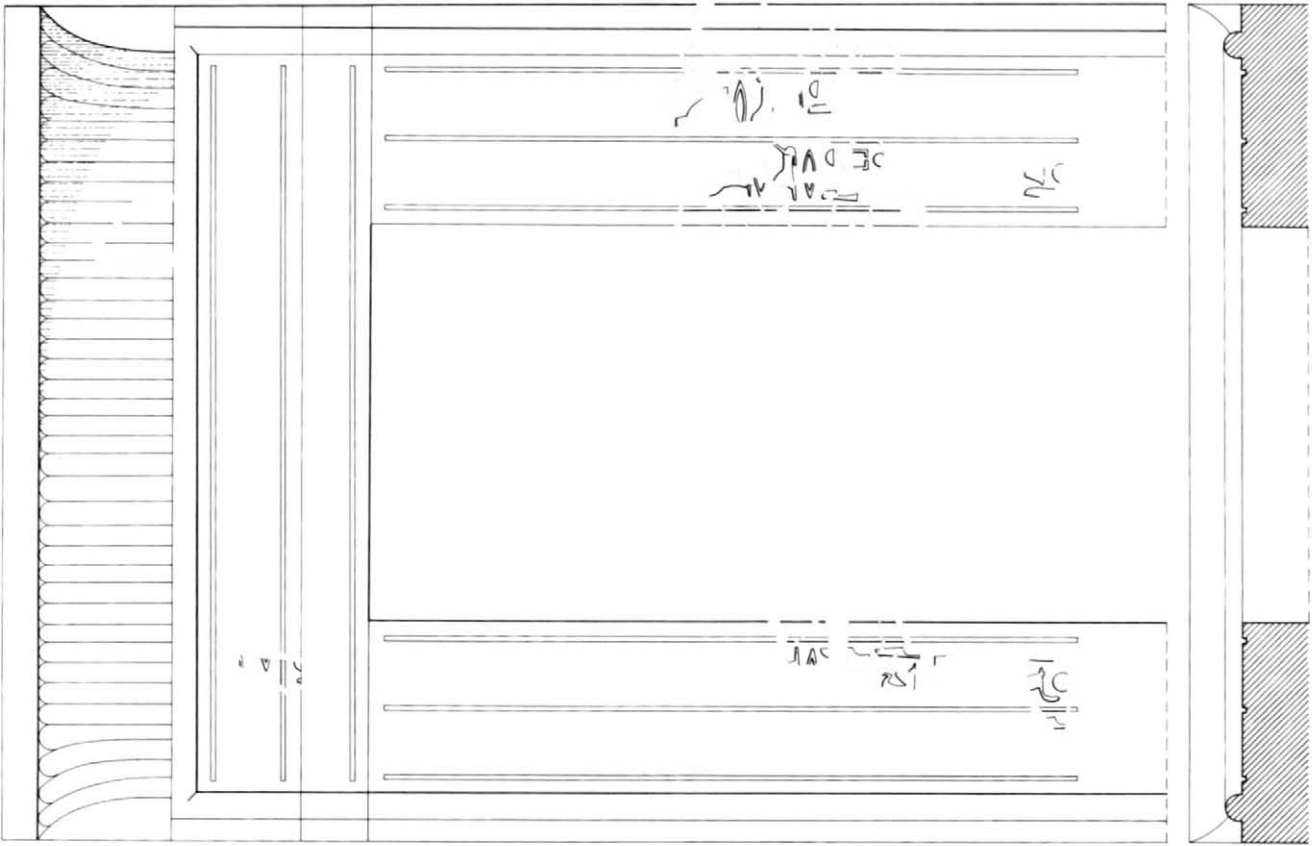
Pl. 104a. False door fragments from tomb C of Ip/// (L31-32:242).



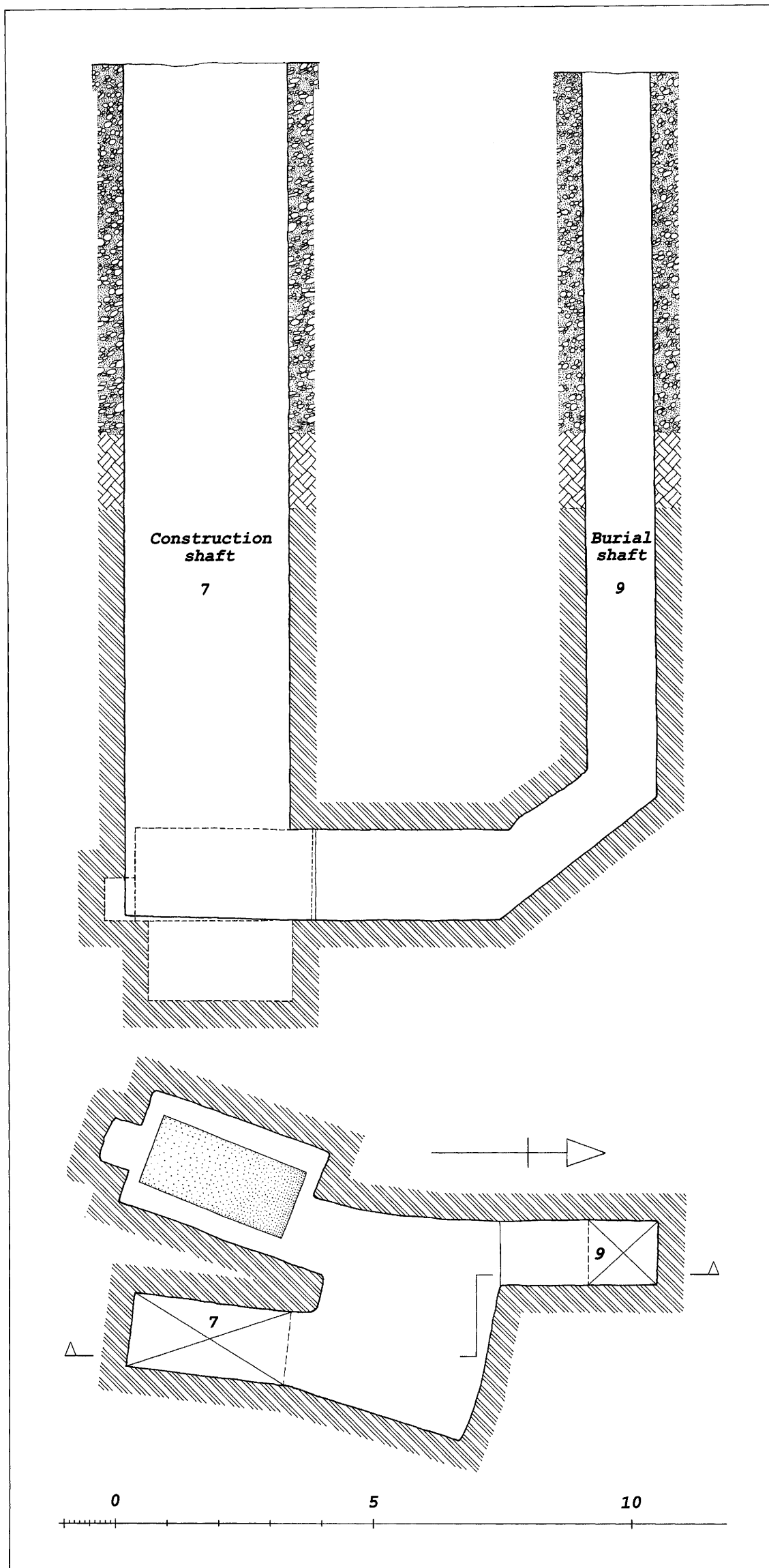
Pl. 105a-c. Relief fragments from tomb C of Ip/// (L31-32:250).



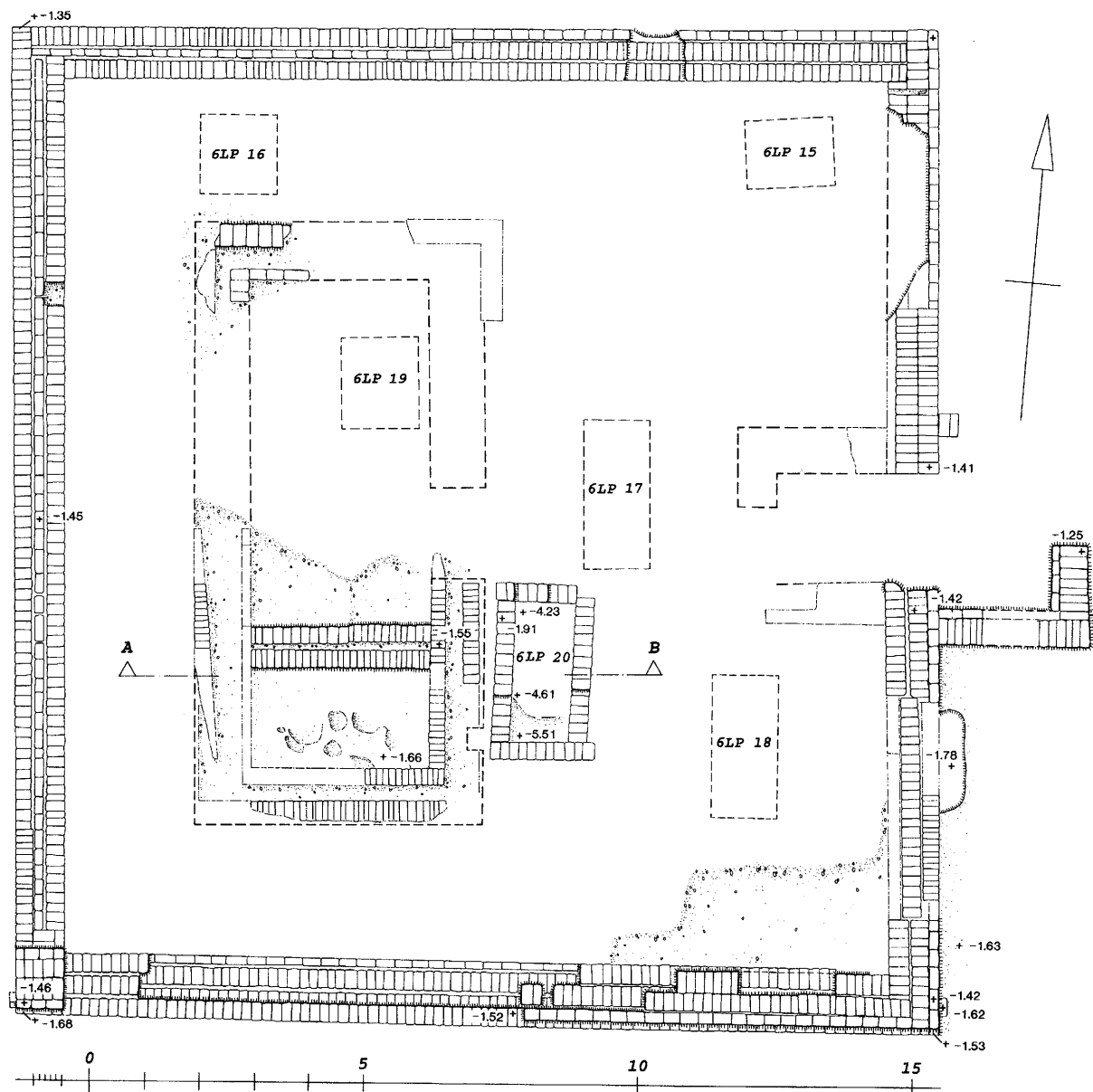
Pl. 106a. Reconstruction of the false door in the funerary chapel of Ip///.
Scale 1:10. Draw. W.S.



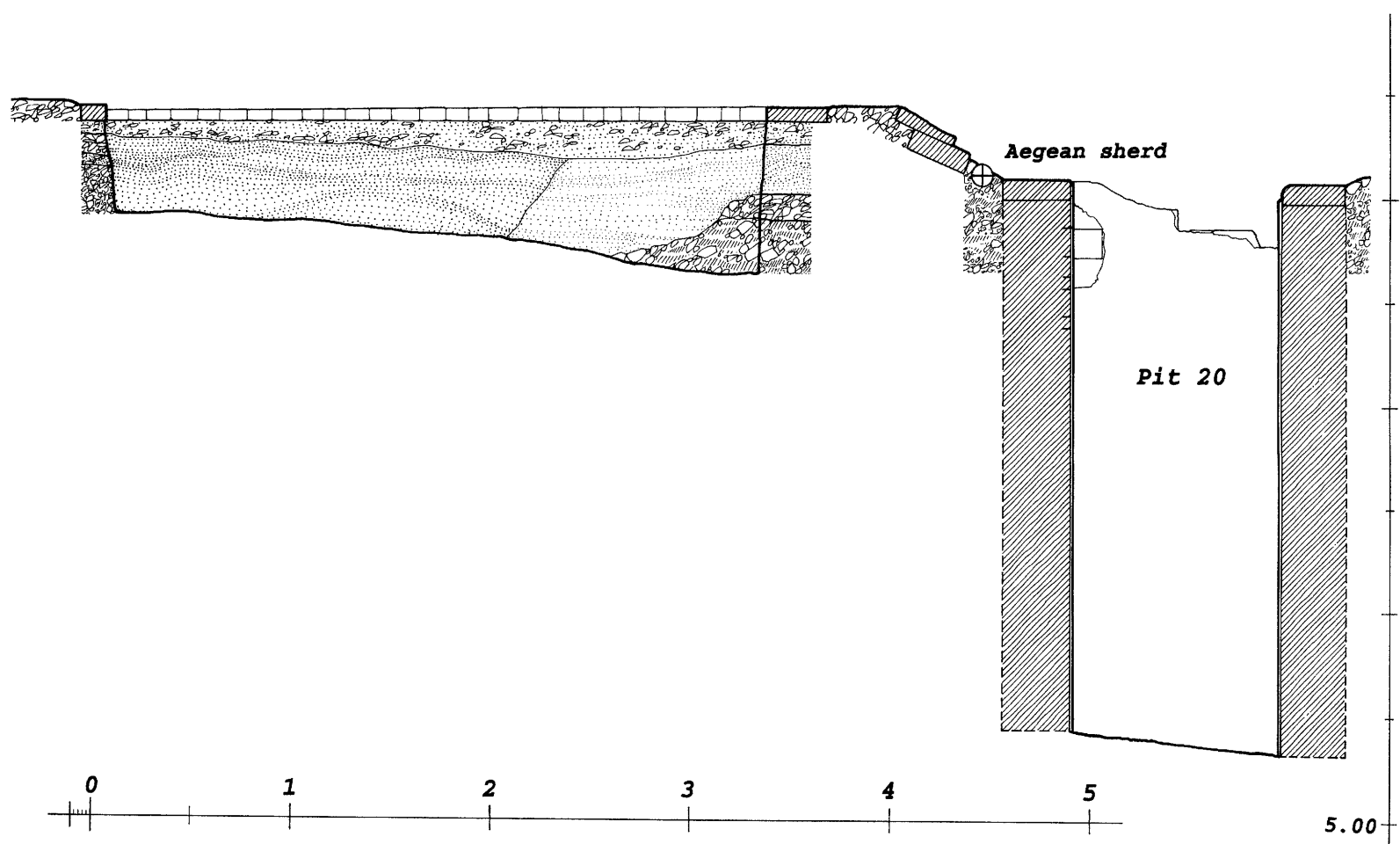
Pl. 106b. Reconstruction of the door frame in the funerary chapel of Ip///.
Scale 1:15. Draw. W.S.



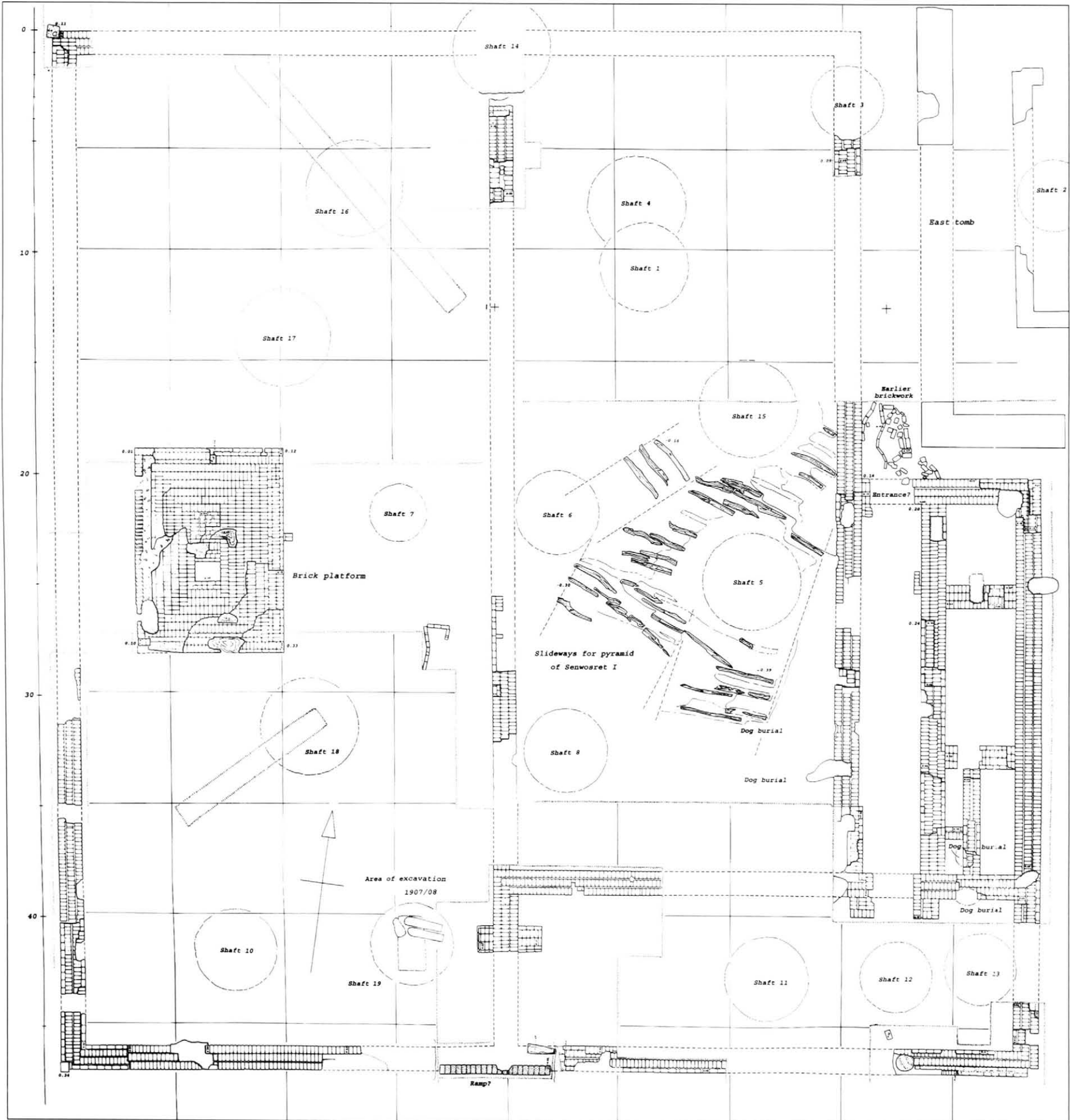
Pl. 107. Plan and section of the underground apartments of tomb D. Scale 1:100.
Draw. W.S.



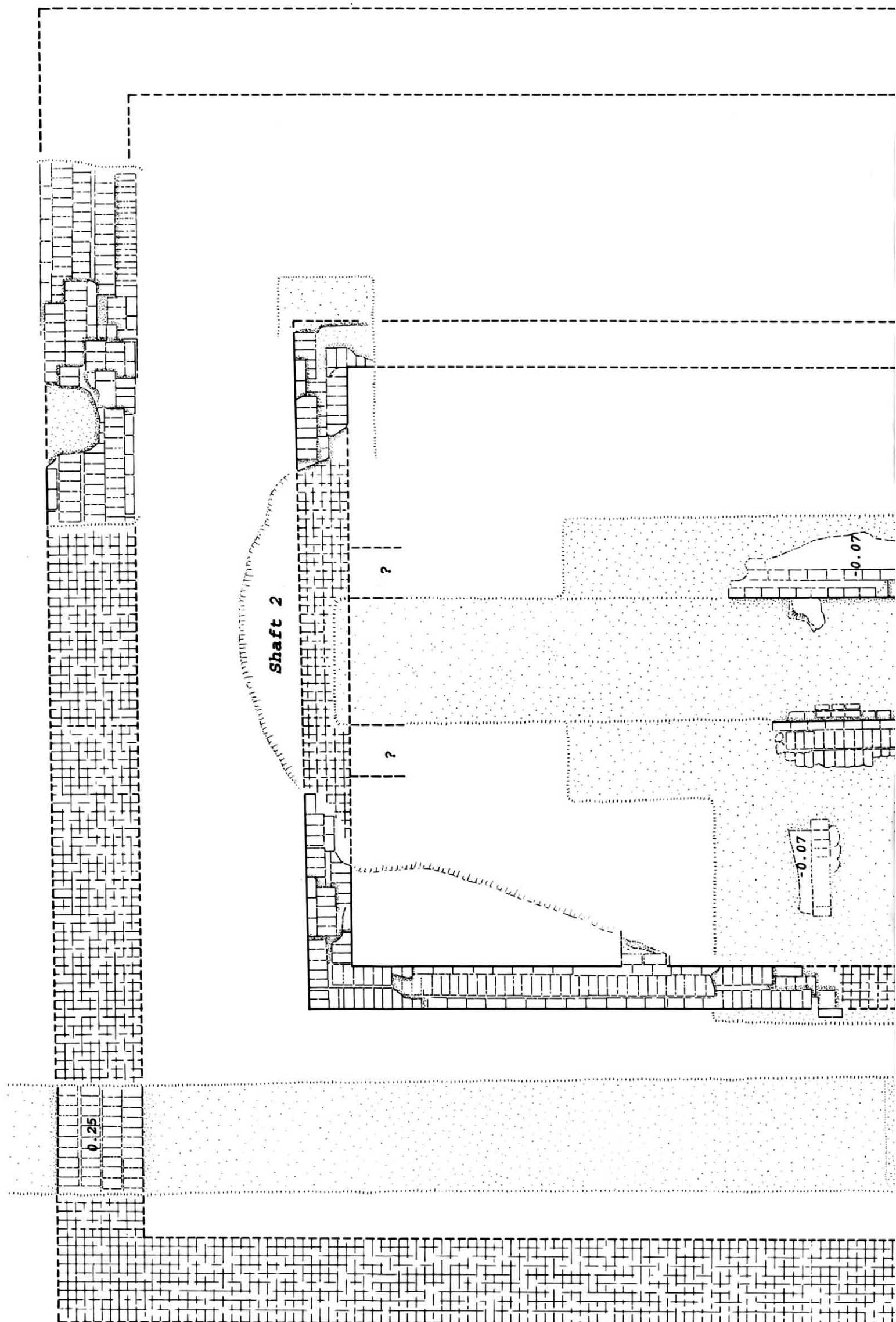
Pl. 108a. Plan of the complex of Sehetepibreankh. Scale 1:125. Draw. W.S.

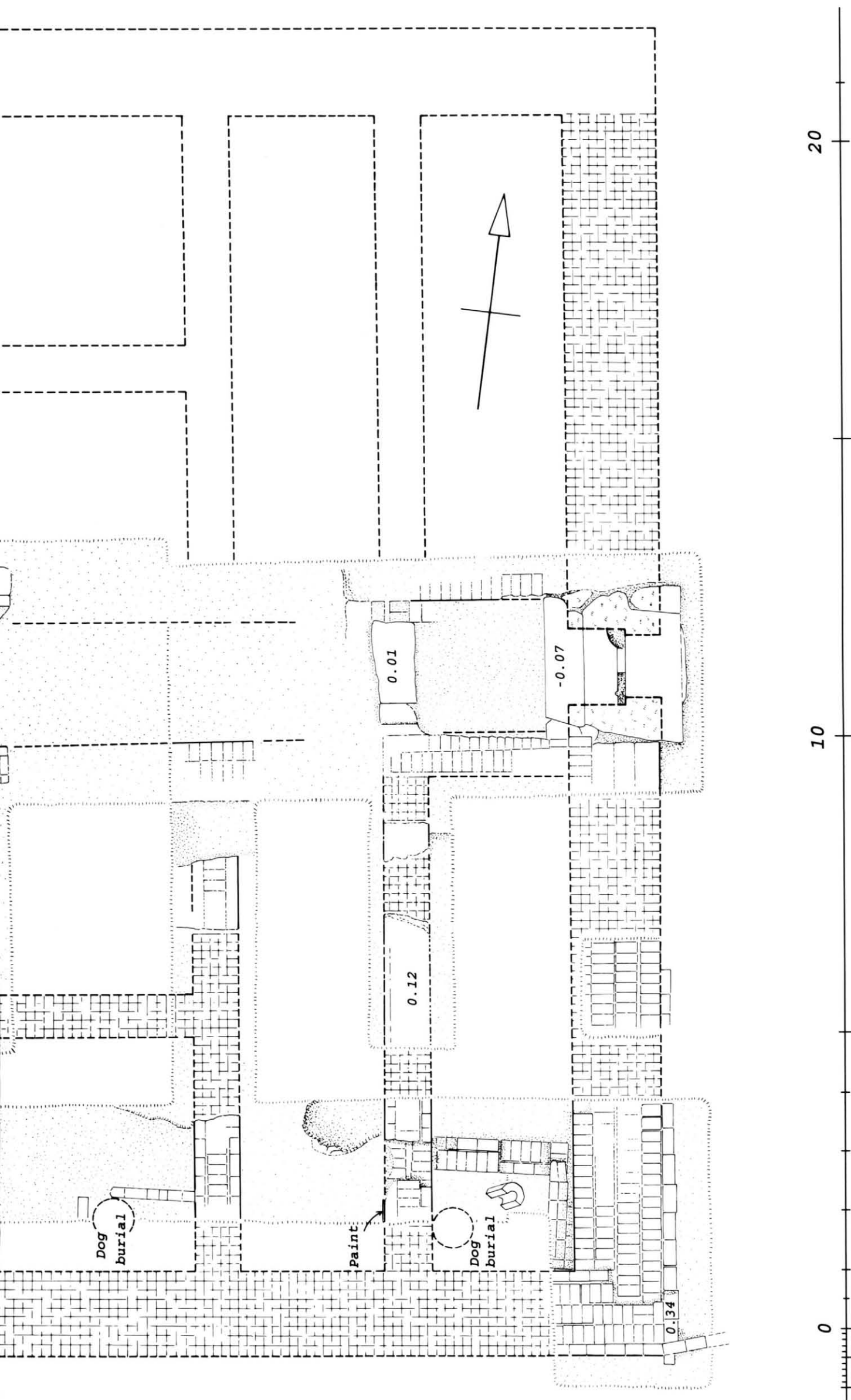


Pl. 108b. West-east section in the complex of Sehetepibreankh. Scale 1:33. Draw. W.S.



Pl. 109. Plan of the brick buildings north of the tomb complex of Mentuhotep. Scale 1:200. Draw. D.A.





Pl. 110. Plan of the East Tomb Enclosure. Scale 1:75. Draw. D.A.



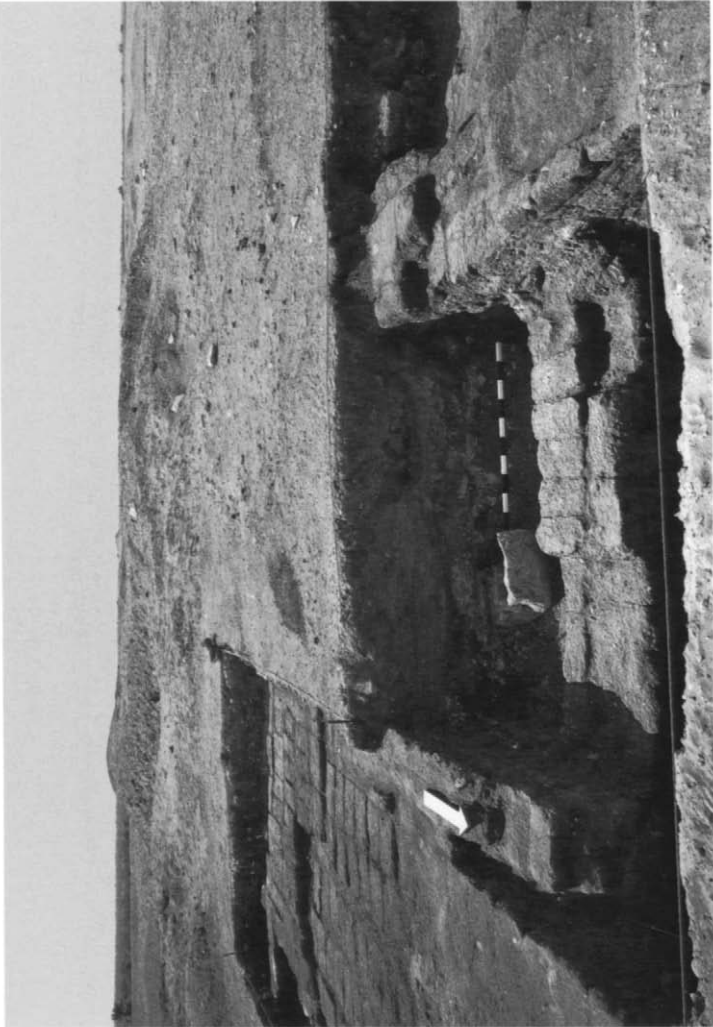
Pl. 111a. Brick building north of the Mentuhotep complex looking west (L88:17).



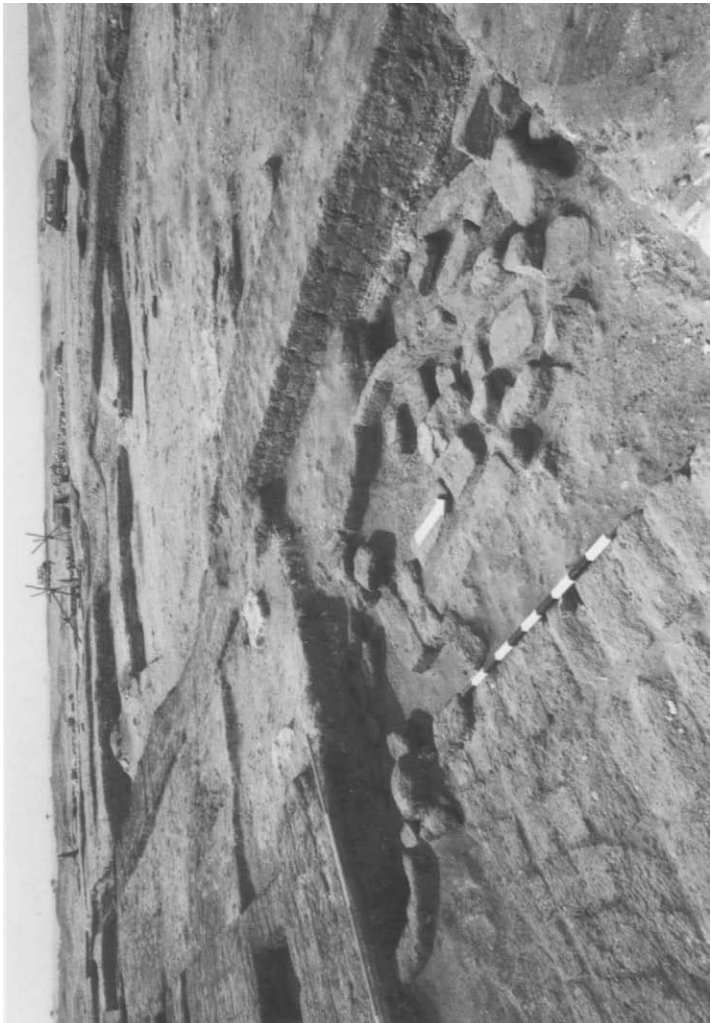
Pl. 111b. Brick building north of the Mentuhotep complex looking south (L88:18).



Pl. 112a. Brick building north of the Mentuhotep complex looking north-east (L88:51).



Pl. 112b. Brick building north of the Mentuhotep complex looking southwest (L88:167).



Pl. 112c. Brick building north of the Mentuhotep complex, with remains of older constructions, looking southwest (L88:XIX 34).



Pl. 112d. Brick building north of the Mentuhotep complex, with remains of older constructions, looking south (L88:XIX 32).



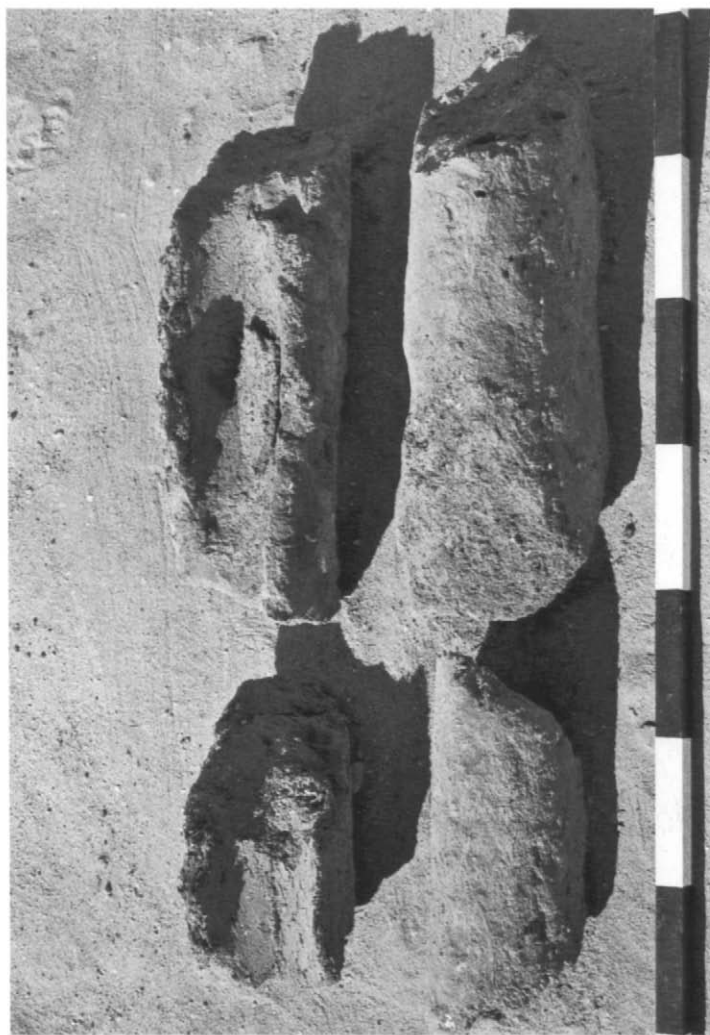
Pl. 113a. The East Tomb Enclosure looking north (L89:130).



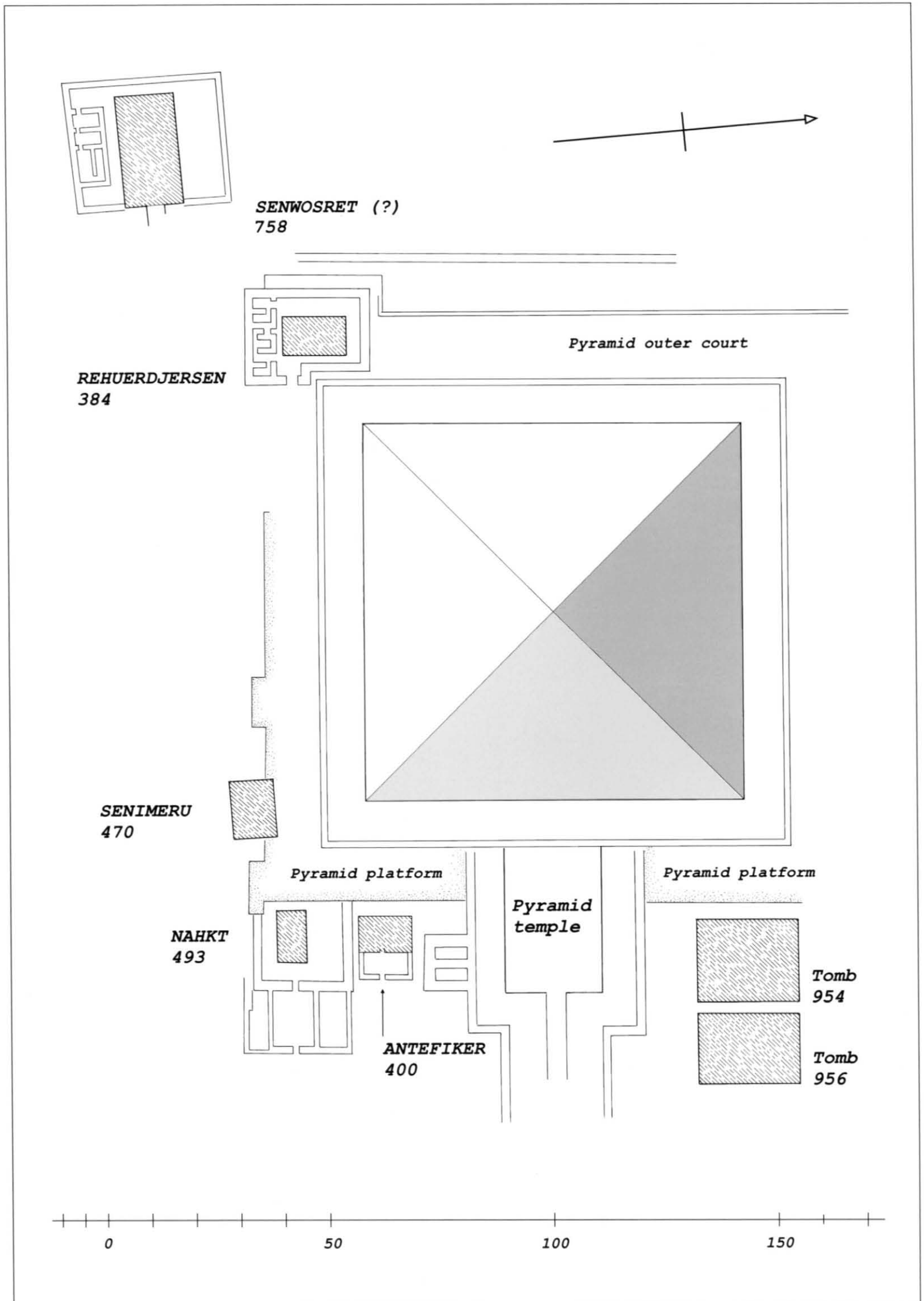
Pl. 113b. Doorsill from the East Tomb Enclosure looking west (L89:180).



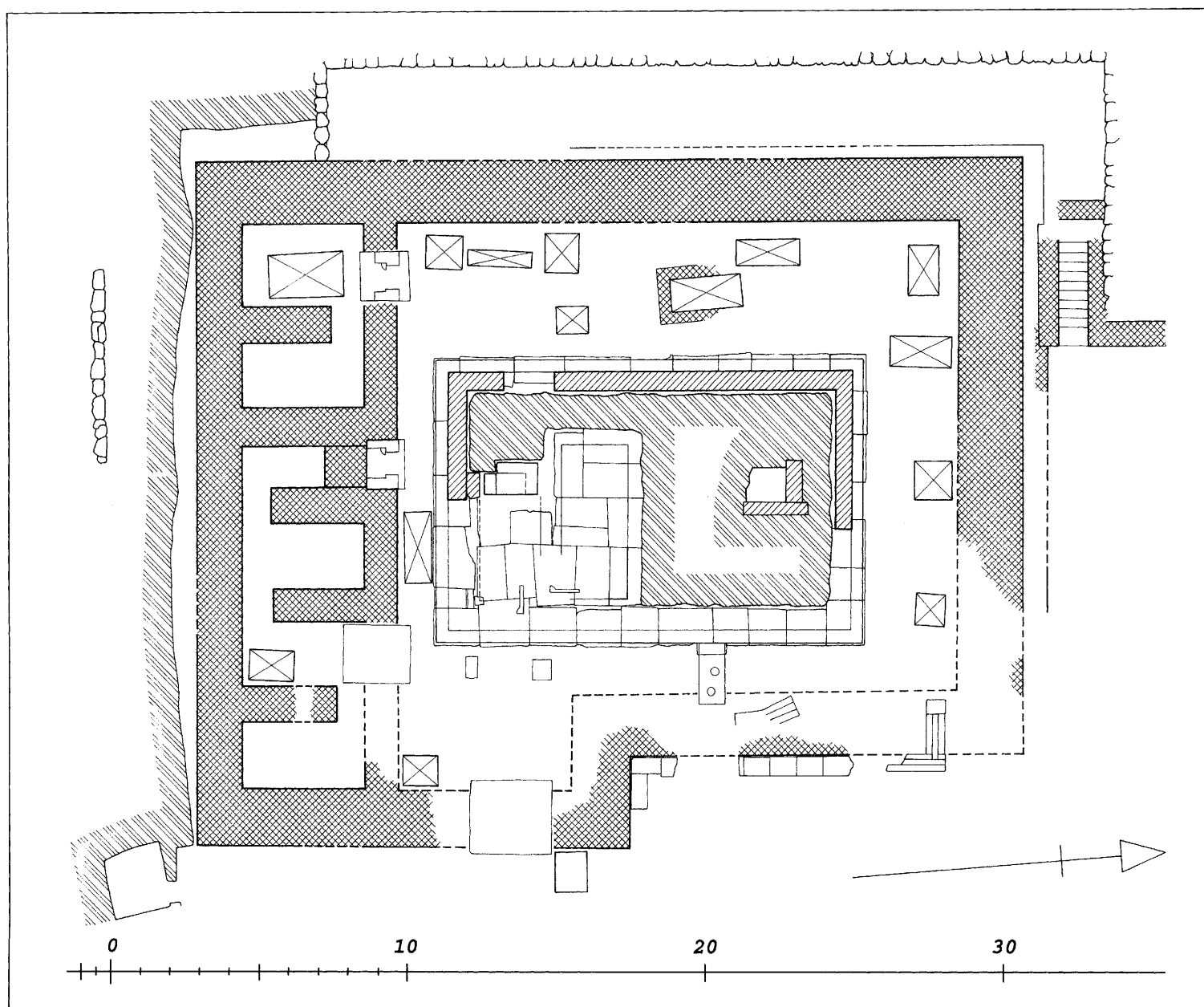
Pl. 113c. Doorsill from the East Tomb Enclosure looking south (L89:179).



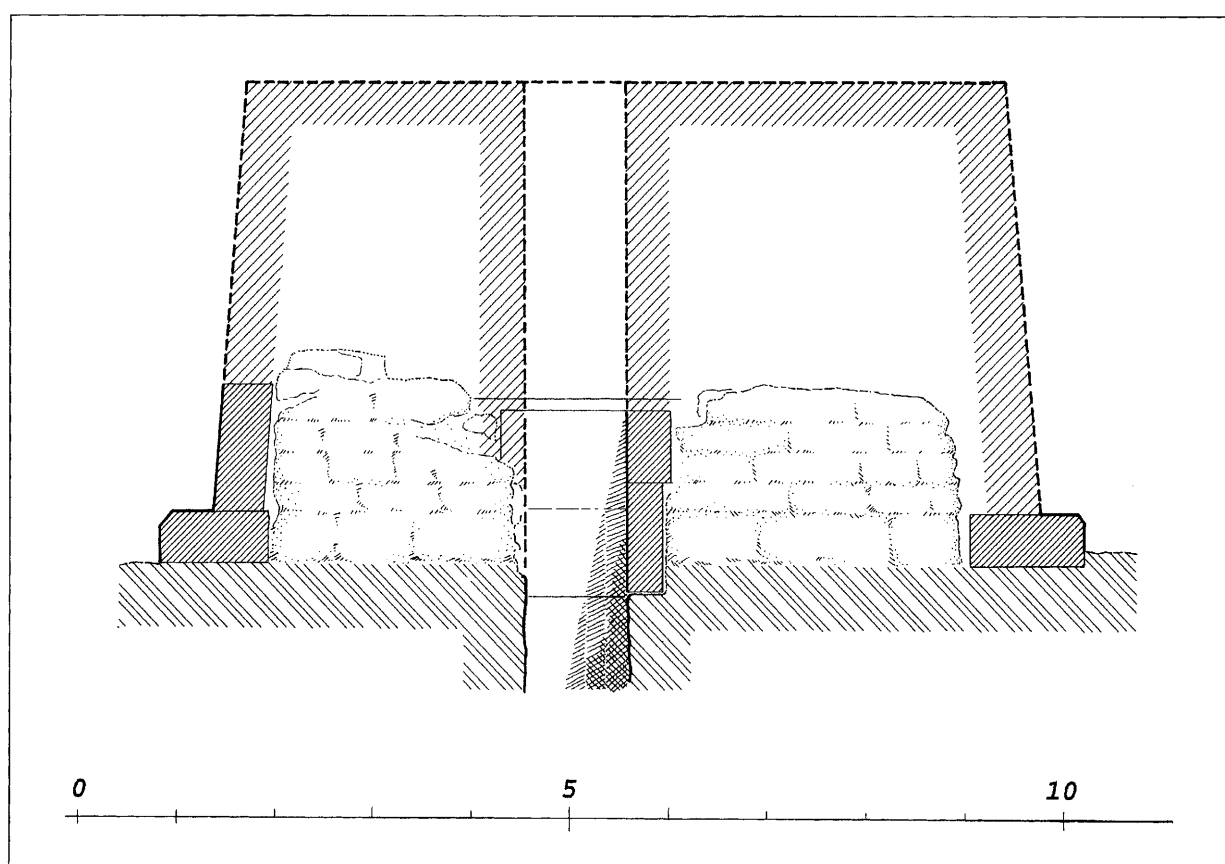
Pl. 113d. Corner tori of the East Tomb Enclosure modeled from mud (L89:393).



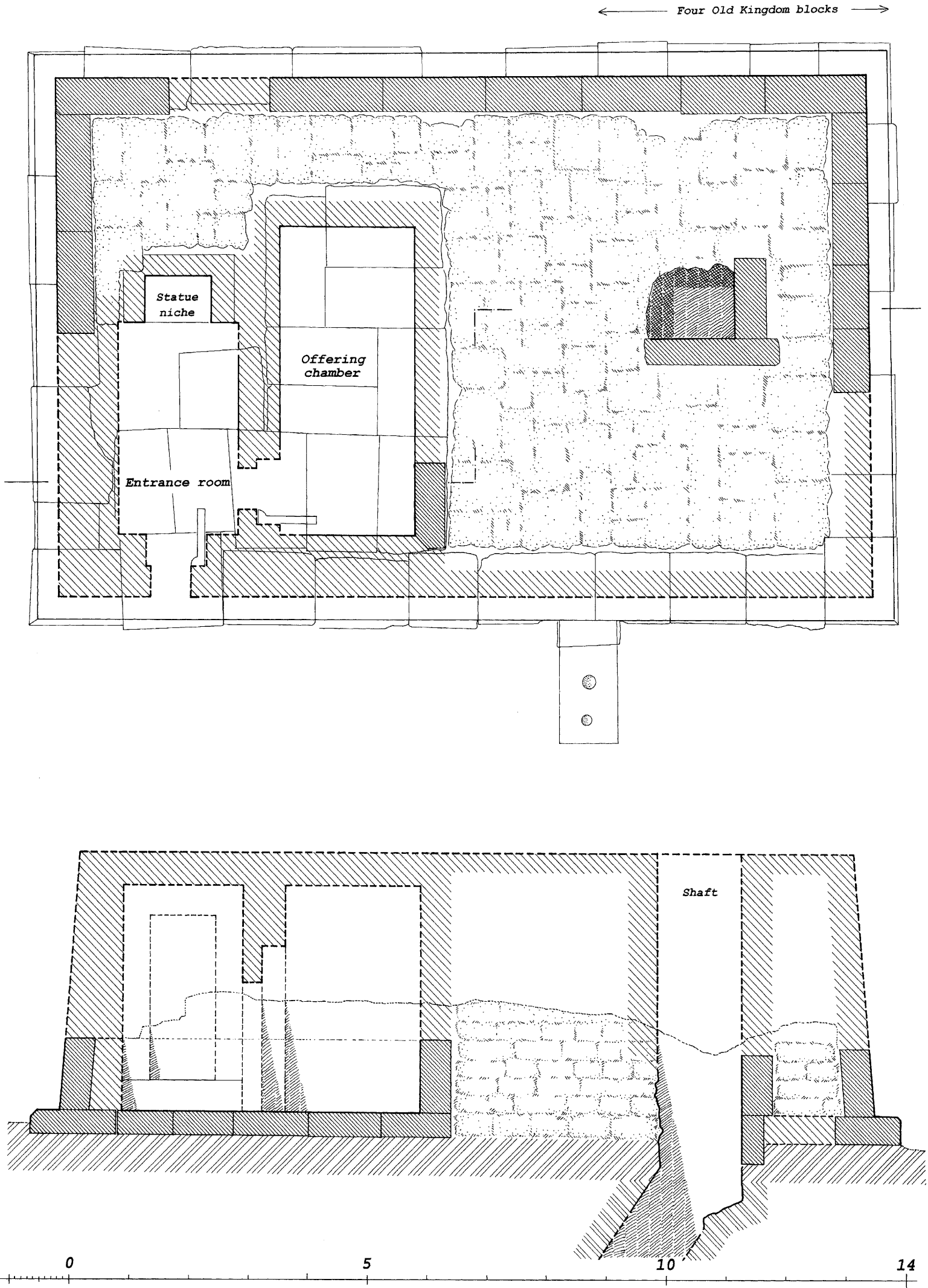
Pl. 114. Location map of larger private tombs around the pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht-North. Scale 1:1000.
Draw. D.A.



Pl. 115a. Overall plan of the complex of Rehurdjersen. Scale 1:200. Draw. W.S.



Pl. 115b. East-west section of the core building and shaft of Rehurdjersen. Scale 1:75. Draw. D.A.



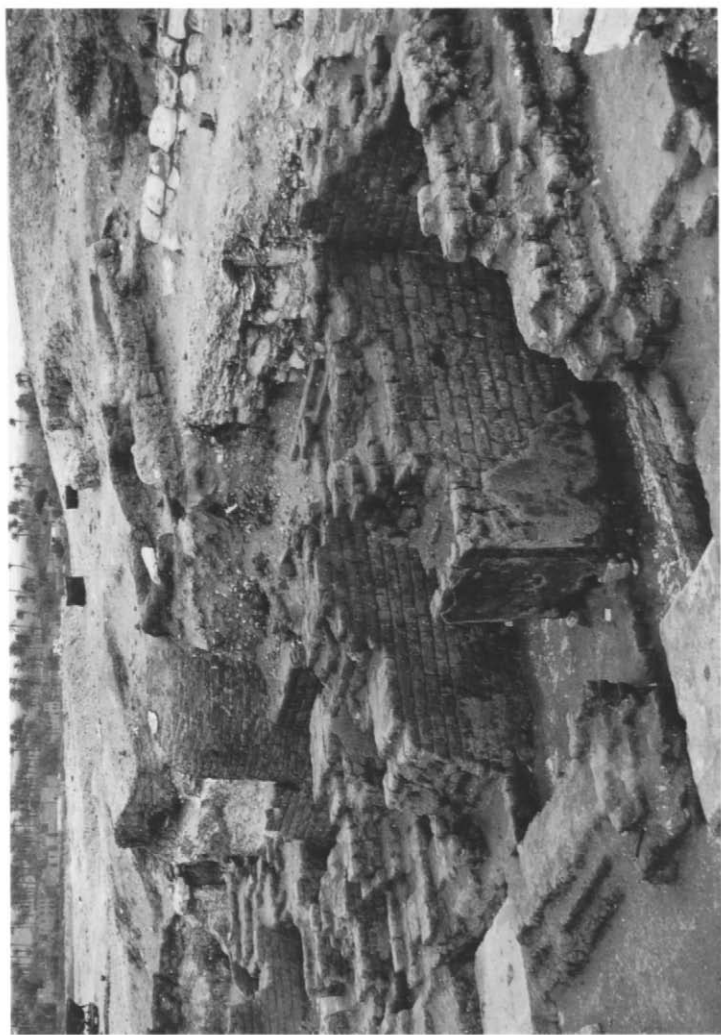
Pl. 116. Plan and south-north section of the core building of Rehuerdjersen. Scale 1:75. Draw. D.A.



Pl. 117a. The tomb enclosure of Rehurdjersen seen from the northeast (L20-21:355).



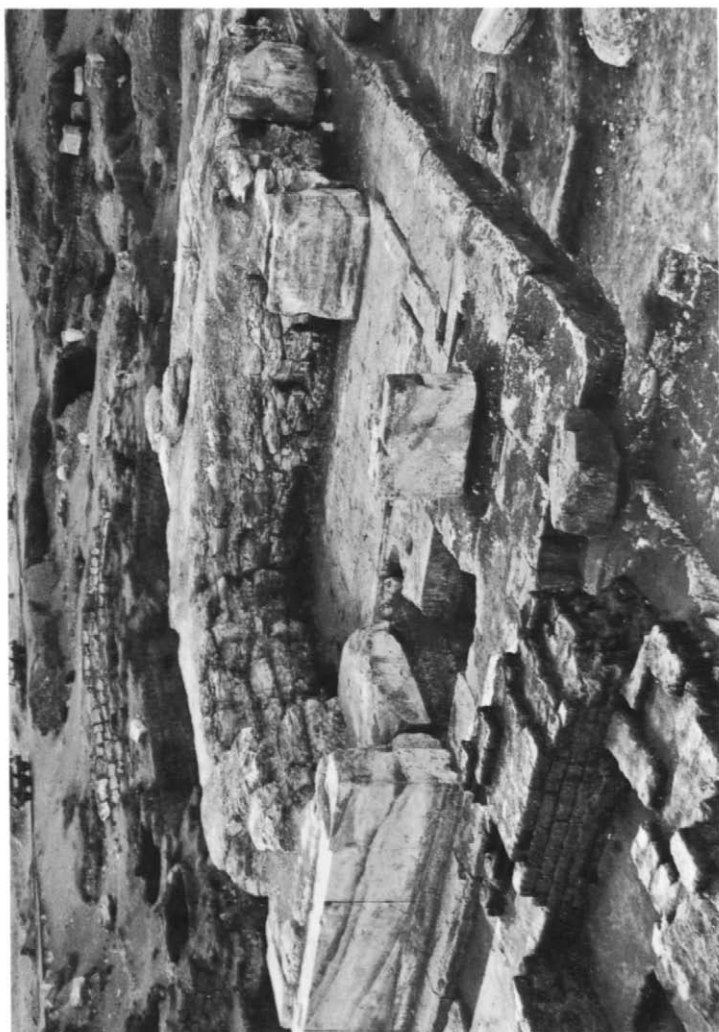
Pl. 117b. The cult chapel of Rehurdjersen seen from the south (L20-21:329).



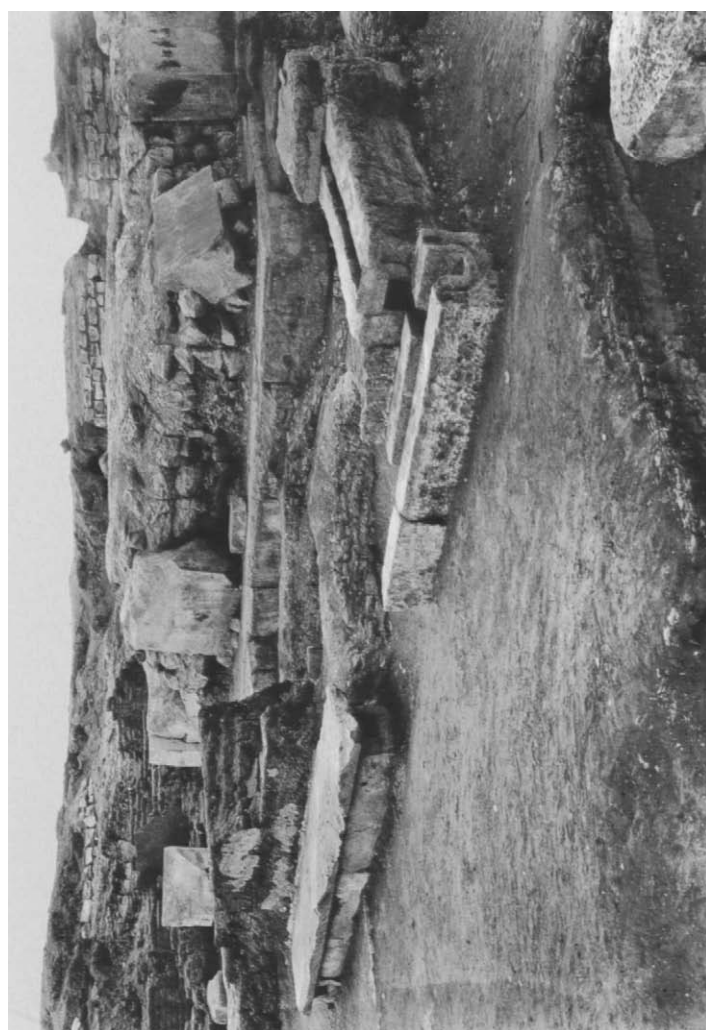
Pl. 118a. The brick buildings of the Rehuerdjersen complex seen from the west (L20-21:328).



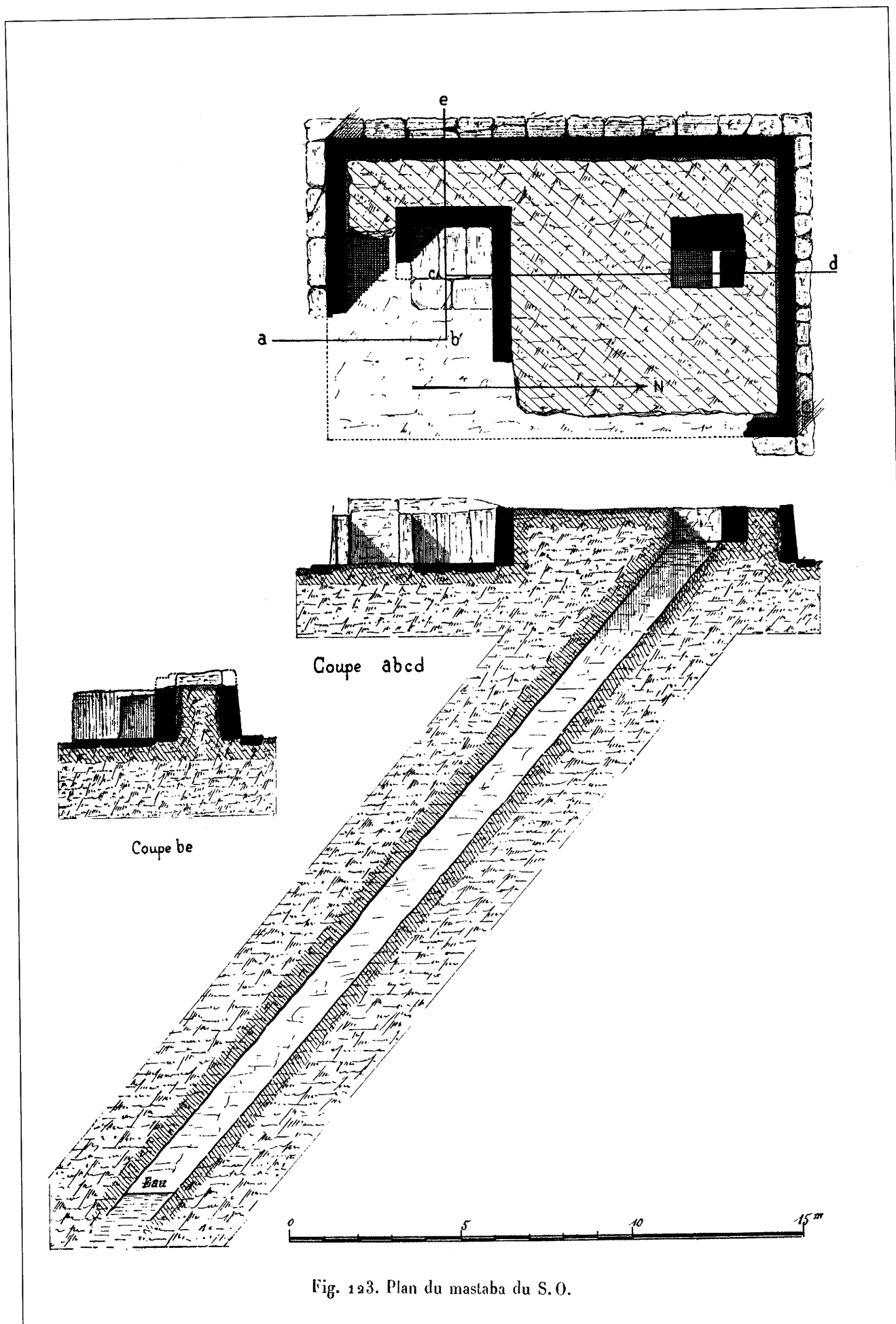
Pl. 118c. The northwest corner of the Rehuerdjersen cult chapel with Old Kingdom relief blocks in the foundation (L20-21:324).



Pl. 118b. The cult chapel of Rehuerdjersen seen from the southeast (L20-21:352).



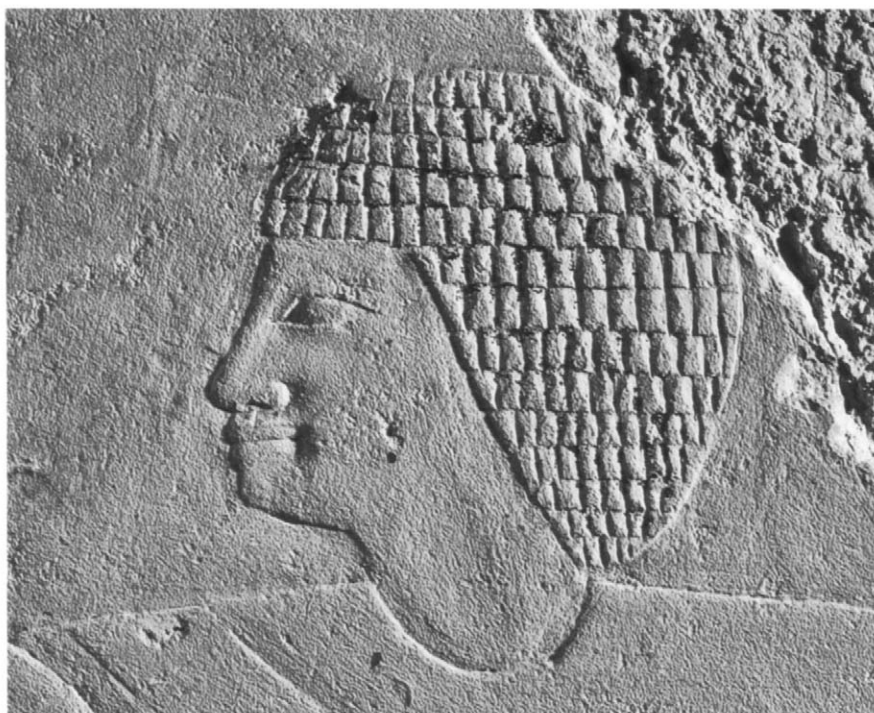
Pl. 118d. The drainage system east of the Rehuerdjersen cult chapel looking southwest (L20-21:331).



Pl. 119. Gautier's plan and section of the tomb of Rehuerdjersen. Scale 1:150. (Gautier, *Licht*, p. 101, fig. 123.)



Pl. 120a. Relief fragment from the inner room of the Rehuerdjersen cult chapel. MMA 22.1.6. (See also pl. 127b.)
Scale 1:5. Draw J.J.



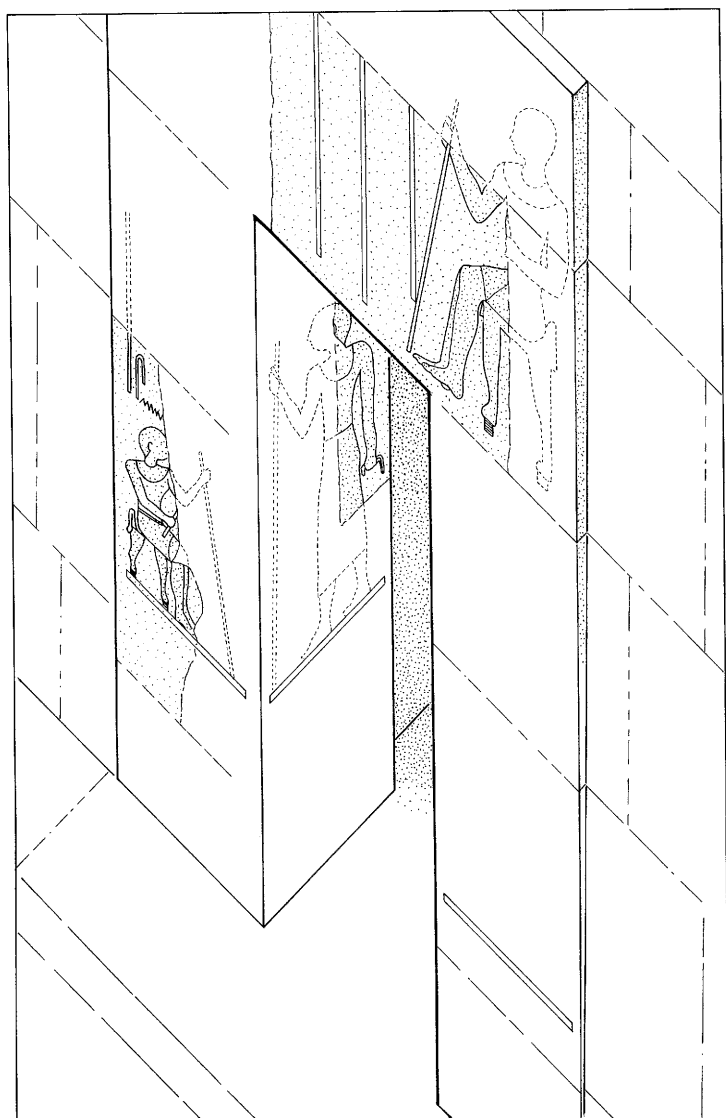
Pl. 120b-c. Detail of the fragment MMA 22.1.6 from the Rehuerdjersen cult chapel. Photo W.B.



Pl. 121a. Detail of the fragment MMA 22.1.6 from the Rehuerdjersen funerary chapel. Photo W.B.

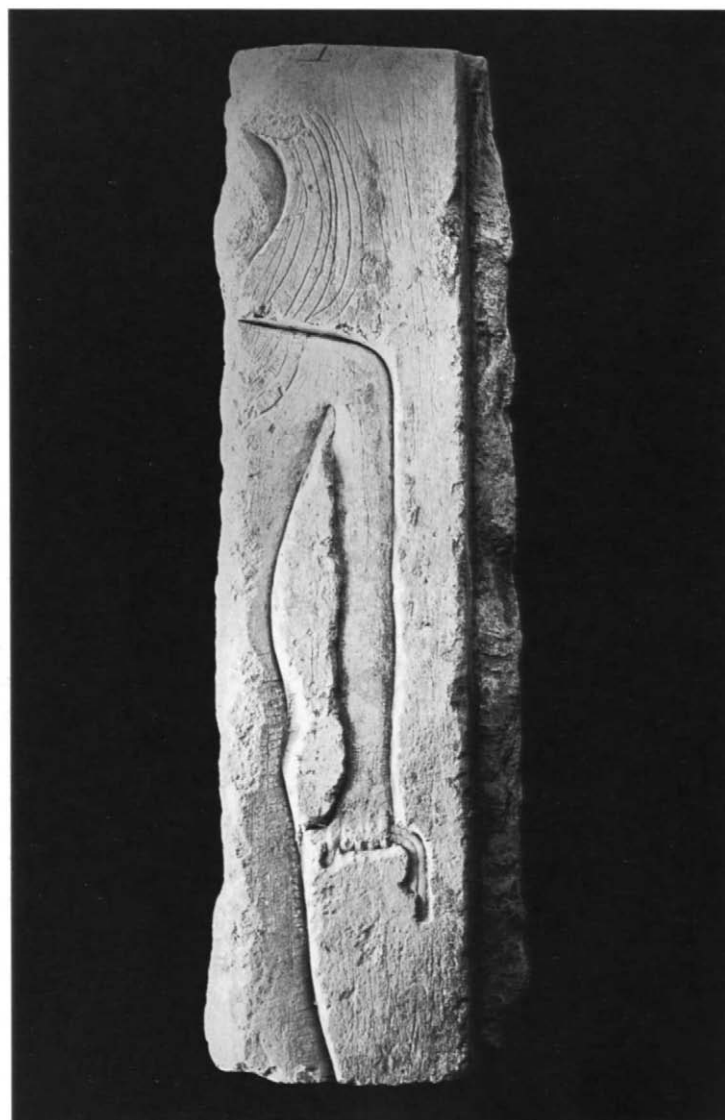
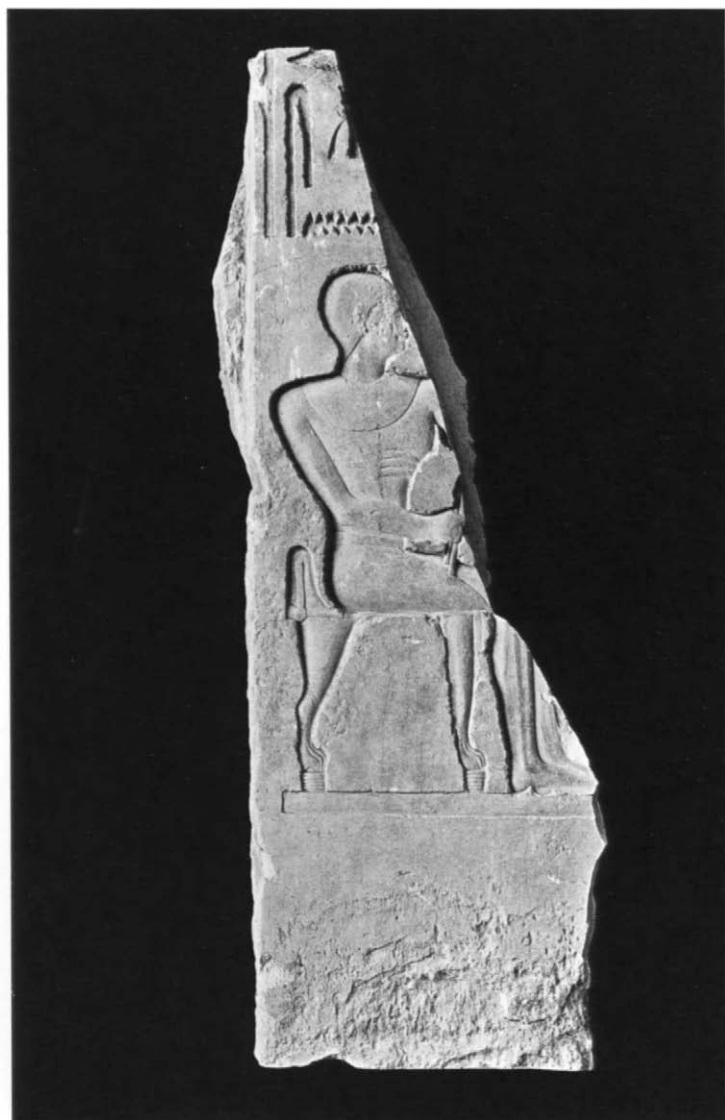


Pl. 121b. Detail of the fragment MMA 22.1.6 from the Rehuerdjersen funerary chapel. Photo W.B.



Pl. 123a. Upper left: door to the cult chapel of Rehuerdjersen. Draw D.A.

Pl. 123b-c. Lower left and right: fragments of the door frame of the cult chapel of Rehuerdjersen (L20-21:323, left; L13-4:286, right).

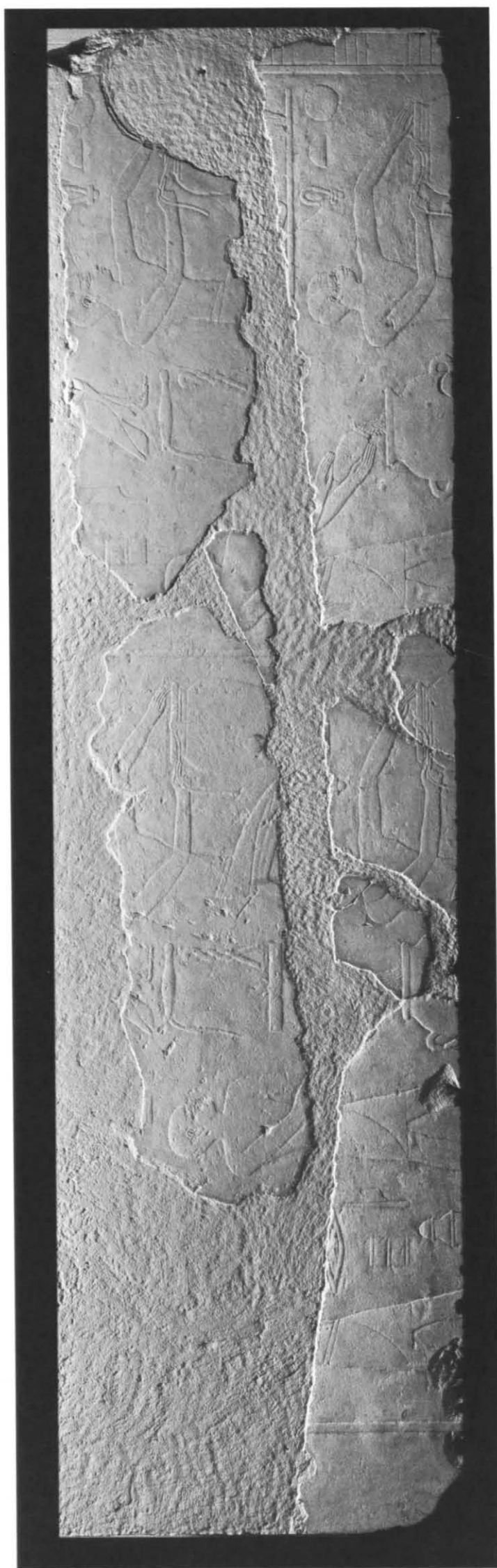




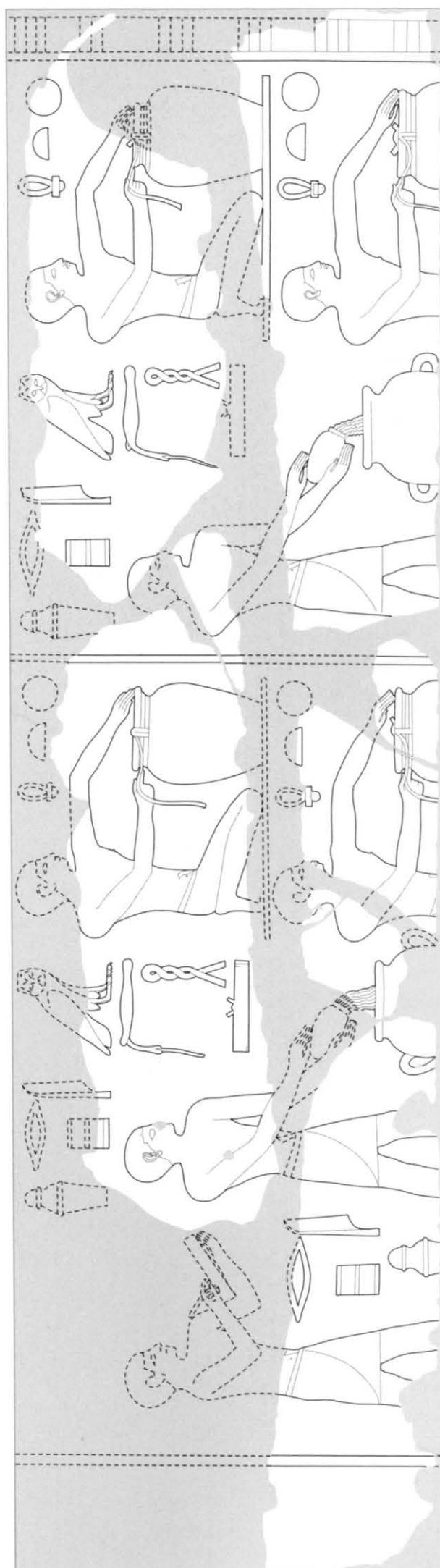
Pl. 124a. Boating scene possibly from the Rehuerdjersen cult chapel. [MMA 22.1.5], now Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 54.643 (L20-21:148).



Pl. 124b. Same scene. Draw. J.J.



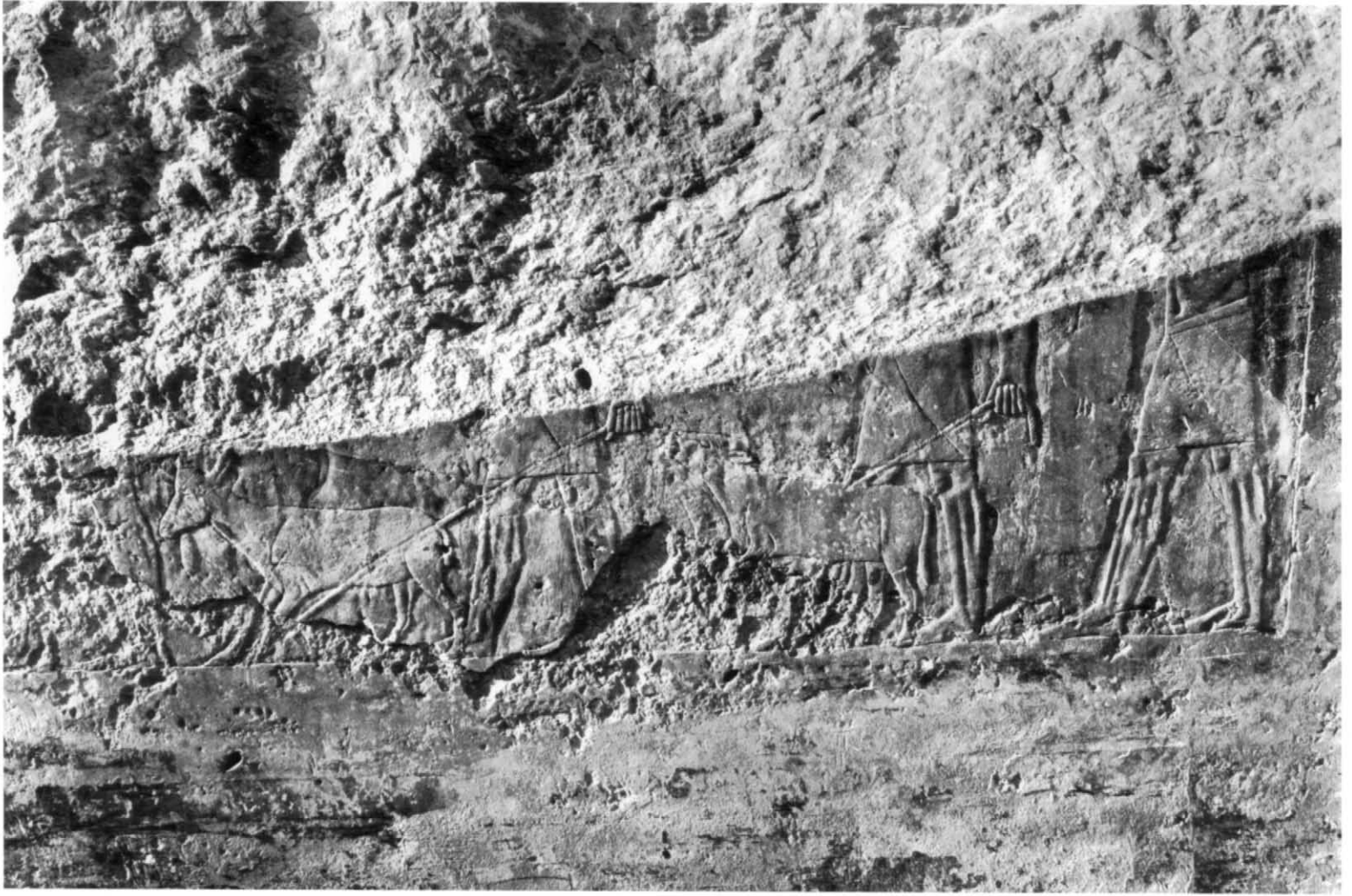
Pl. 125a. Wine filling scene, possibly from the funerary chapel of Rehuerdjersen. MMA 16.3.10. Photo B.J.S.



Pl. 125b. Reconstruction of the same scene. Draw. J.J.



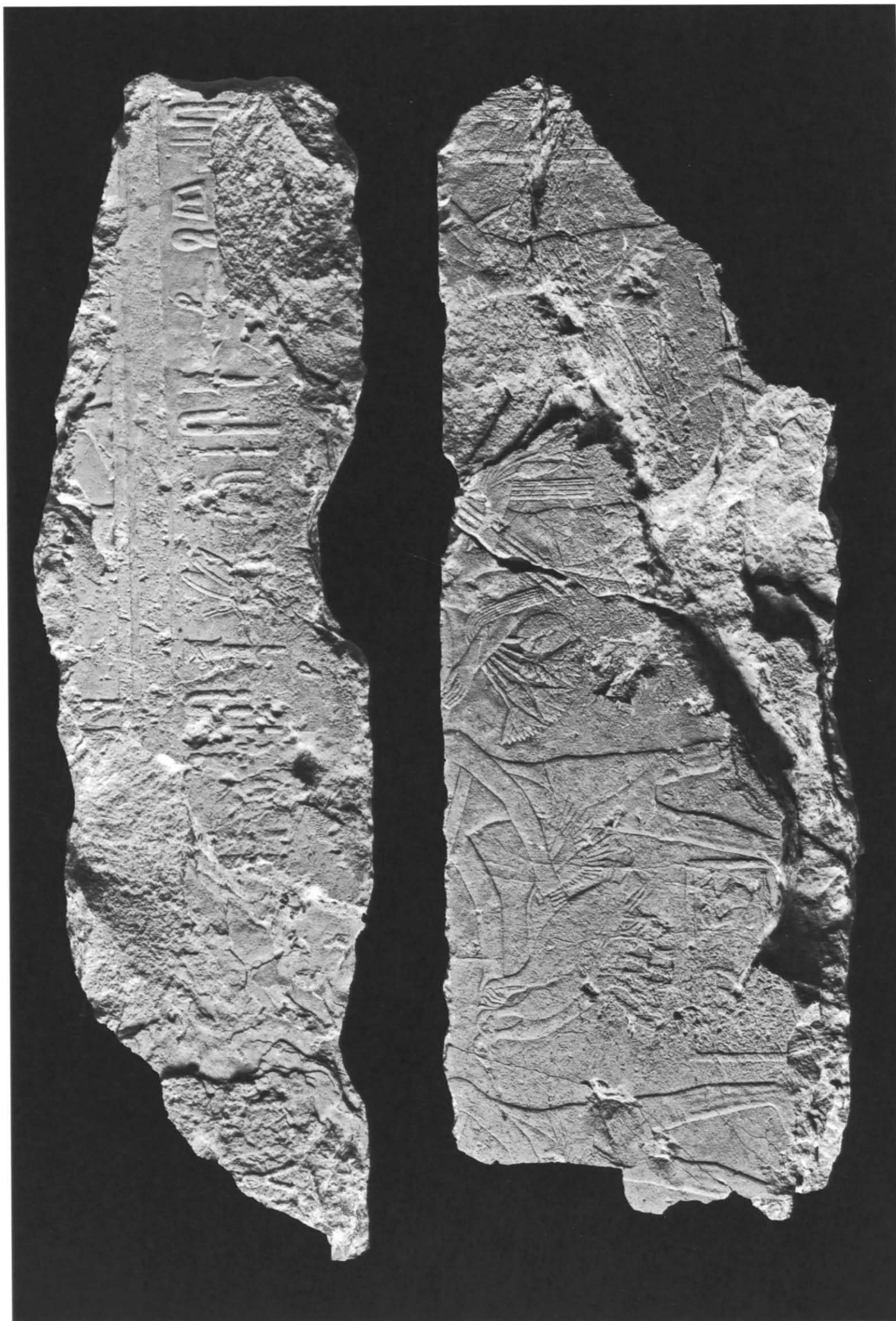
Pl. 126. Details of wine filling scene on pl. 125. Photos W.B.



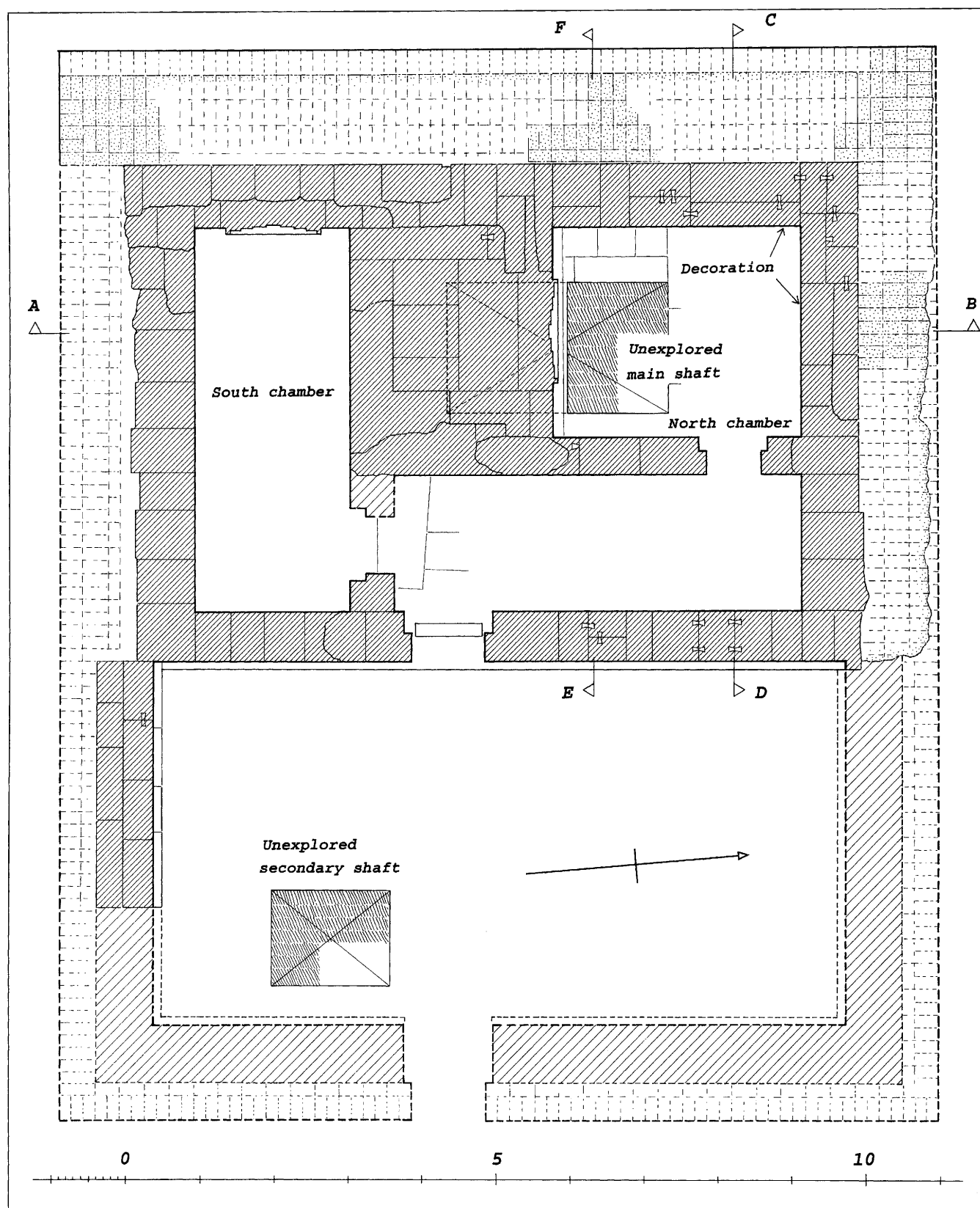
Pl. 127a. Relief in the inner room of the Rehuerdjersen cult chapel (L20-21:595).



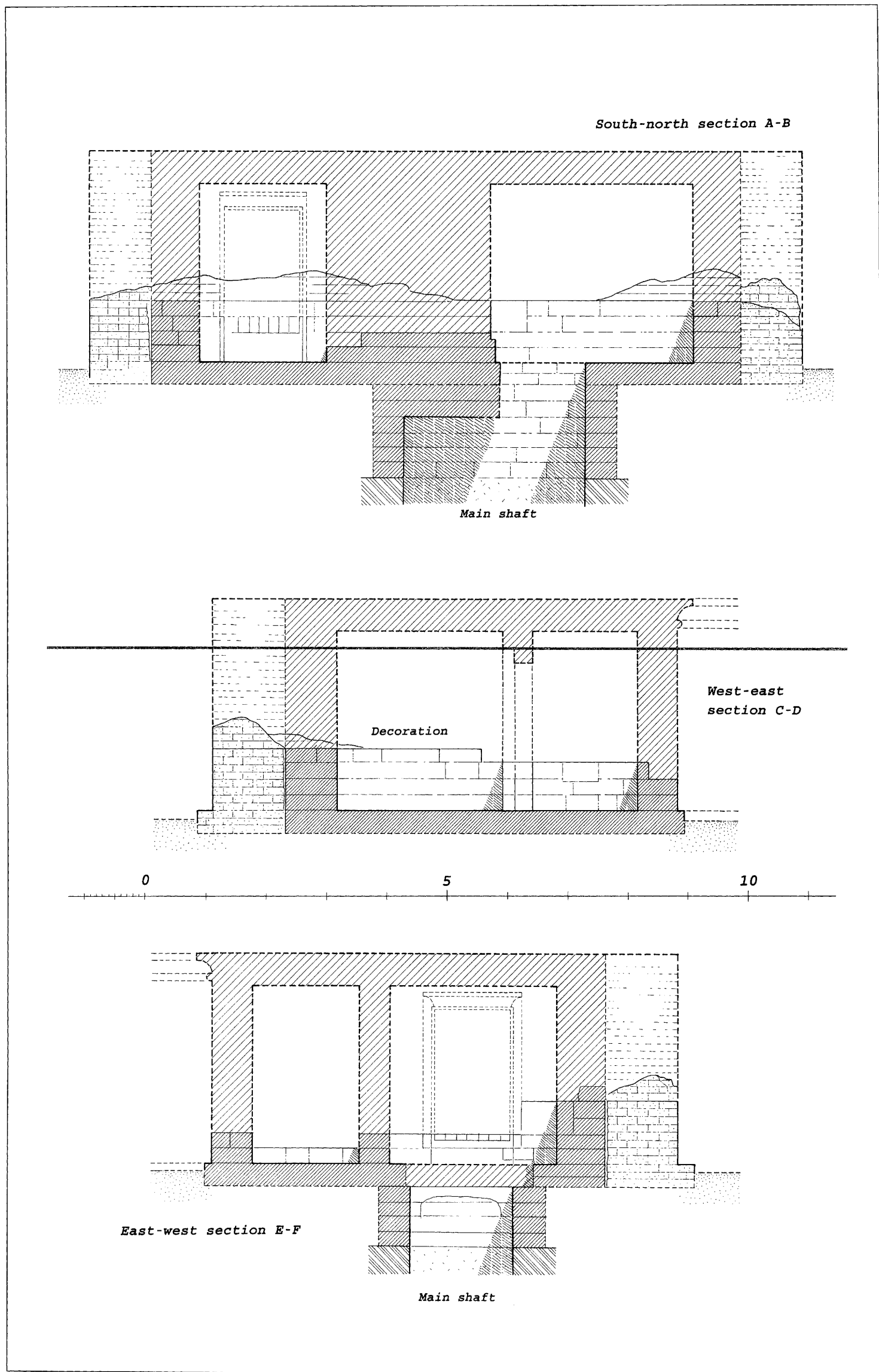
Pl. 127b. Relief fragment from the inner room of the Rehuerdjersen cult chapel
(see pl. 120a). MMA 22.1.6 (L20-21:142).



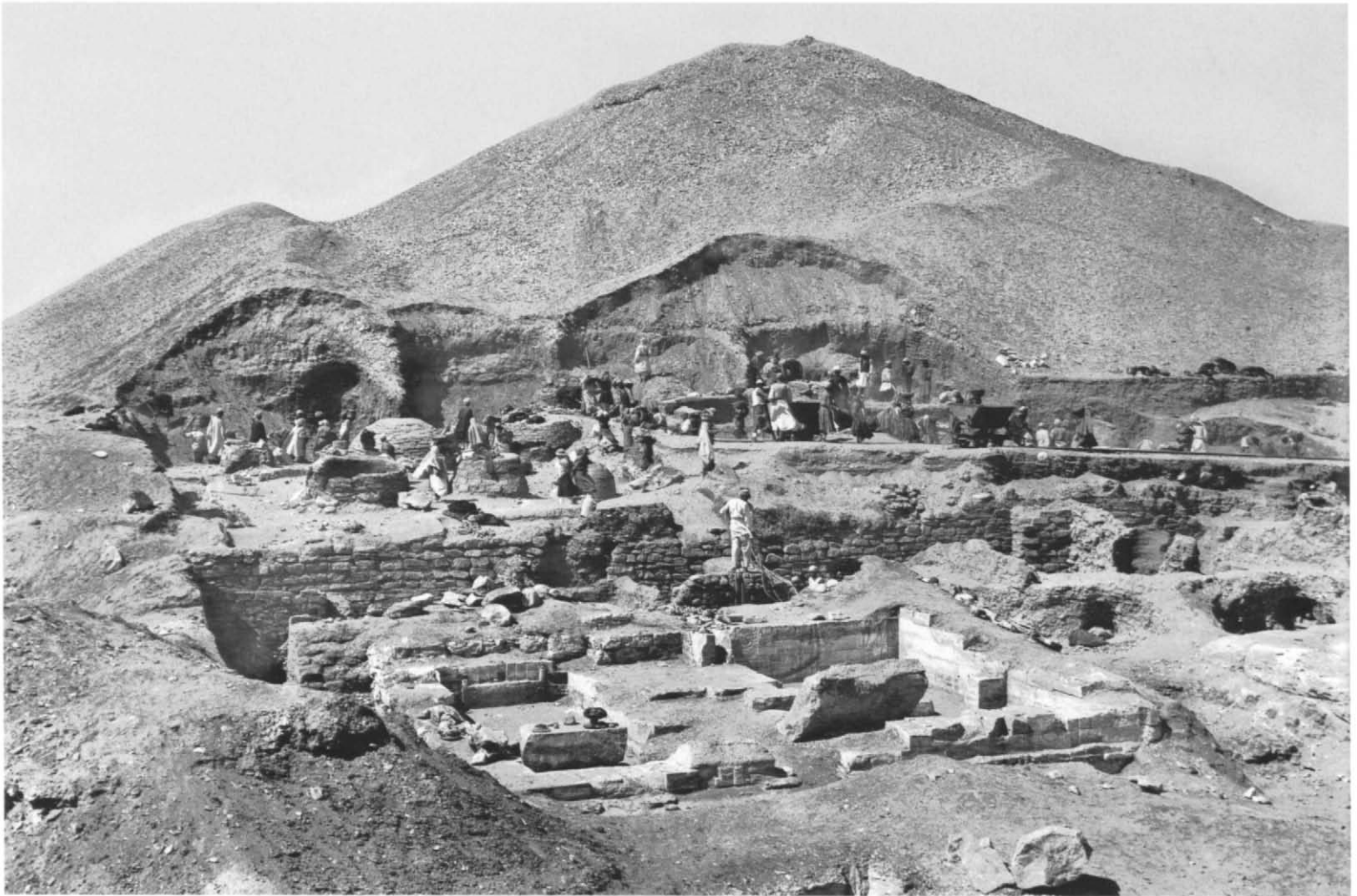
Pl. 128. Fragments of a scene with offering bearers, perhaps from the cult chapel of Rehuerdjersen (L33-34:253).



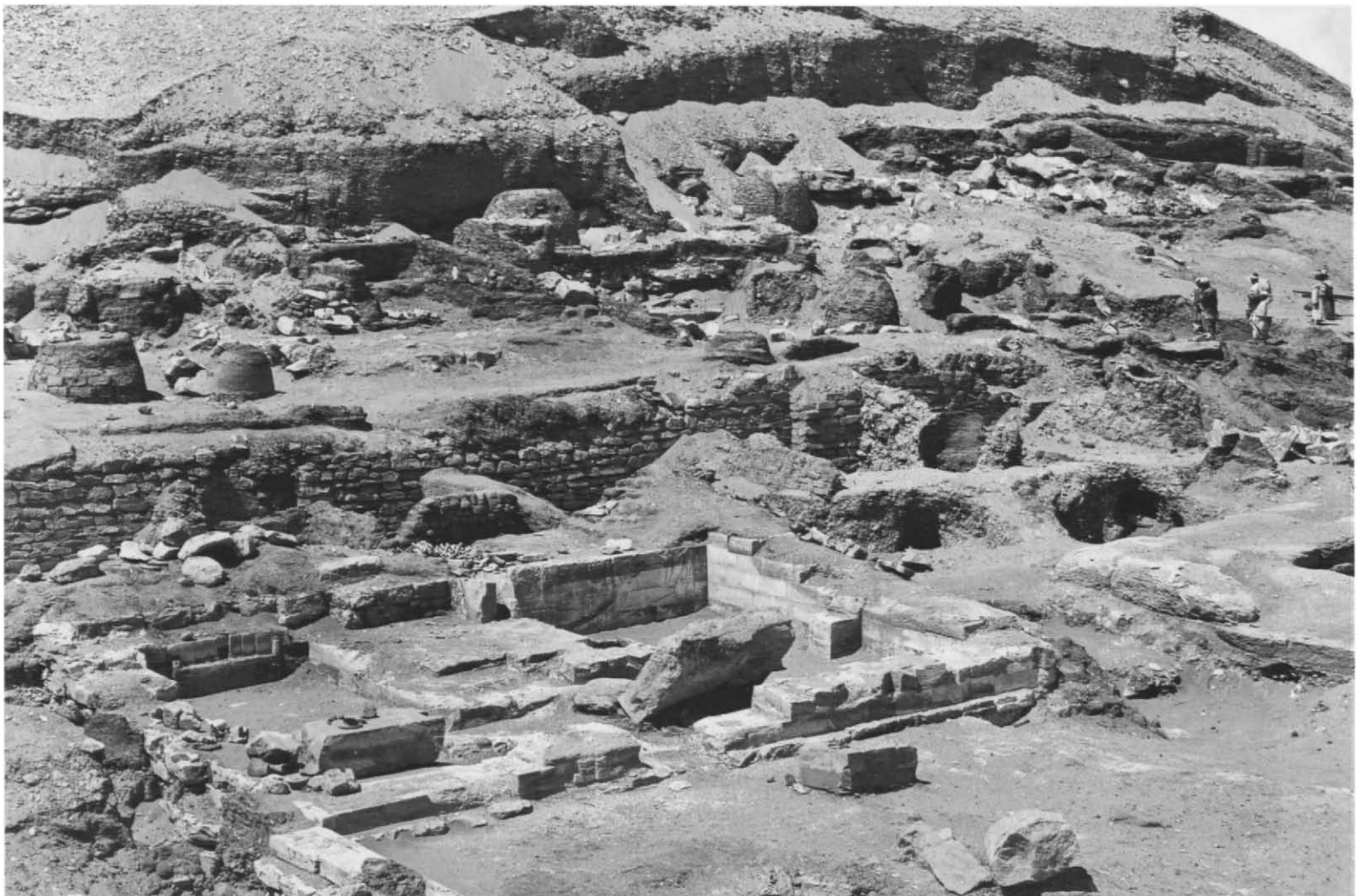
Pl. 129. Reconstructed plan of the tomb complex of Antefiker. Scale 1:75. Draw. D.A.



Pl. 130. Sections through the cult chapel of Antefiker. Scale 1:75. Draw. D.A.



Pl 131a. Excavating the tomb complex of Antefiker and the east side of the pyramid of Amenemhat I in 1906 (L6-7:884).



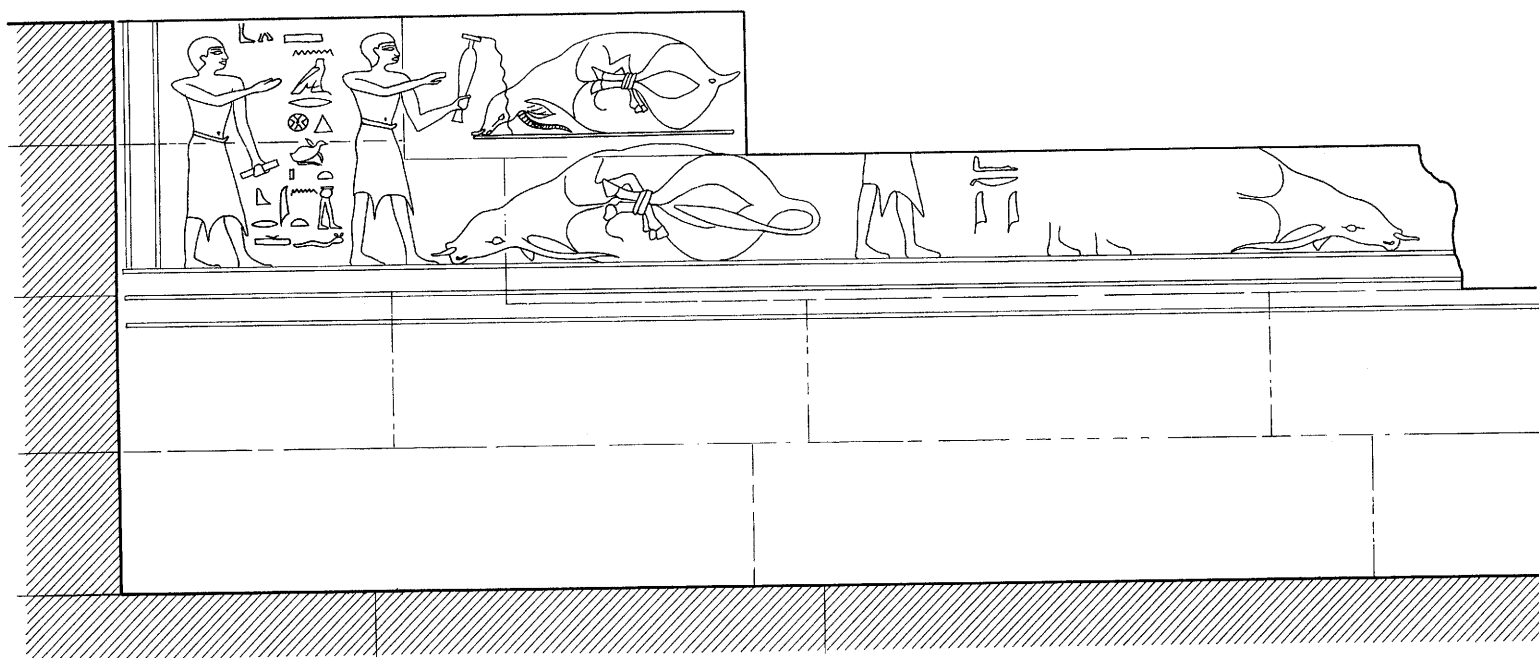
Pl. 131b. The tomb complex of Antefiker in front and remains of the Thirteenth Dynasty settlement above (L6-7:347).



Pl 132a. The tomb complex of Antefiker beneath the walls of the Thirteenth Dynasty settlement looking northwest (L6-7:340).



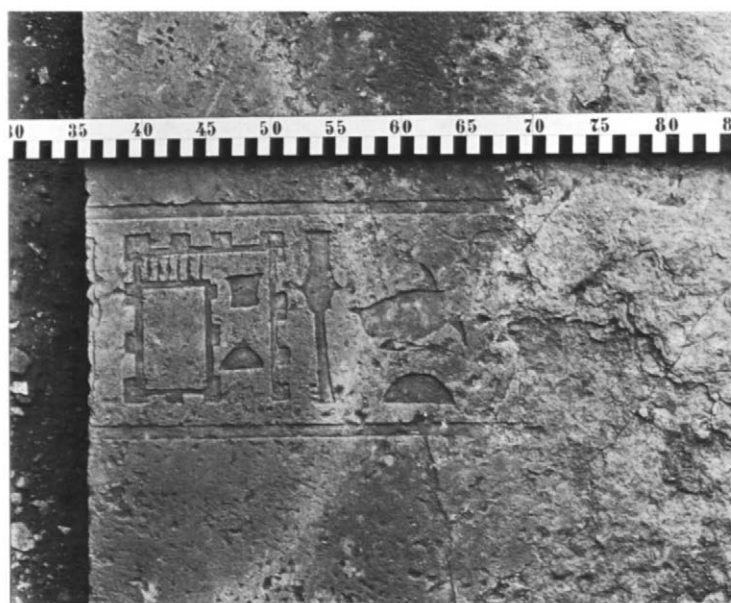
Pl. 132b. Close-up view of the cult chapel of Antefiker looking northwest (L6-7:195).



Pl. 133a. North wall of the cult chamber of Antefiker. Draw. D.A.



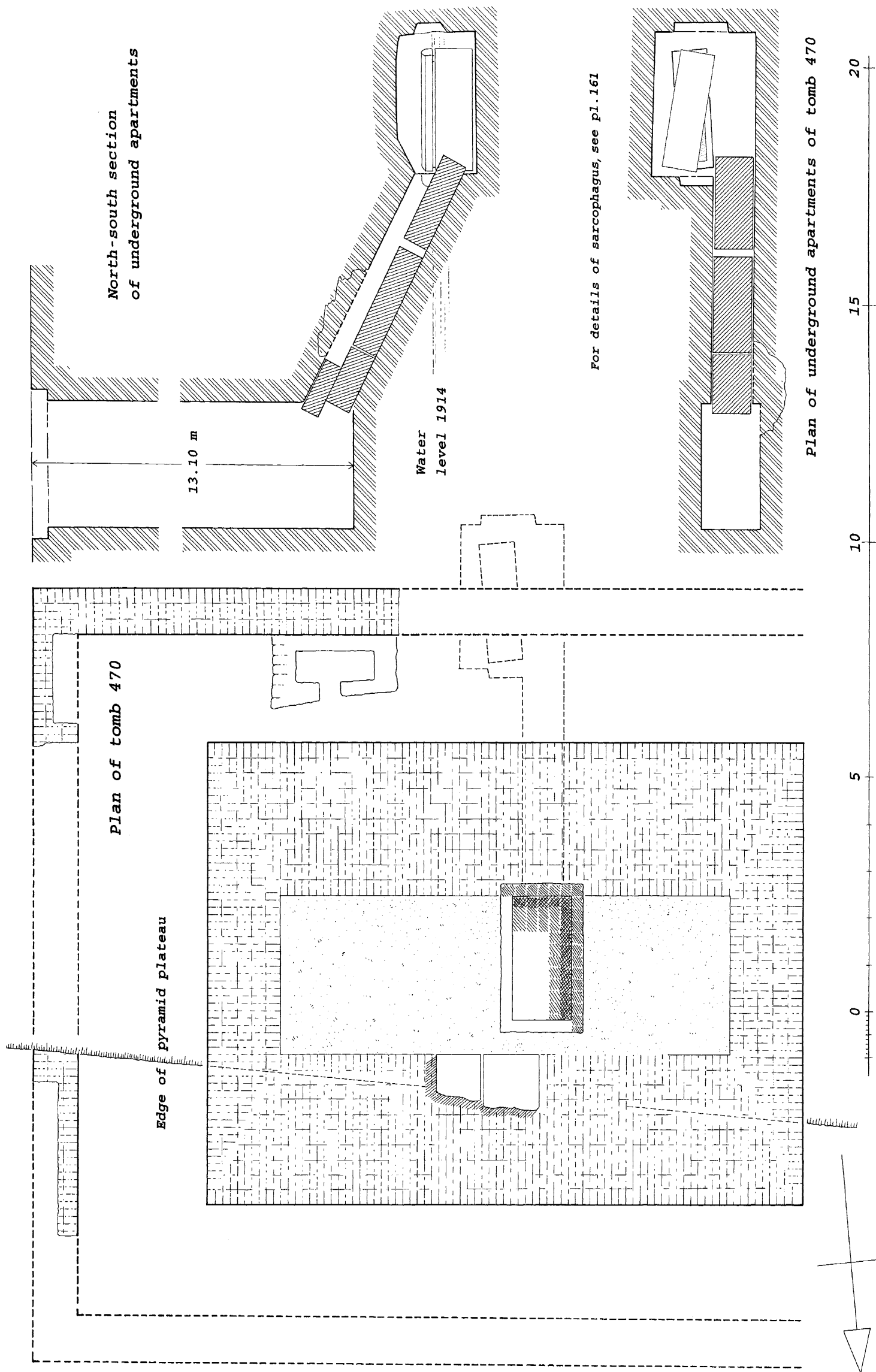
Pl. 133b. In situ relief of the north wall of the cult chapel of Antefiker (L6-7:146).



Pl. 133c. Block from the west(?) wall of the cult chamber of Antefiker (L6-7:145).



Pl. 133d. Block from the cult chapel of Antefiker (L8-9:46).



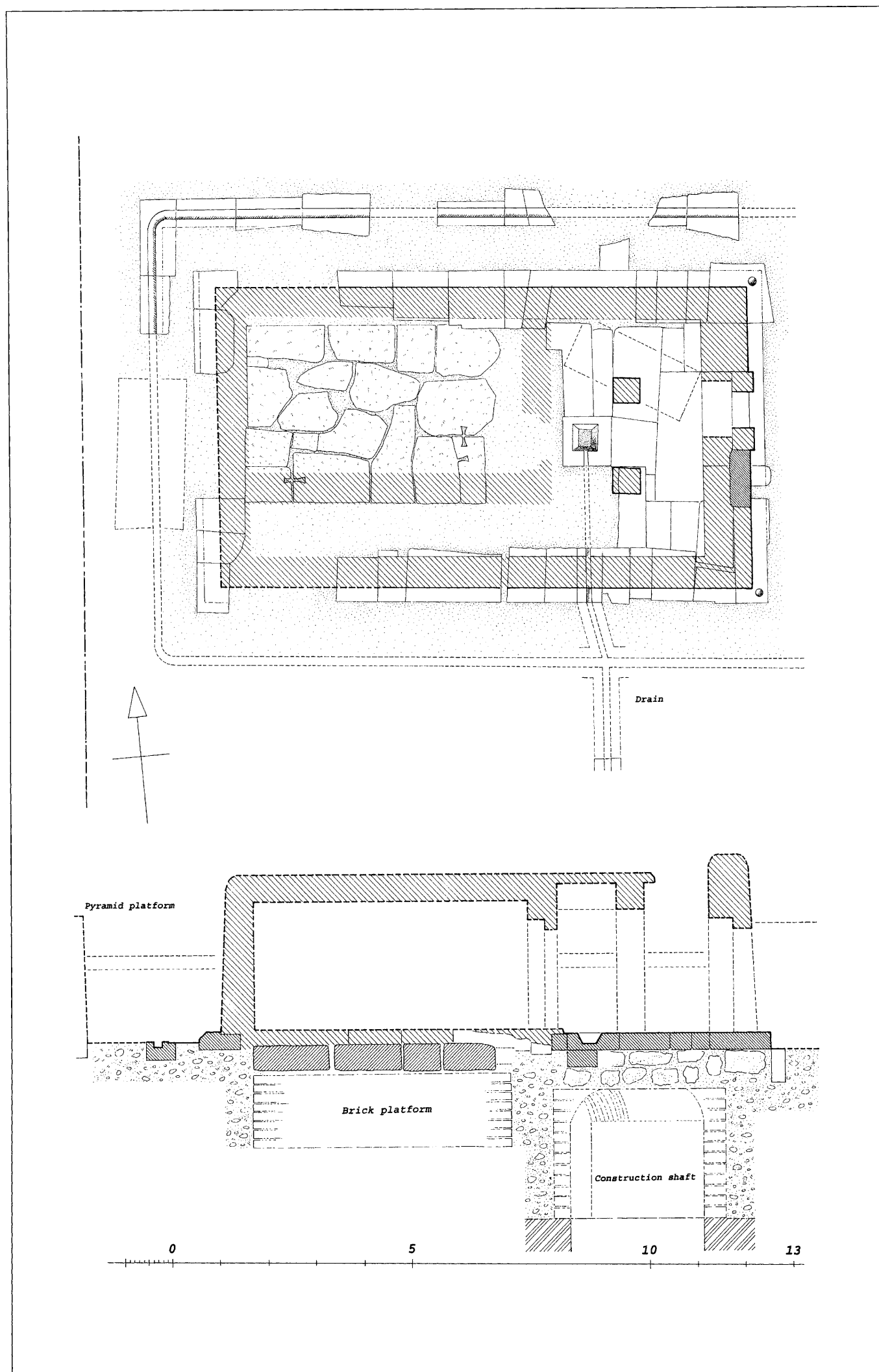
Pl. 134. Plan and sections of tomb 470 of Senimeru. Scale 1:100. Draw. D.A.



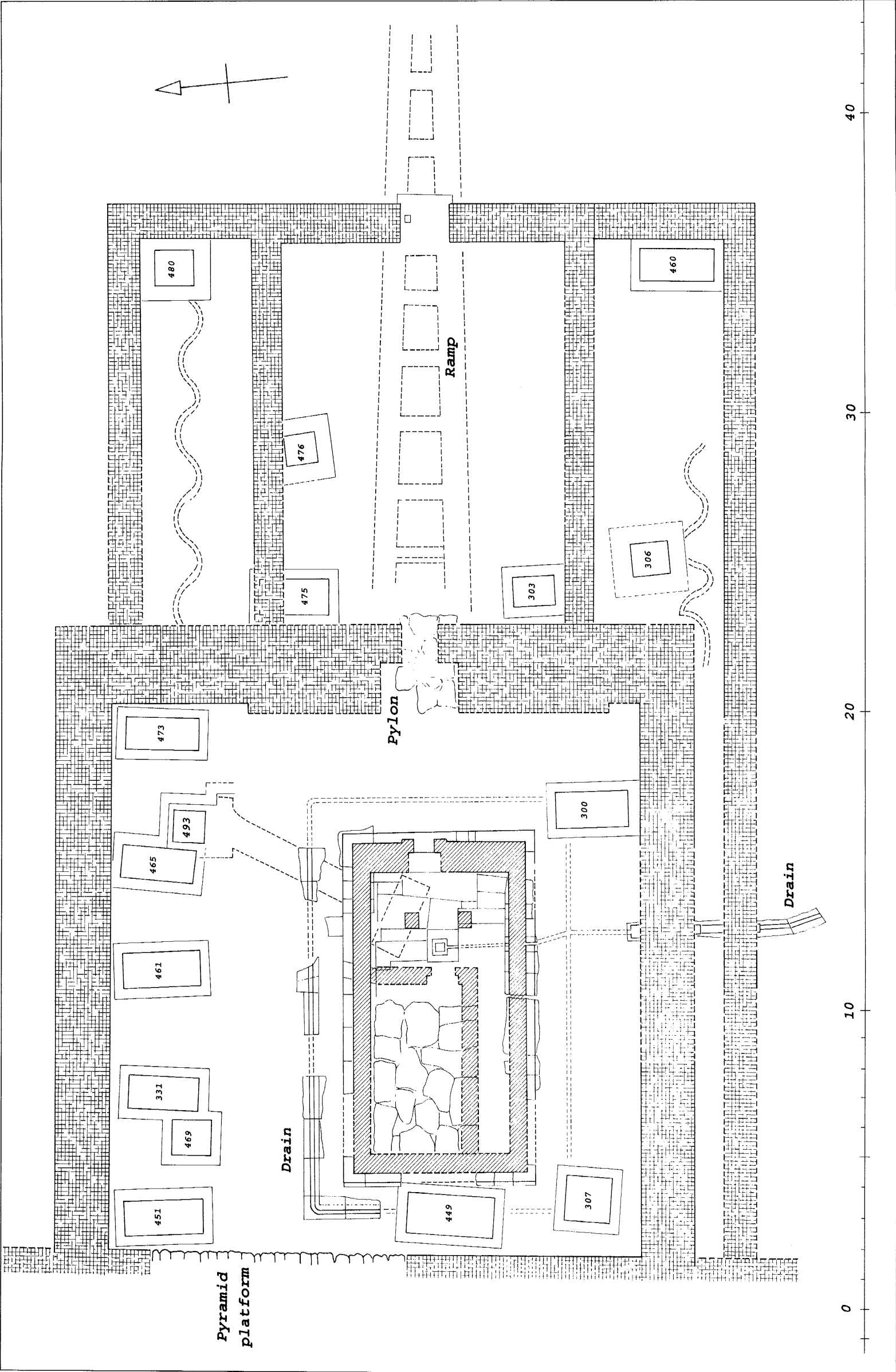
Pl. 135a. Ruined site of tomb 470 of Senimeru (LI3-14:383).



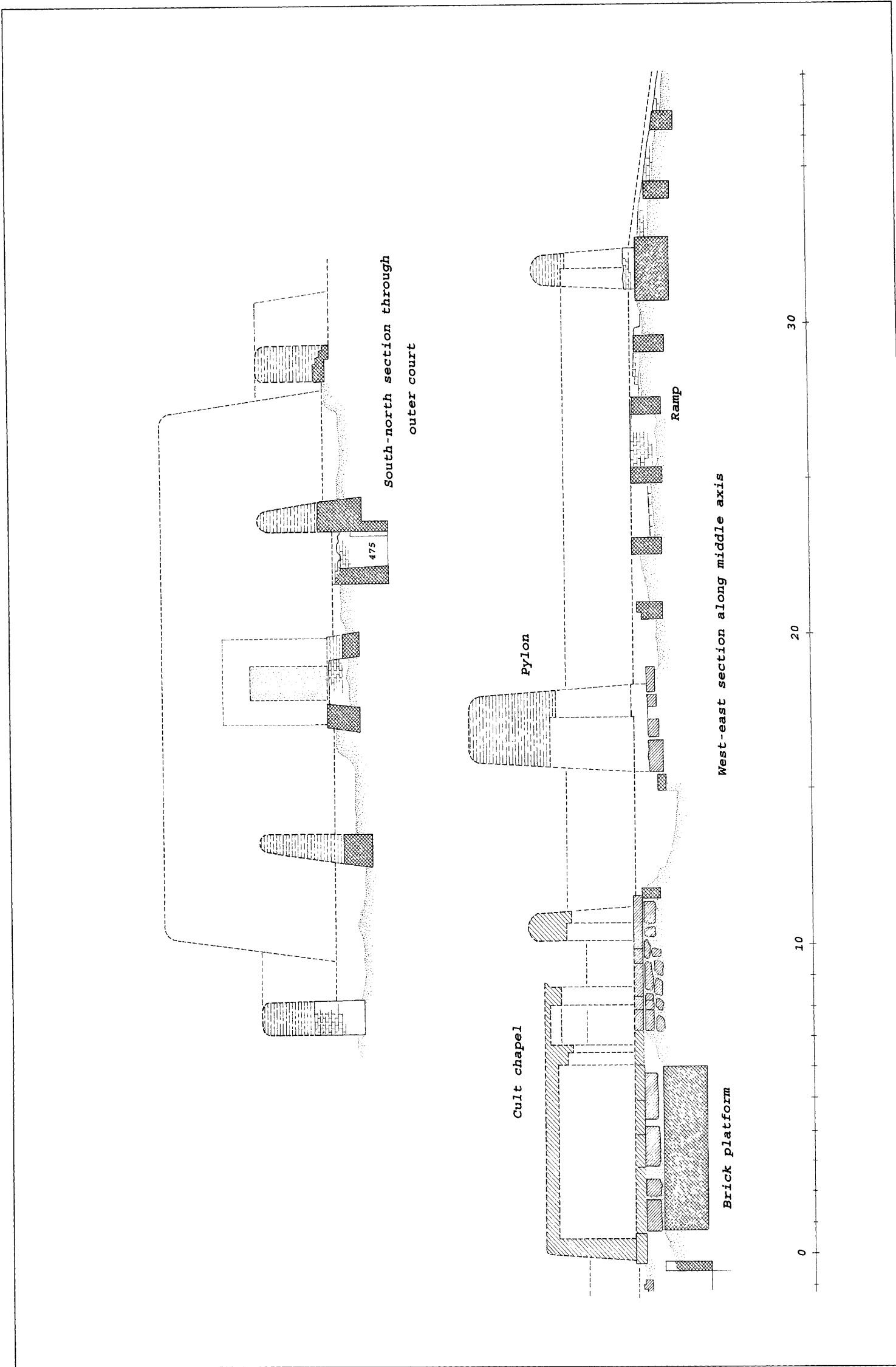
Pl. 135b. Ruined site of tomb 470 of Senimeru (LI3-14:731).



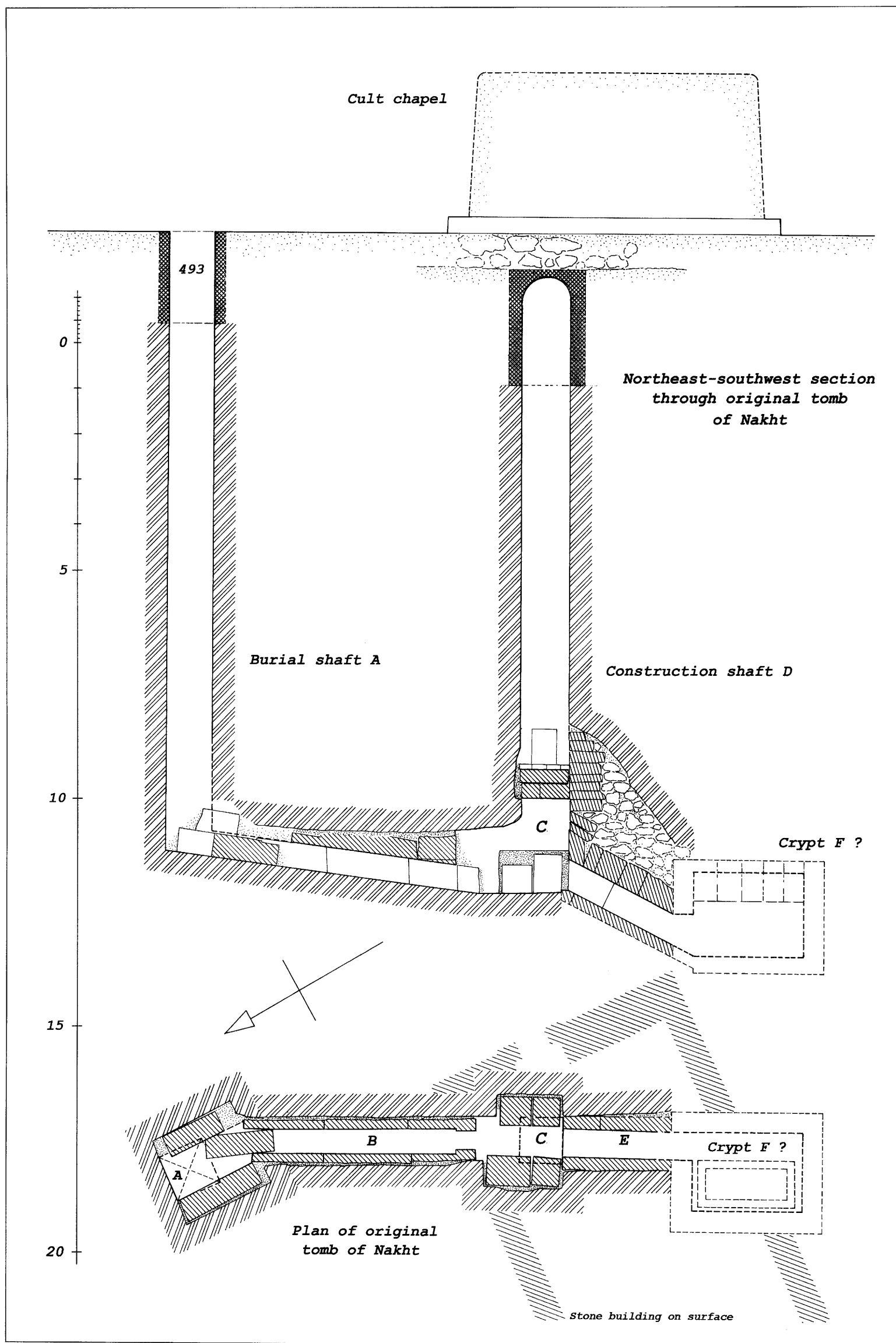
Pl. 136. Plan and east-west section of the cult chapel of Nakht (493). Scale 1:100. Draw. D.A.



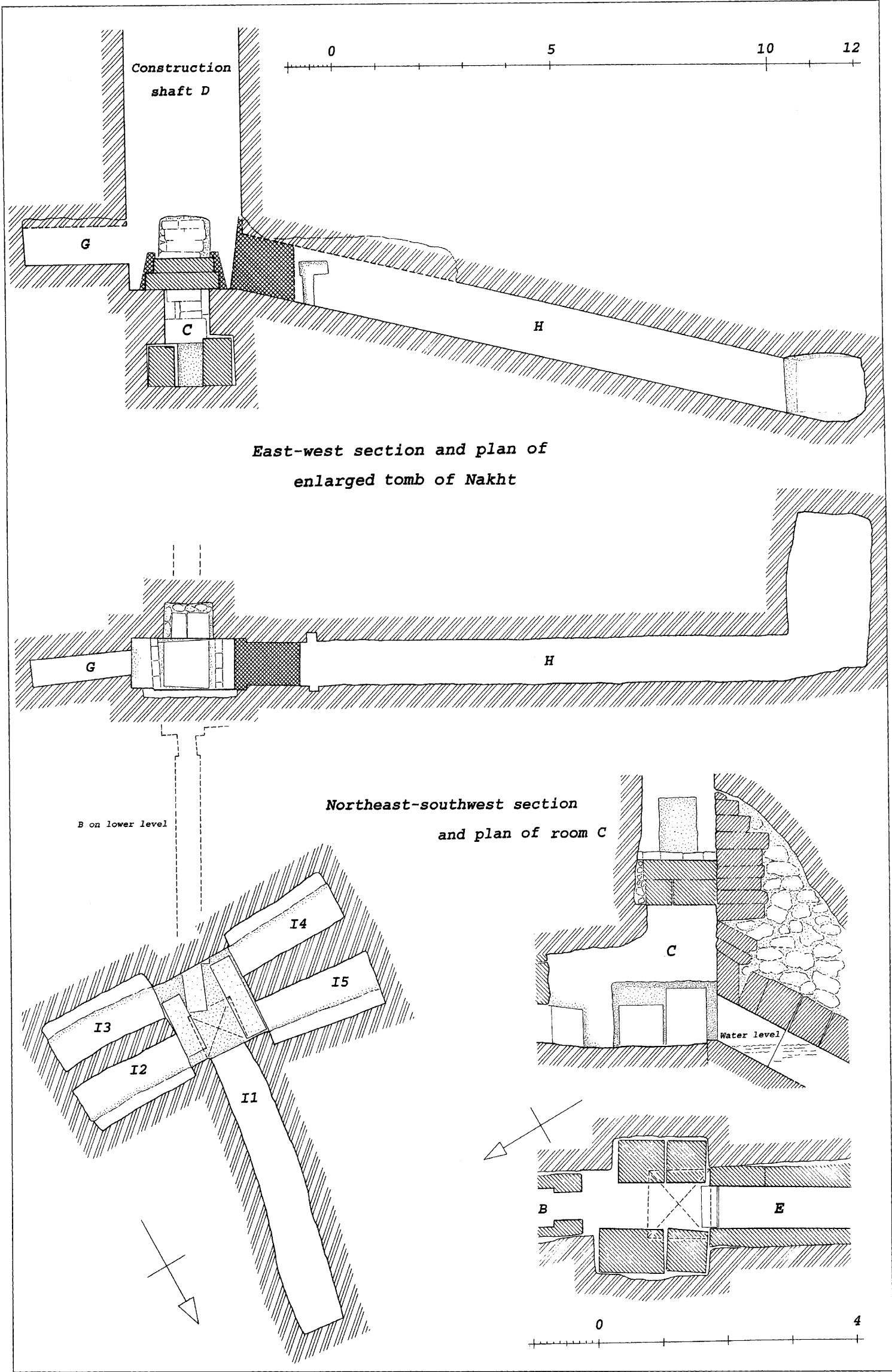
Pl. 137. Overall plan of the tomb complex of Nakht (493). Scale 1:150. Draw. D.A.



Pl. 138. Sections through the tomb complex of Nakht (493). Scale 1:150. Draw. D.A.



Pl. 139. Plan and section of underground apartments of Nakht (493). Scale 1:100. Draw D.A.



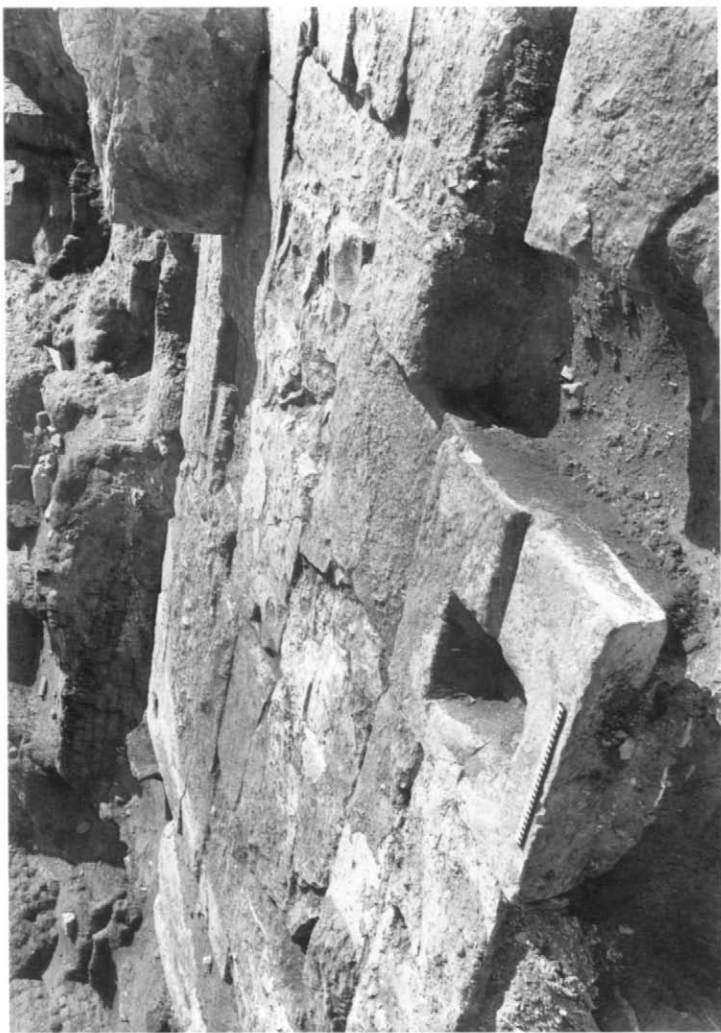
Pl. 140. Plan and section of underground apartments of Nakht (493). Scale 1:100. Draw. D.A.



Pl. 141a. The cult chapel of Nakht seen from the east (L13-14:134).



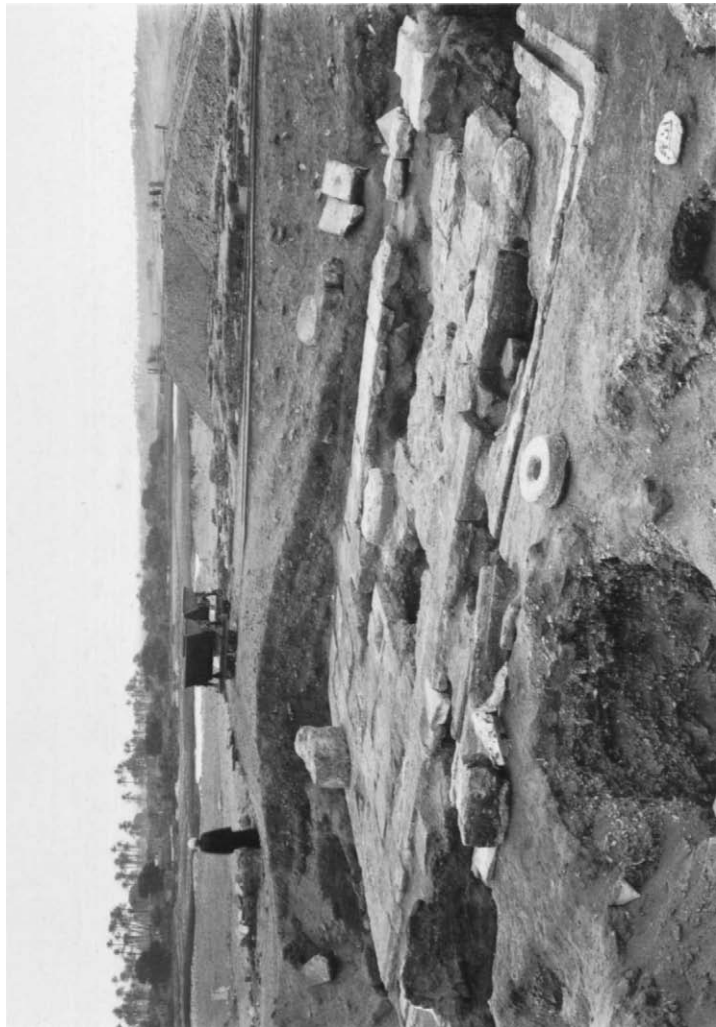
Pl. 141b. The cult chapel of Nakht seen from the northwest (L13-14:133).



Pl. 142b. The court of the cult chapel of Nakht with the basin (L13-14:105).



Pl. 142d. The ramp at the cult complex of Nakht looking northeast (L13-14:706).



Pl. 142a. The cult chapel of Nakht seen from the northwest (L13-14:132).



Pl. 142c. The ramp at the cult complex of Nakht looking southeast (L13-14:710).



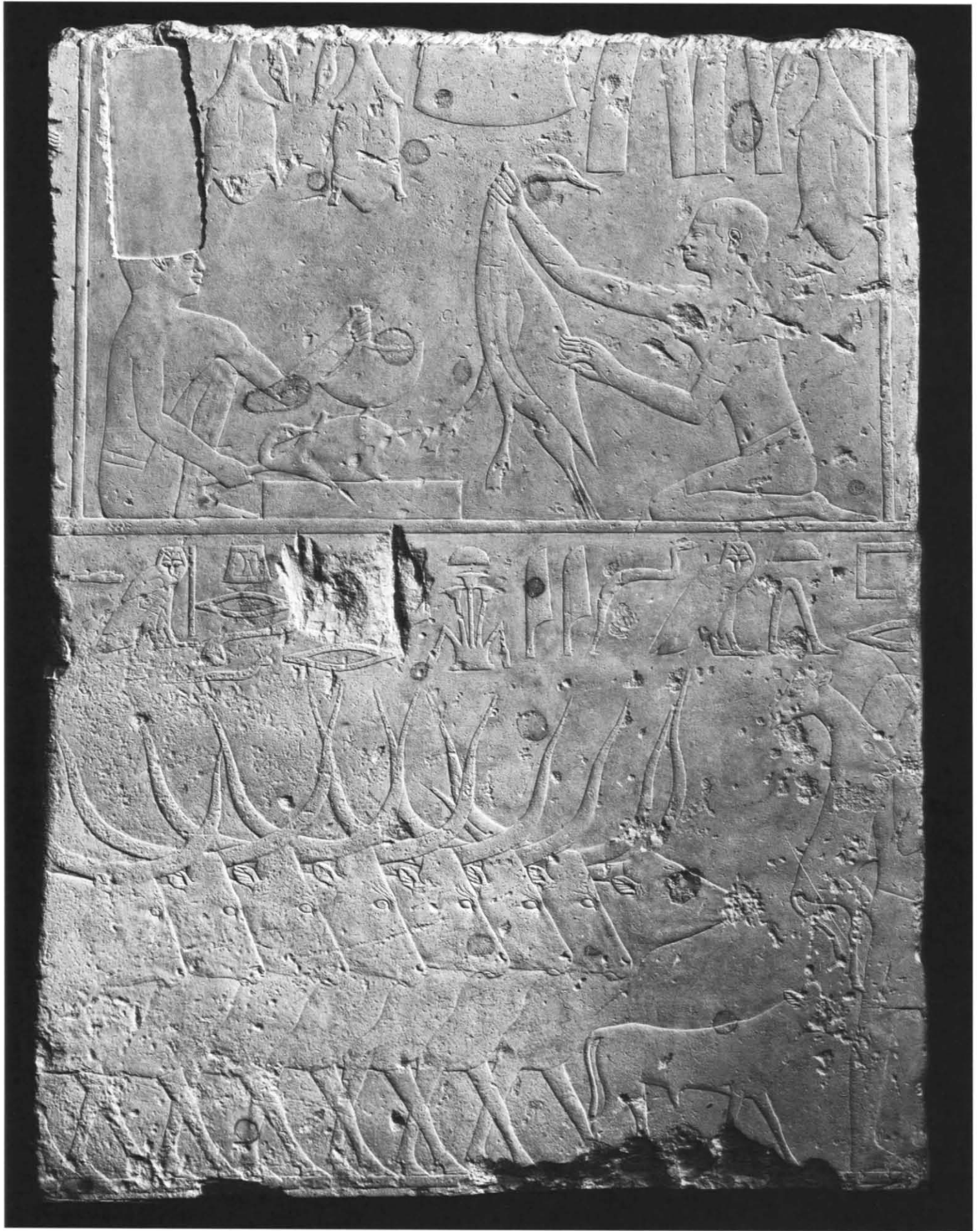
Pl. 143b. Drain stones south of the enclosure wall of the Nakht complex (L13-14:507).



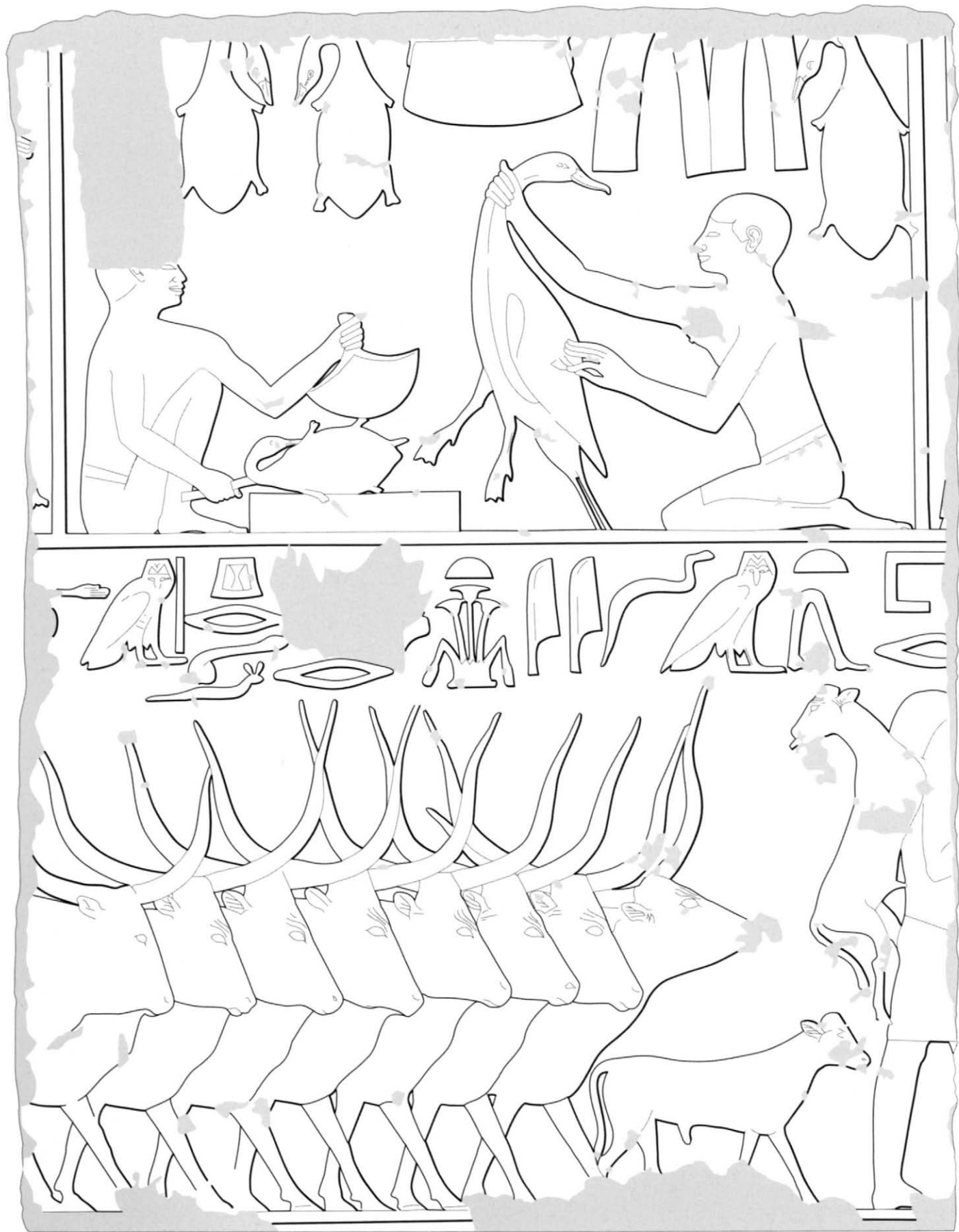
Pl. 143c. South end of the drain of the Nakht complex (L13-14:705).



Pl. 143a. The chapel platform of Nakht looking east (L13-14:131).



Pl. 144. Relief, perhaps from the cult chapel of Nakht. MMA 15.3.1164. Photo W.B.

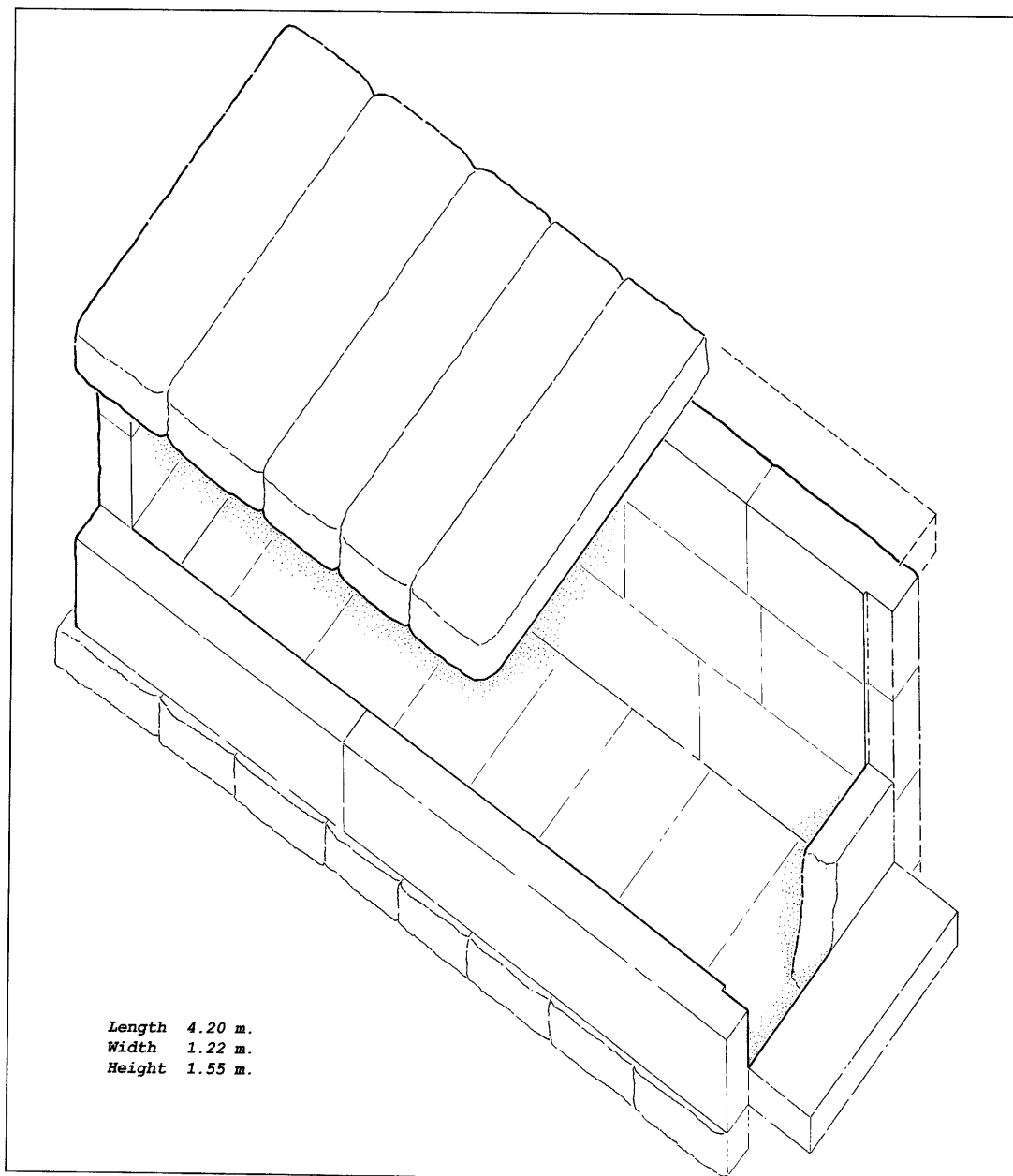


0 20 cm

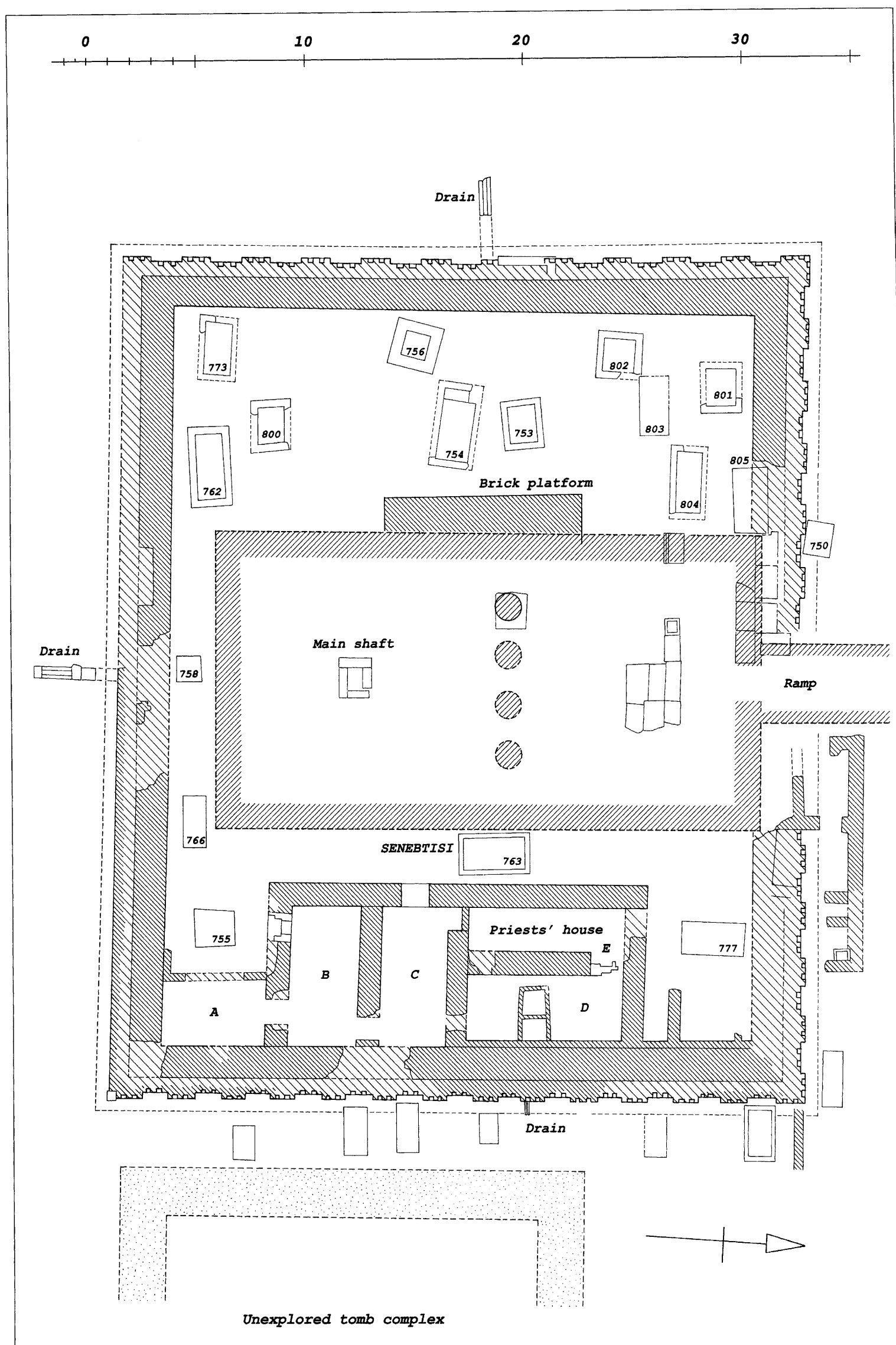
Pl. 145. Relief, perhaps from the cult chapel of Nakht. Scale 1:4. Draw. J.J.



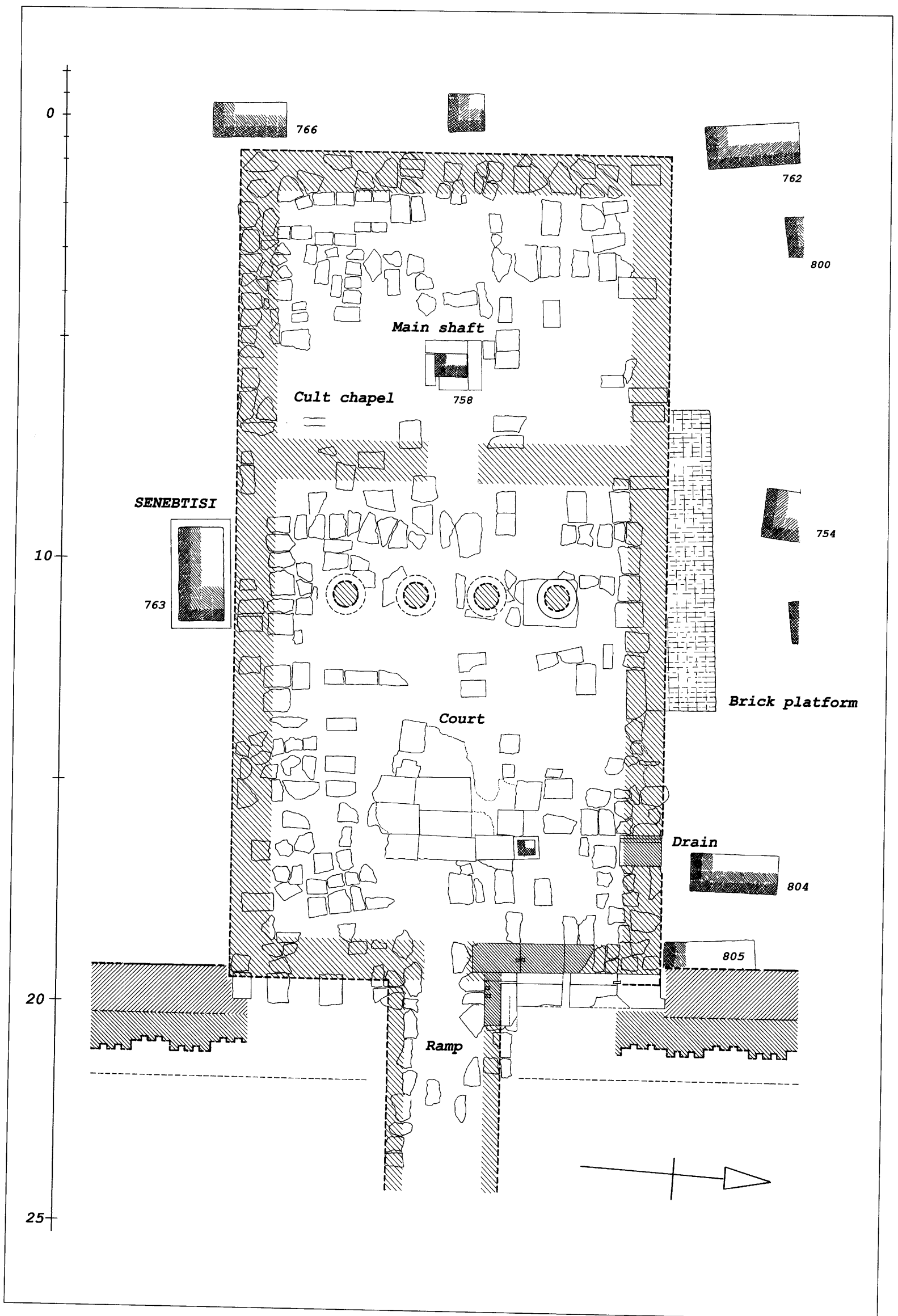
Pl. 146a. Relief from the cult chapel of Nakht (L33-34:108).



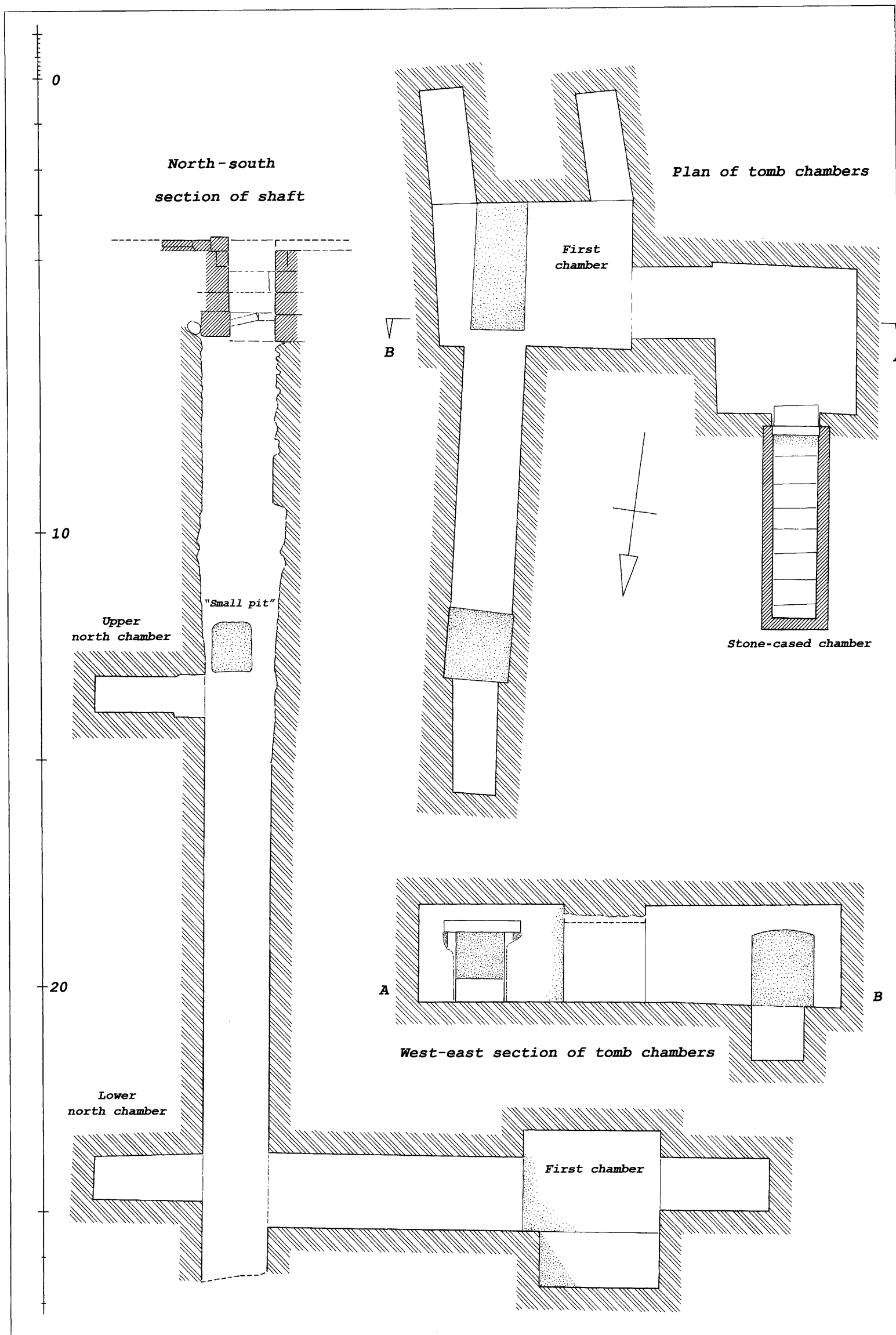
Pl. 146b. The construction of the burial chamber of Senwosret (758). (See also pls. 149, 156b, and 158.) Draw. D.A.



Pl. 147. Overall plan of the Senwosret tomb complex (758). Scale 1:200. Draw. D.A.



Pl. 148. Plan of the center part of the tomb complex of Senwosret (758). Scale 1:100. Draw. D.A.



Pl. 149. Plan and sections of underground apartments of Senwosret (758). Scale 1:100. Draw. D.A.



Pl. 150a. The funerary complex of Senwosret looking north (L7-8:171).



Pl. 150b. The funerary complex of Senwosret looking north (L7-8:171).



Pl. 150c. The funerary complex of Senwosret looking northeast (L7-8:86).



Pl. 150d. The storerooms of the Senwosret complex looking west (L7-8:87).



Pl. 151b. The north wall of the funerary complex of Senwosret looking west (L7-8:138).



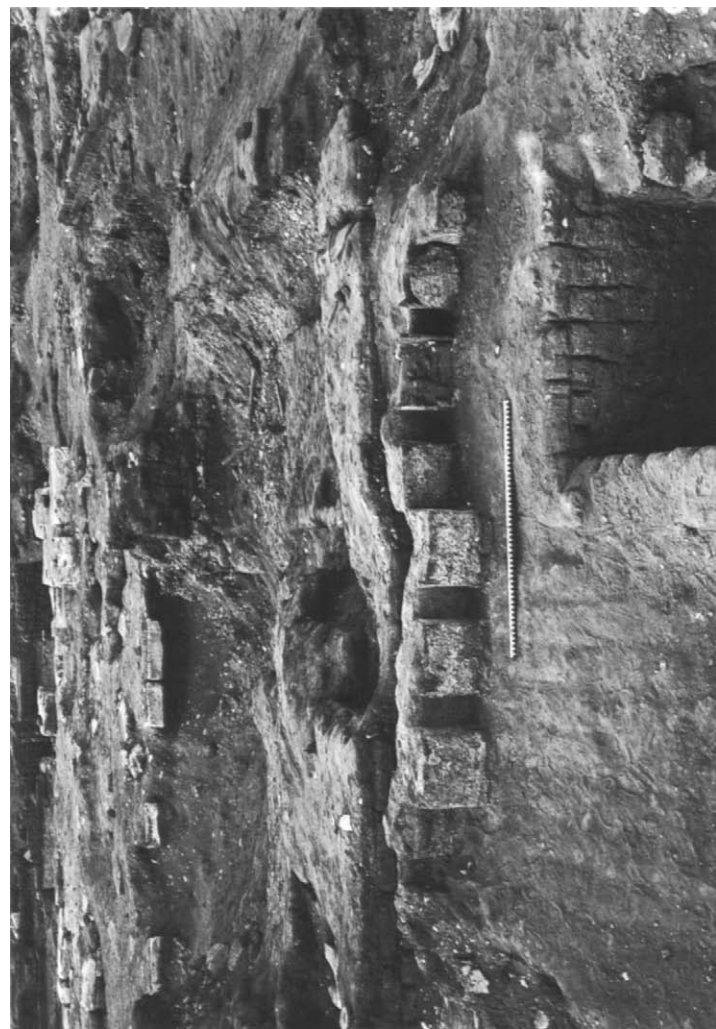
Pl. 151d. Gutter in front of enclosure wall near northeast corner (L7-8:60).



Pl. 151a. Southwest corner of the funerary complex of Senwosret looking northwest (L7-8:172).



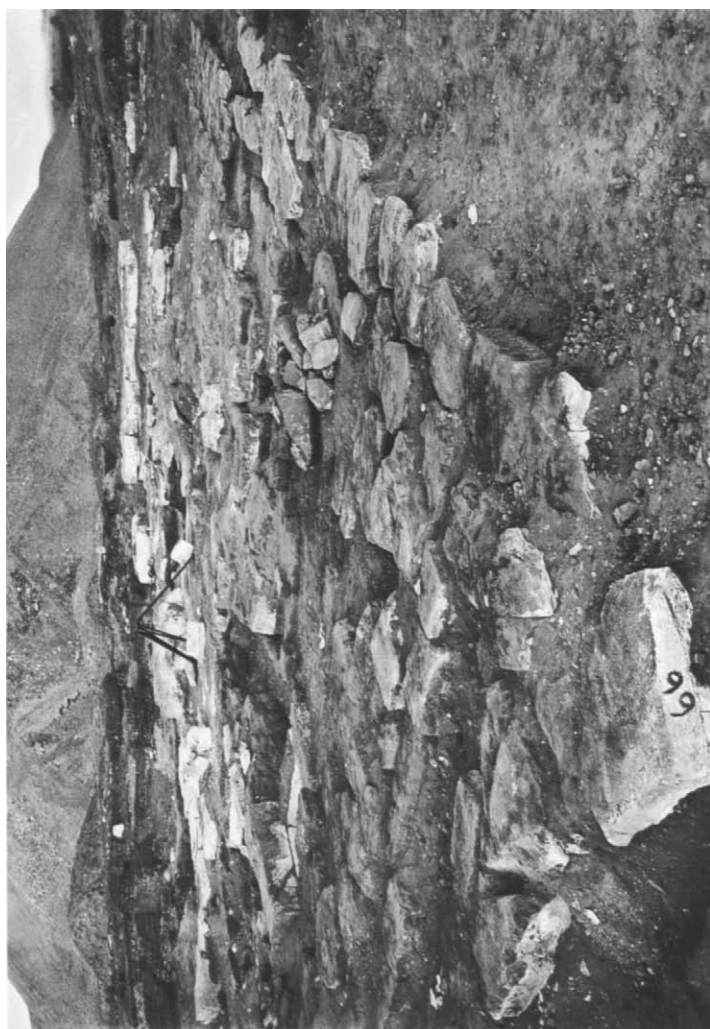
Pl. 151c. Gutter in front of southern enclosure wall looking east (L7-8:141).



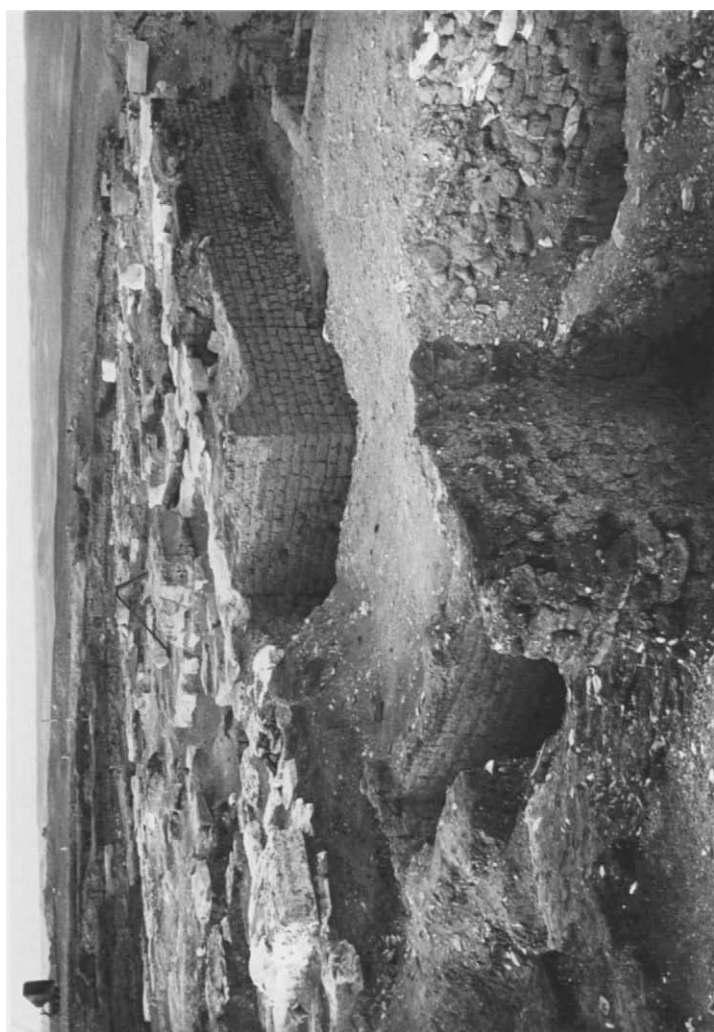
Pl. 152a. Paneling on the south side of the Senwosret complex looking north (L7-8:161).



Pl. 152b. Drain stone in the south enclosure wall of the Senwosret complex (L7-8:116).



Pl. 152c. Stone subfoundation of the court of the Senwosret complex looking northeast (L7-8:158).



Pl. 152d. Brick structure under the court pavement of the Senwosret complex looking southwest (L7-8:142).



Pl. 153b. Column base in the court of the cult chapel of the Senwosret complex (L7-8:41).



Pl. 153d. Stone cover of the shaft of Senwosret. Limestone naos behind (L7-8:612).



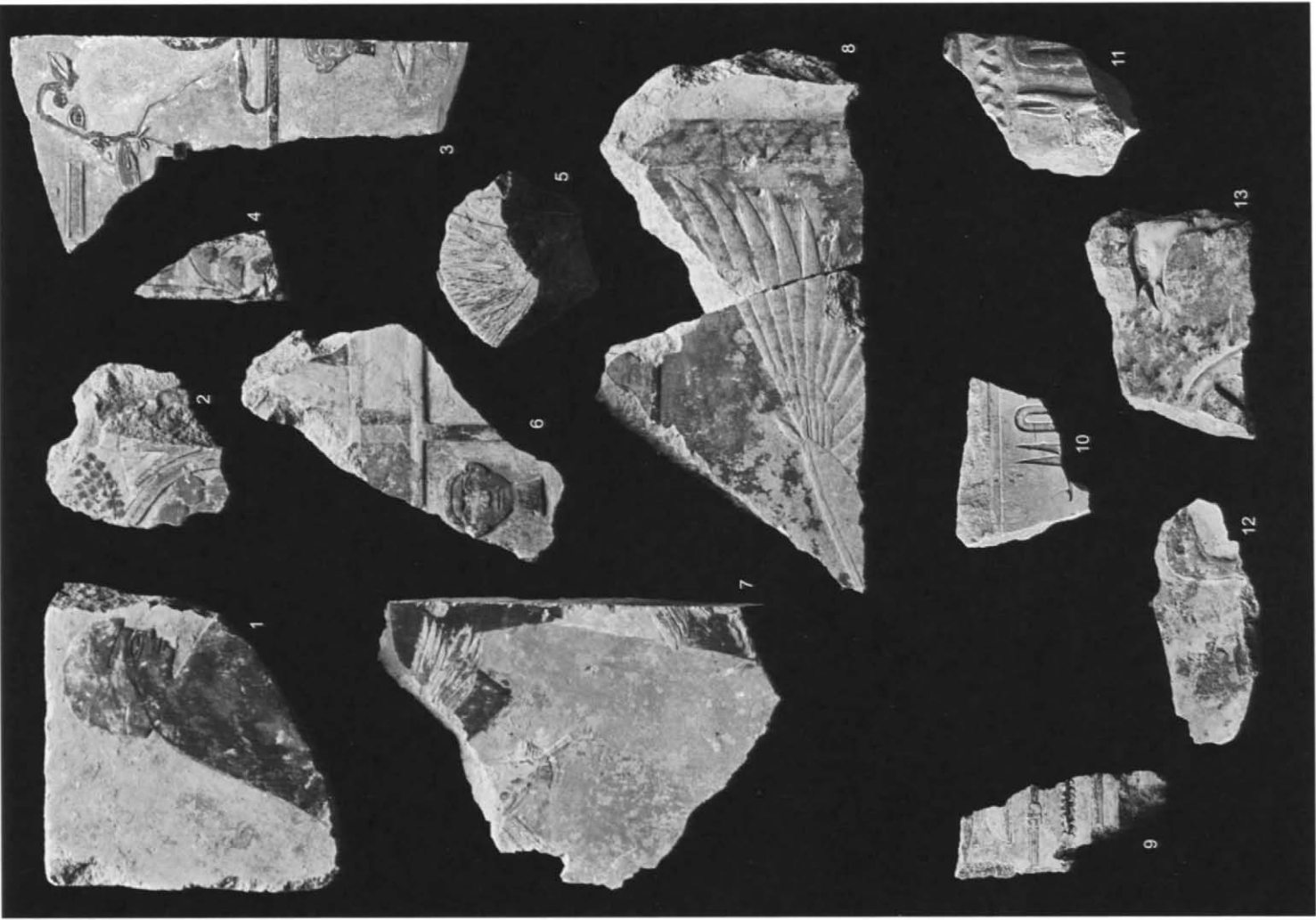
Pl. 153a. Column base in the court of the cult chapel of the Senwosret complex (L7-8:43).



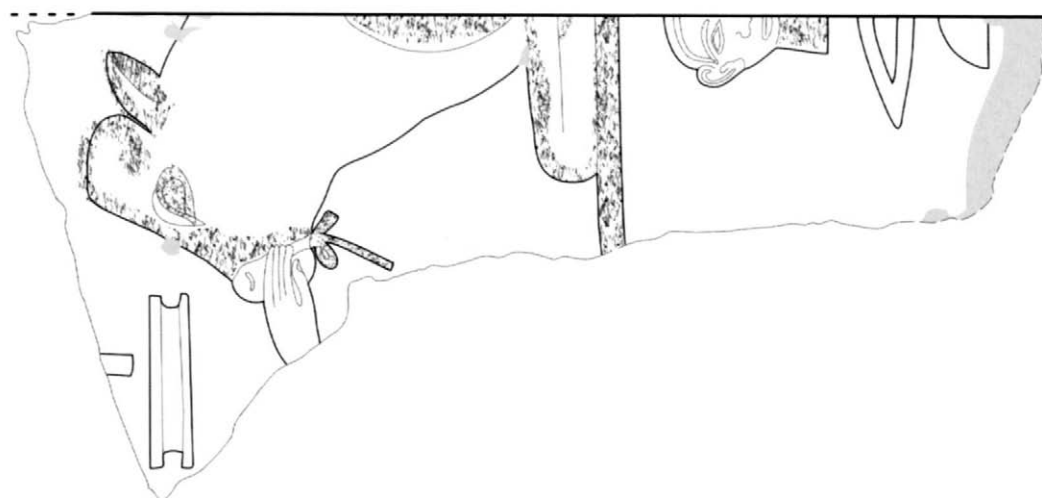
Pl. 153c. Stone foundation blocks north of the entrance ramp of the Senwosret complex looking south (L7-8:279).



Pl. 154a. Group of fragments of a sunk exterior inscription, probably of Senwosret (L12-13:521).



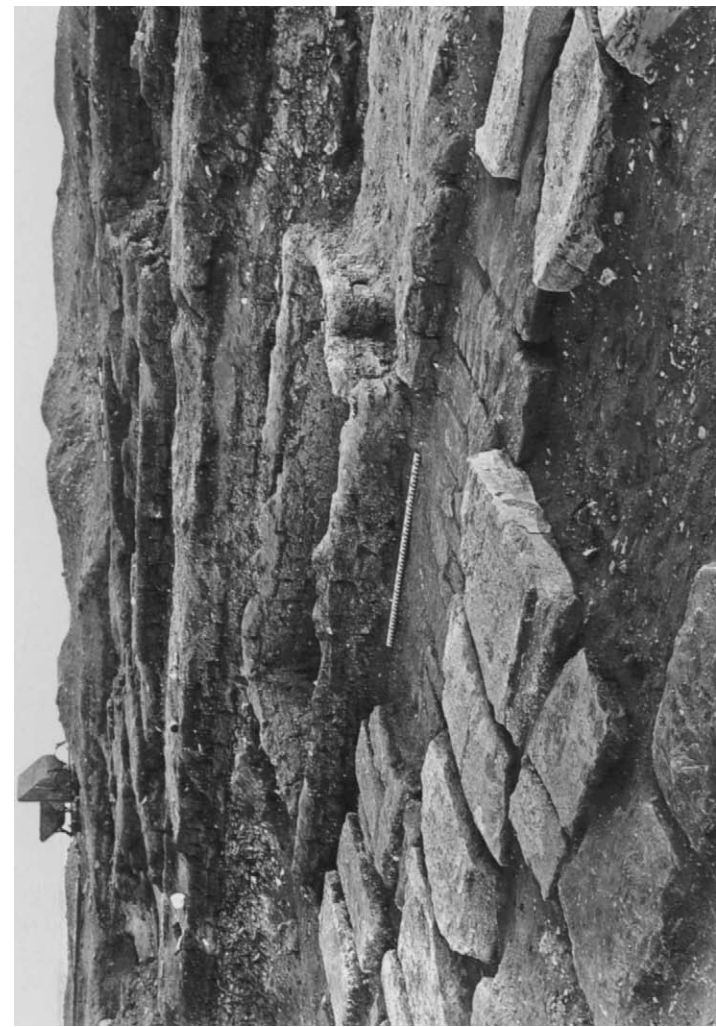
Pl. 154b. Relief fragments from the cult chapel of Senwosret, three containing his name. Photo composition W.B.



0 10cm



Pl. 155. Relief fragments from the cult chapel of Senwosret: heron (MMA 13.235.9) and calf (MMA 07.227.20). Scale 1:2. Photo W.B., draw. J.J.



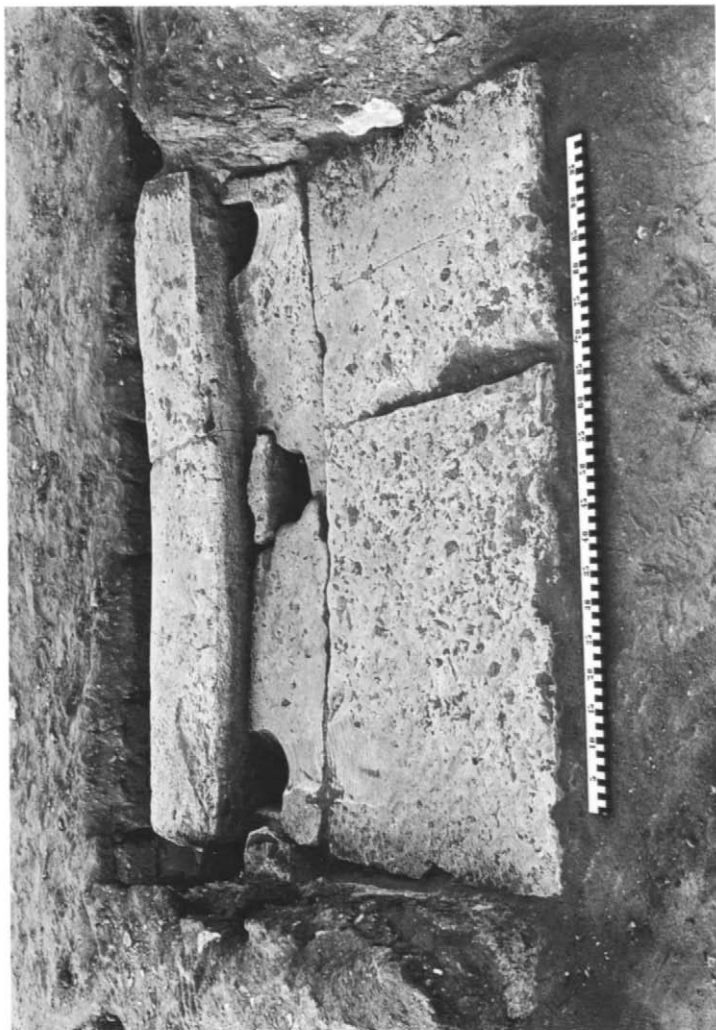
Pl. 156a. Mouth of Senebtisi shaft looking southeast (L7-8:170).



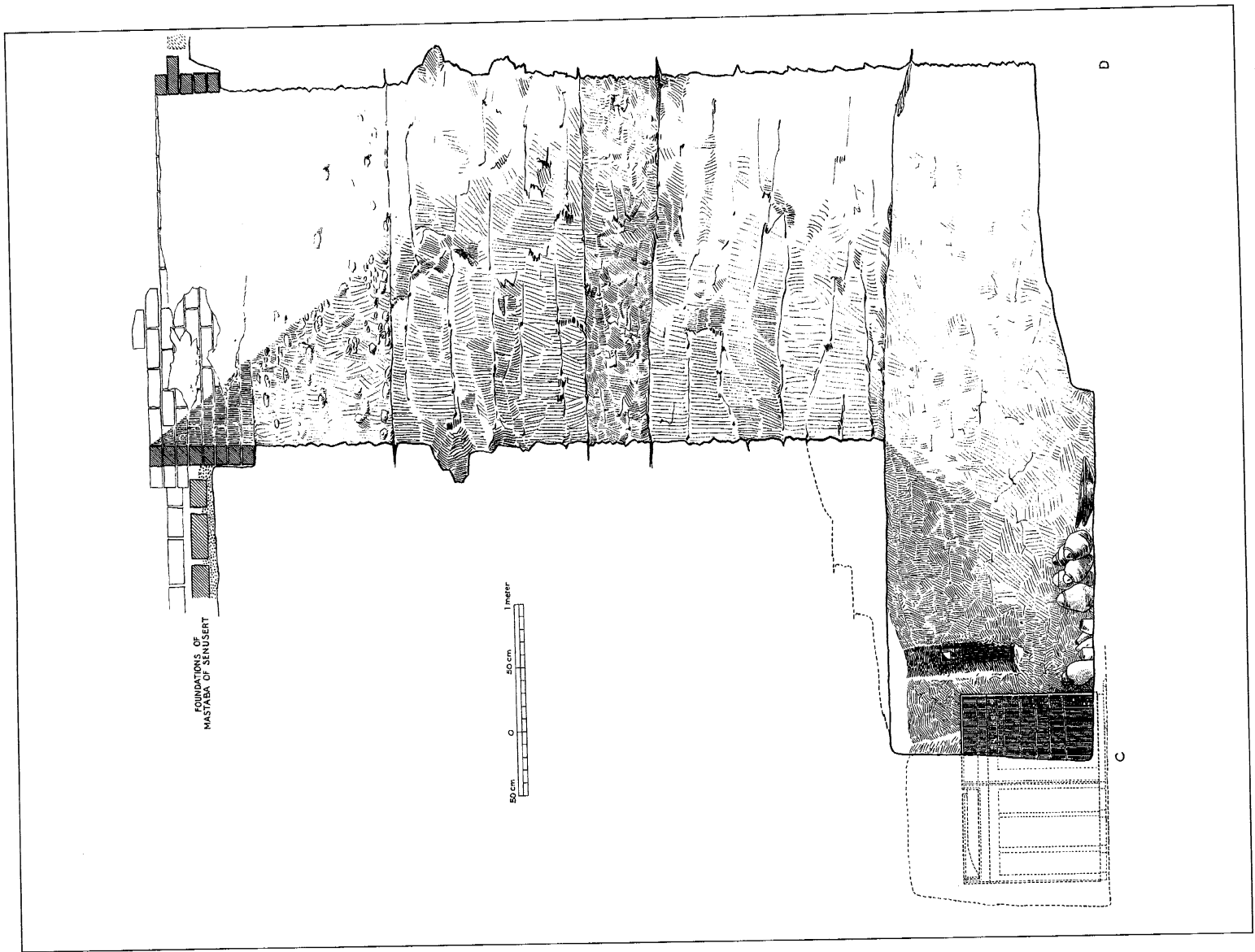
Pl. 156b. Front of the secondary burial chamber of Senwosret (see pls. 146b and 158) (L6-7:788).



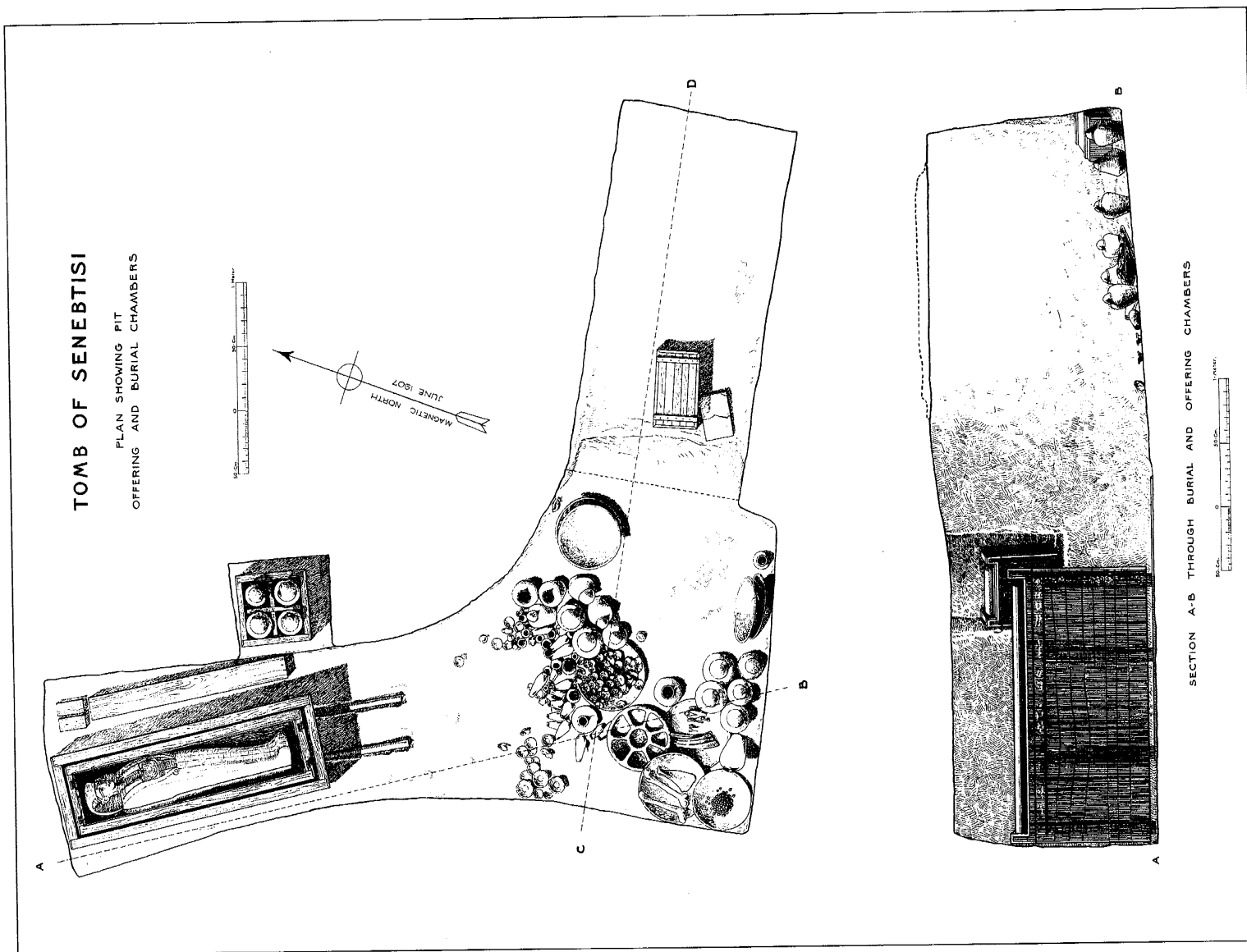
Pl. 156c. Doorsill in the brick buildings of the Senwosret complex (L7-8:40).



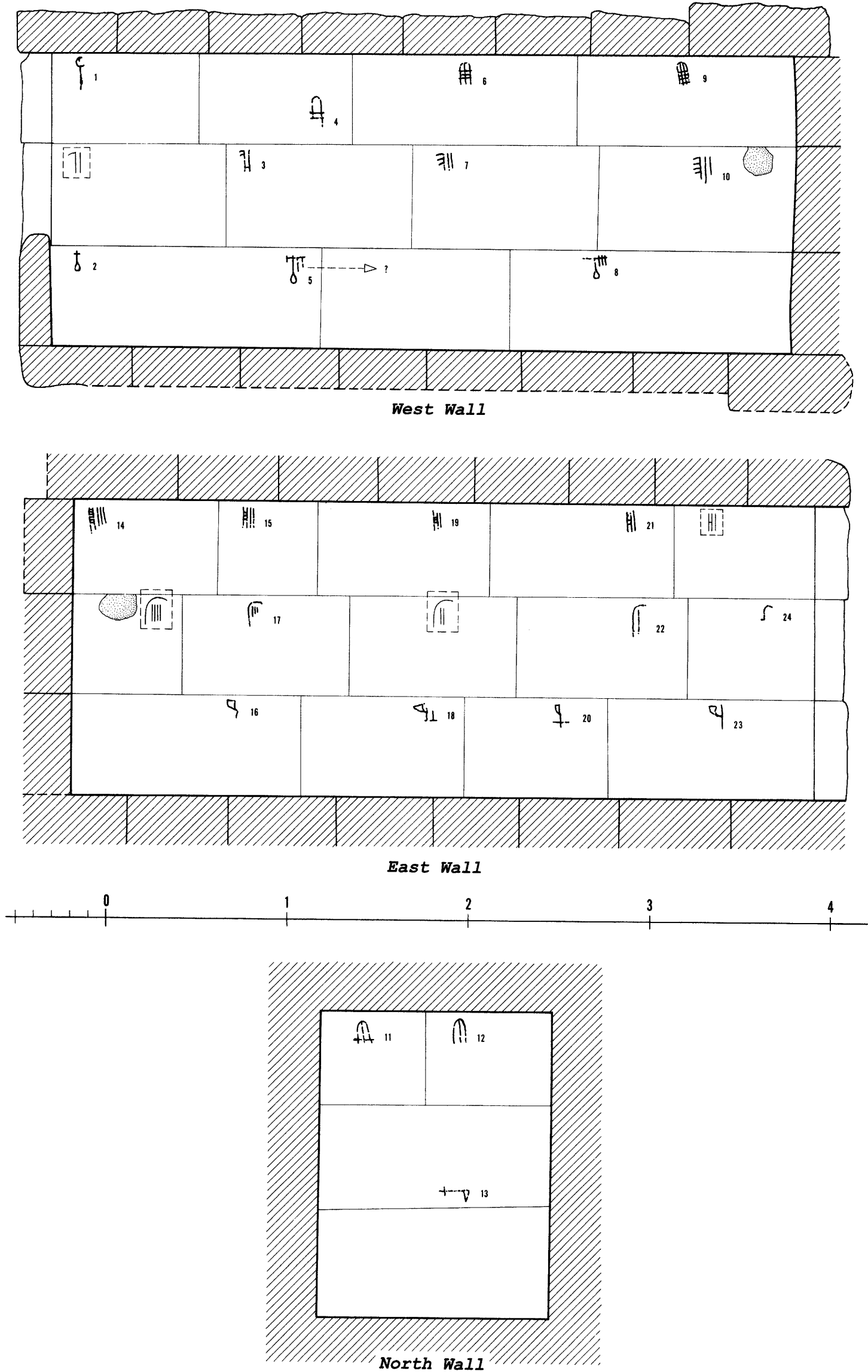
Pl. 156d. Doorsill in the brick buildings of the Senwosret complex (L7-8:160).



Pl. 157b. Section through the shaft of the Senebtisi tomb. Scale 1:50 (AM 3478; draw. P. R. Bollo).



Pl. 157a. Plan and section of the Senebtisi tomb. Scale 1:50 (AM 3475; draw. P. R. Bollo).



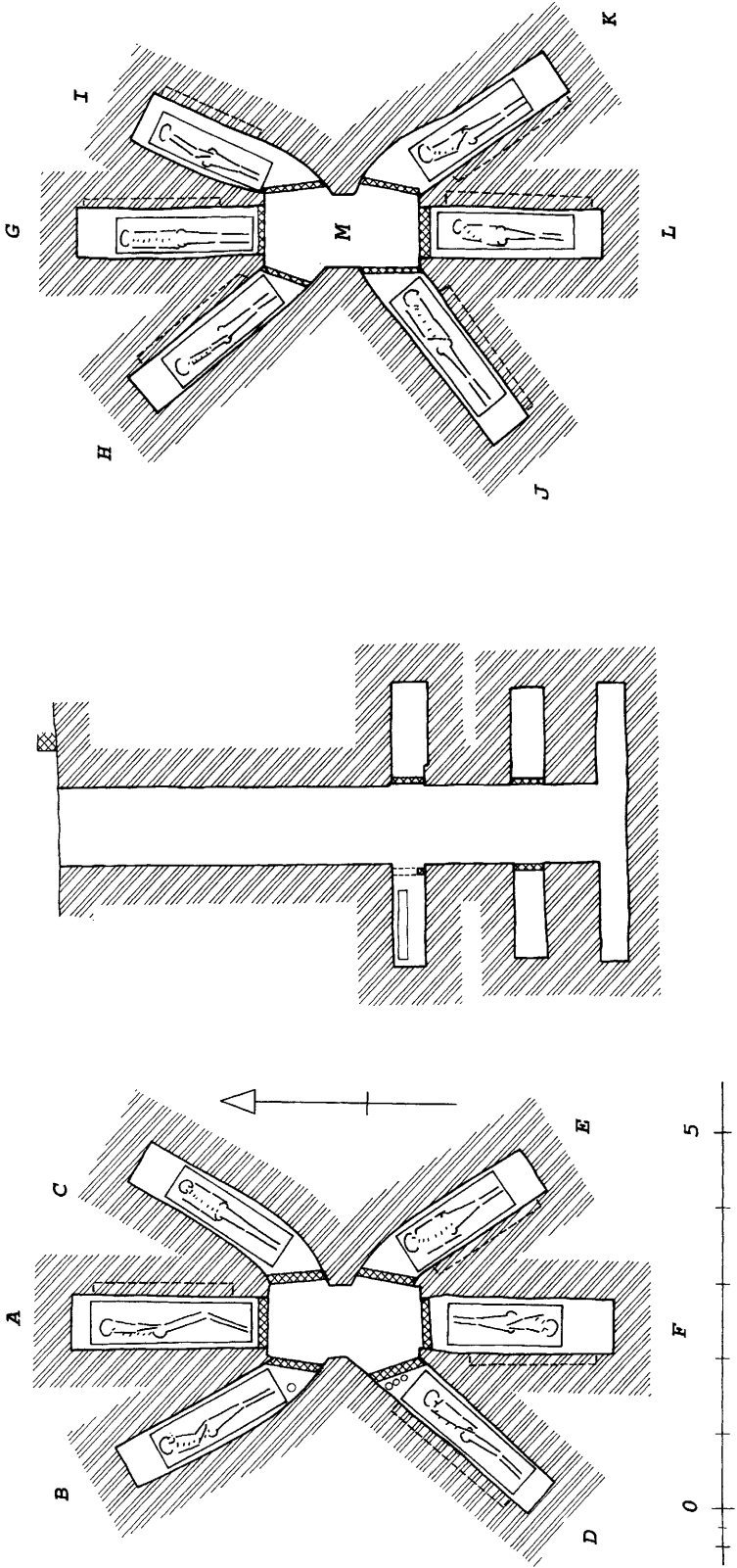
Pl. 158. Setting marks in the secondary chamber of the Senwosret tomb (see pls. 146b, 149, and 156b). Scale 1:25.
Draw. Felix Arnold.



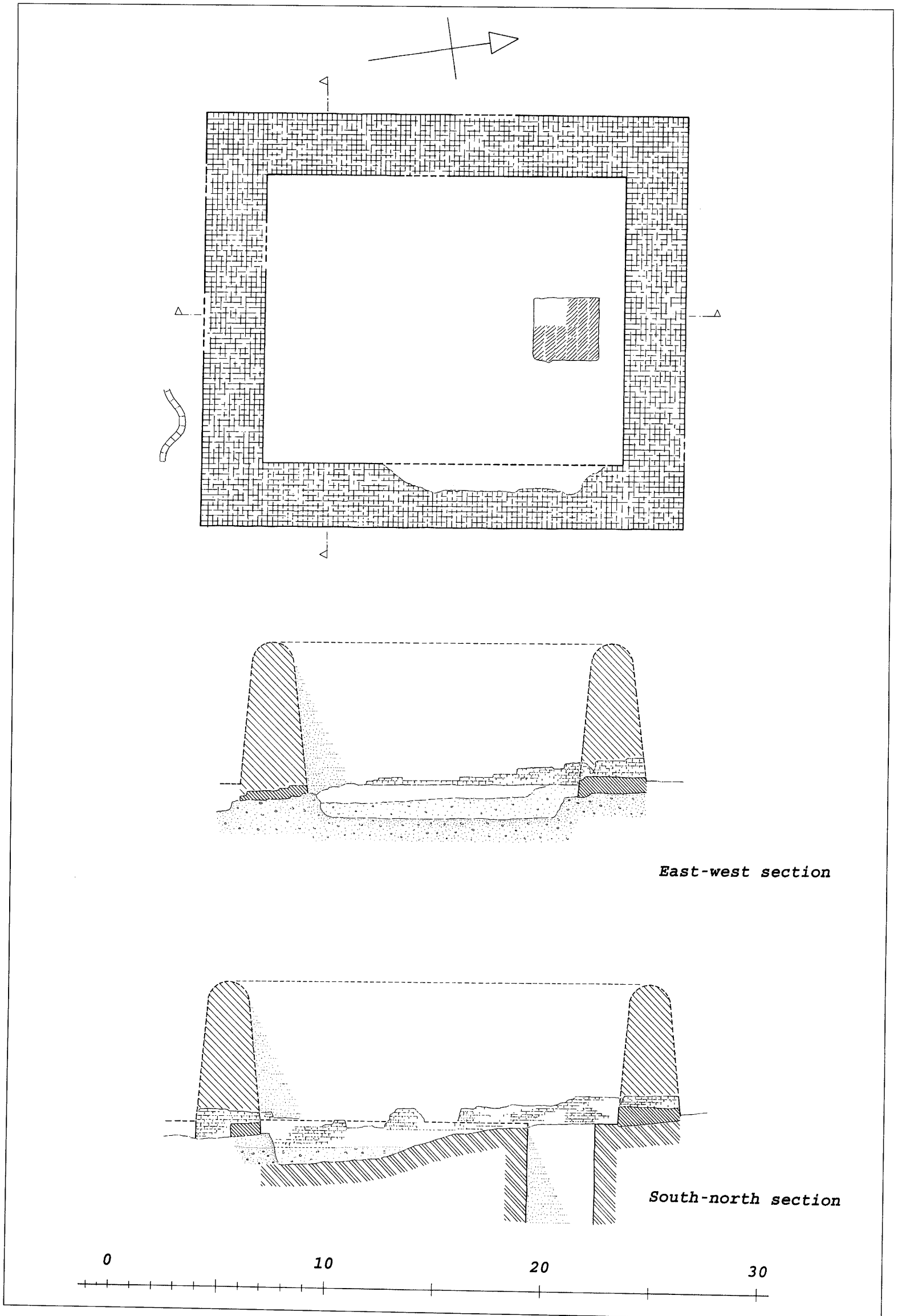
Pl. 159b. The site of tomb 954 seen from the southwest (L21-22:128).



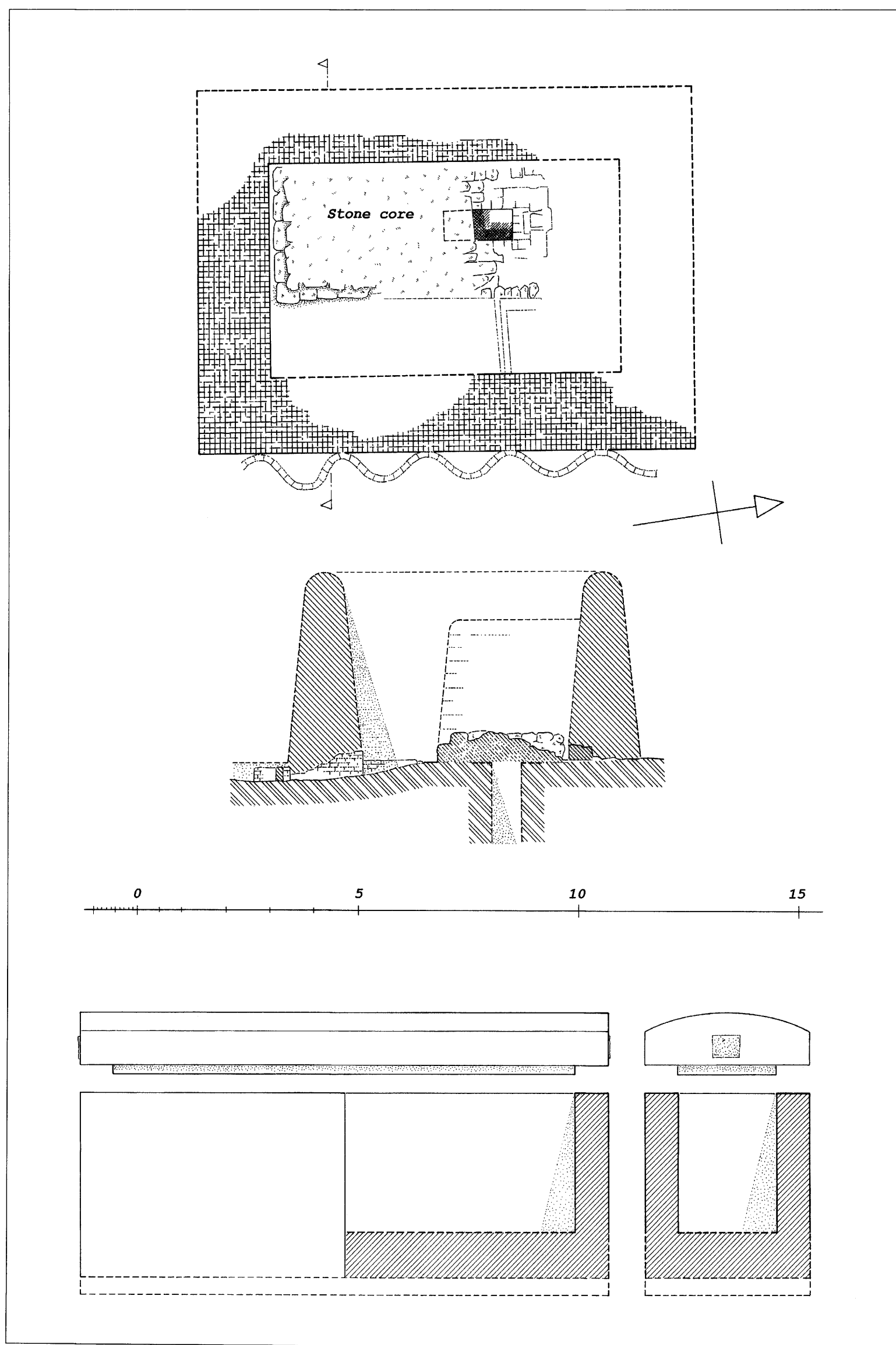
Pl. 159a. The site of tomb 954 seen from the northwest (L21-22:124).



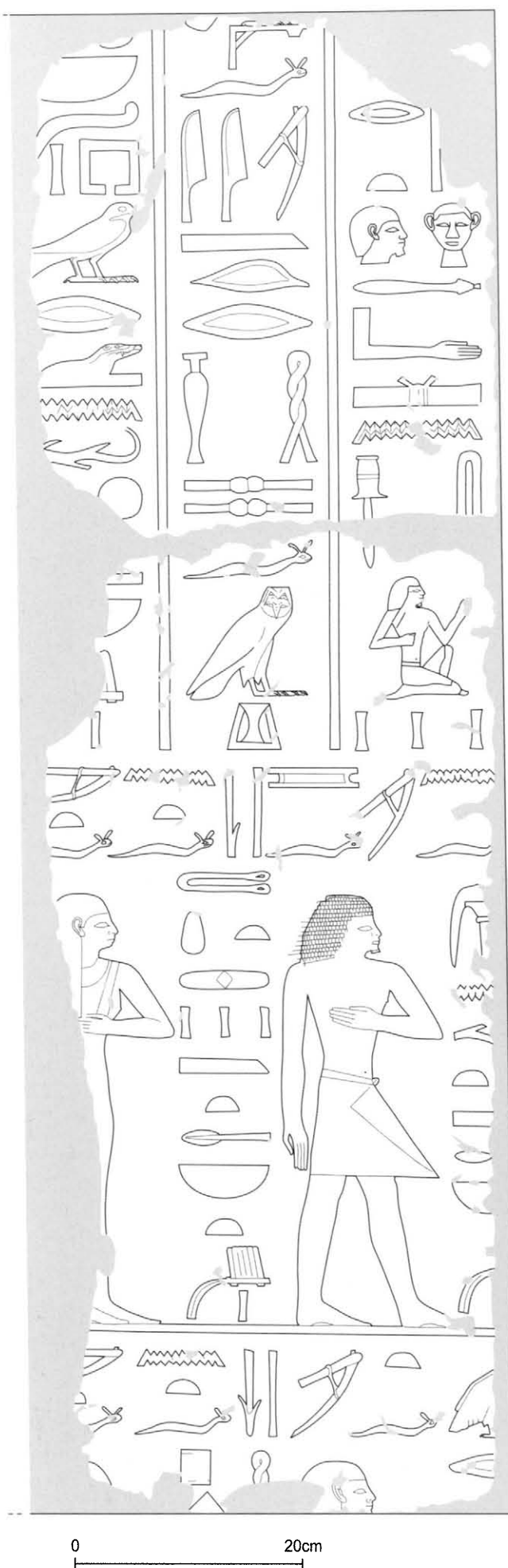
Pl. 159c-e. Two plans and a section of the shaft of tomb 954. Scale: plans, 1:100; section, 1:200. Draw. W.S.



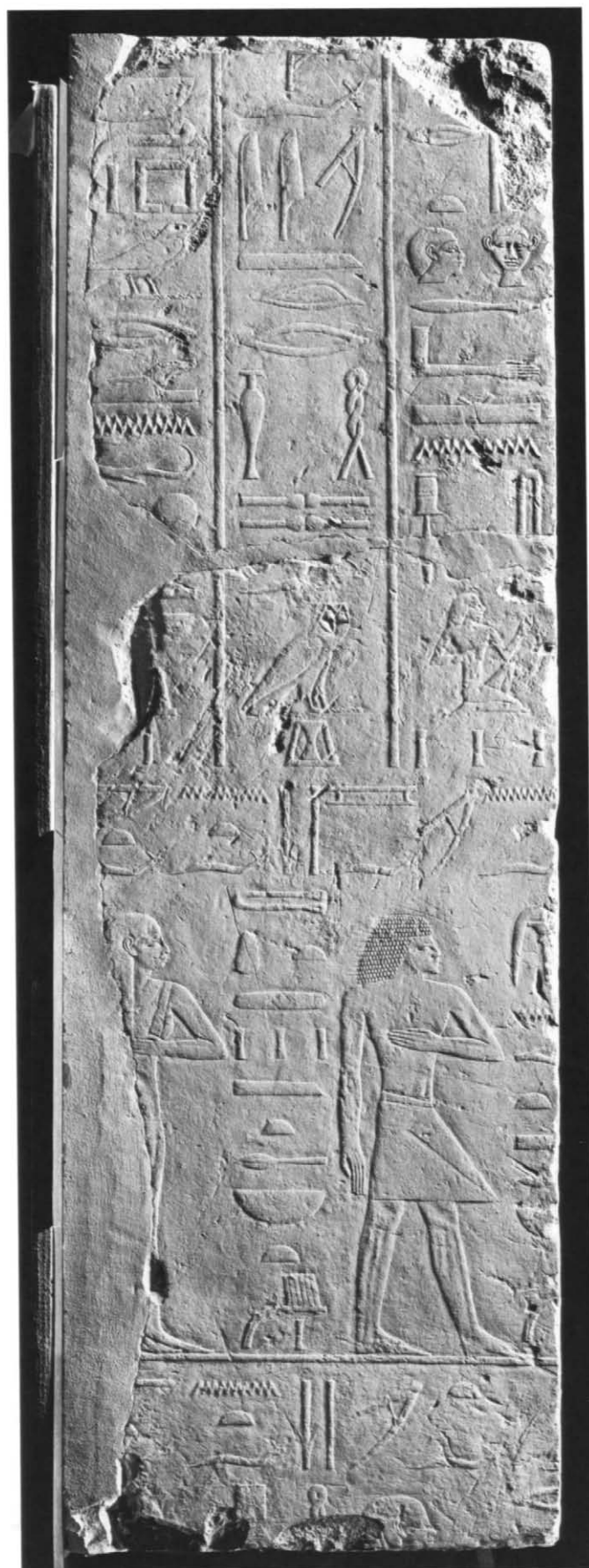
Pl. 160. Plan and sections of tomb 954. Scale 1:200. Draw. D.A.



Pl. 161. Plan and section of tomb 956 (above), scale 1:100, and sarcophagus of tomb 470 of Senimeru (below), scale 1:20.
Draw. D.A.



Pl. 162. Relief of Sobeknakht. MMA 09.180.111. Scale 1:5. Draw. J.J.



Pl. 163. Detail of relief of Sobeknakht. MMA 09.180.111. Photo B.J.S.



Pl. 164a. Detail from relief of Sobeknakht. MMA 09.180.111. Photo B.J.S.



Pl. 164b. Detail from relief of Sobeknakht. MMA 09.180.111. Photo B.J.S.



Pl. 164c. Relief of Sobeknakht (L7-8:530).

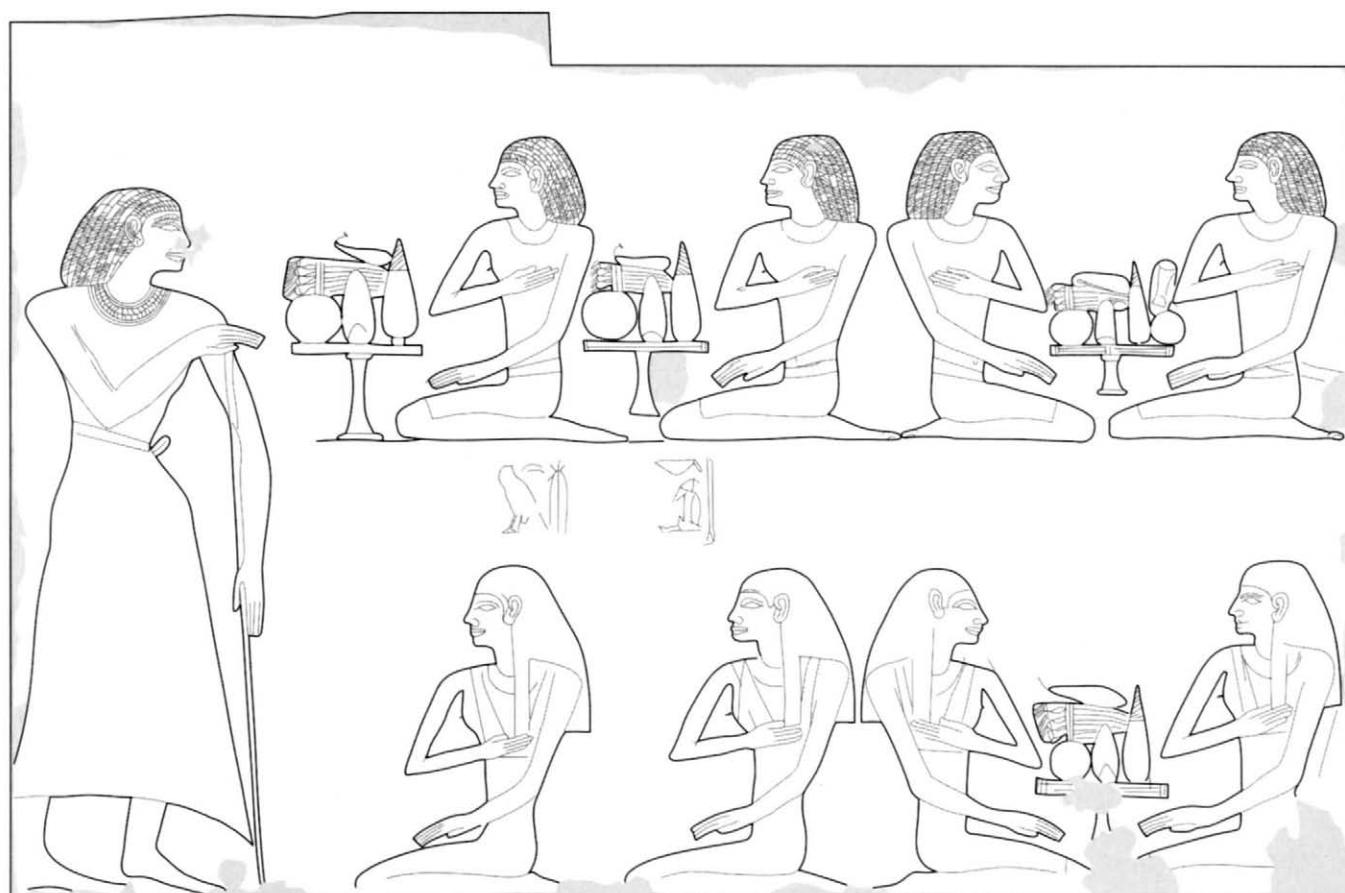
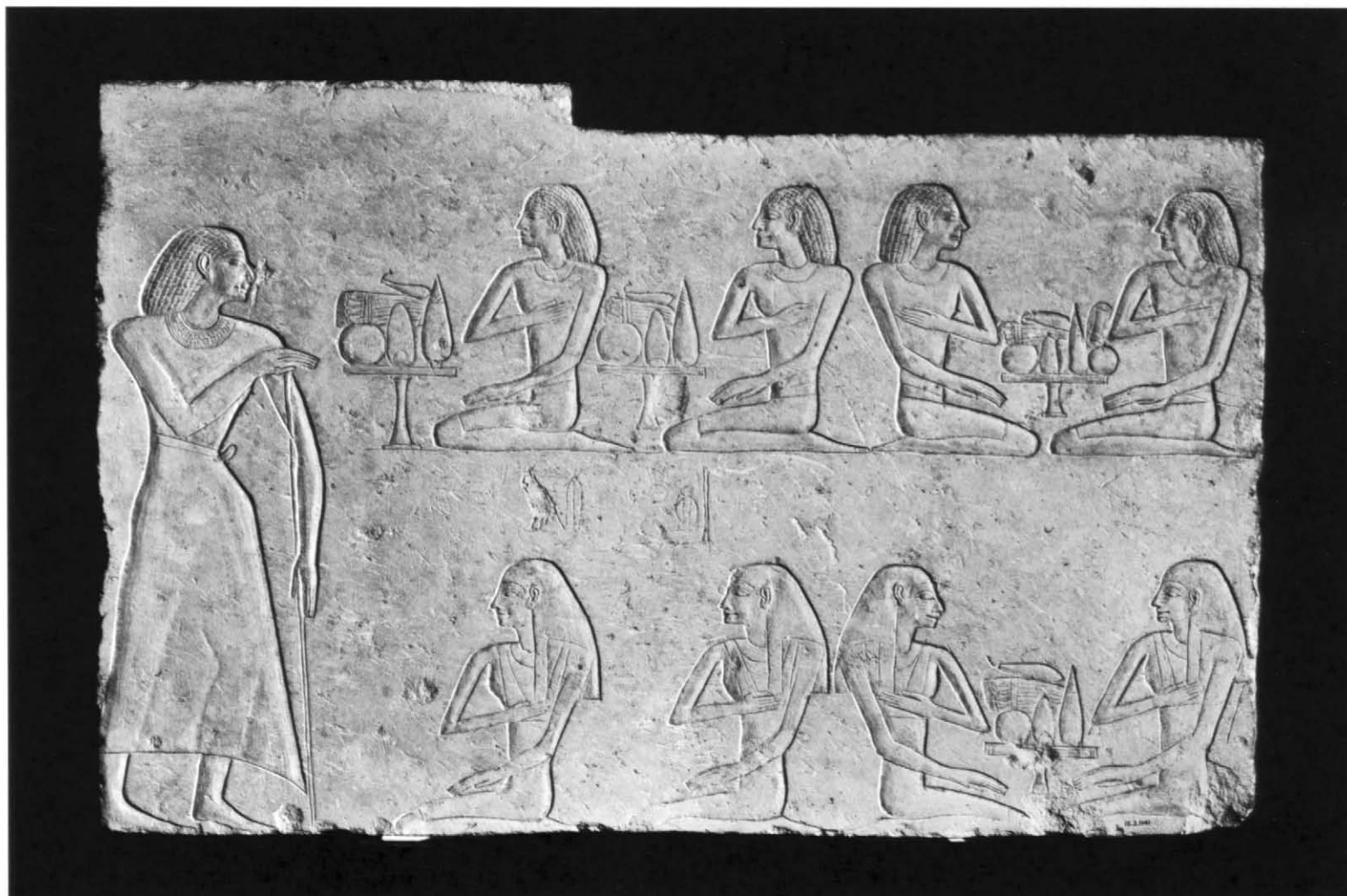


Pl. 164d. Relief of Sobeknakht (L7-8:528).



0 20cm

Pl. 165. Relief of Inherethetep. MMA 22.1.2. Scale 1:5. Photo W.B.; draw. J.J.



0 20cm

Pl. 166. Relief block from anonymous tomb. MMA 15.3.1141. Scale 1:4. Photo B.J.S.; draw. J.J.



Pl. 167a. Relief block (MMA 15.3.1143) from anonymous tomb (L13-14:291).



Pl. 167b. Relief block (MMA 15.3.1142) from anonymous tomb (L13-14:325).



Pl. 168a. Fragments of relief block (MMA 22.1.10a,b) from anonymous tomb (L20-21:238).



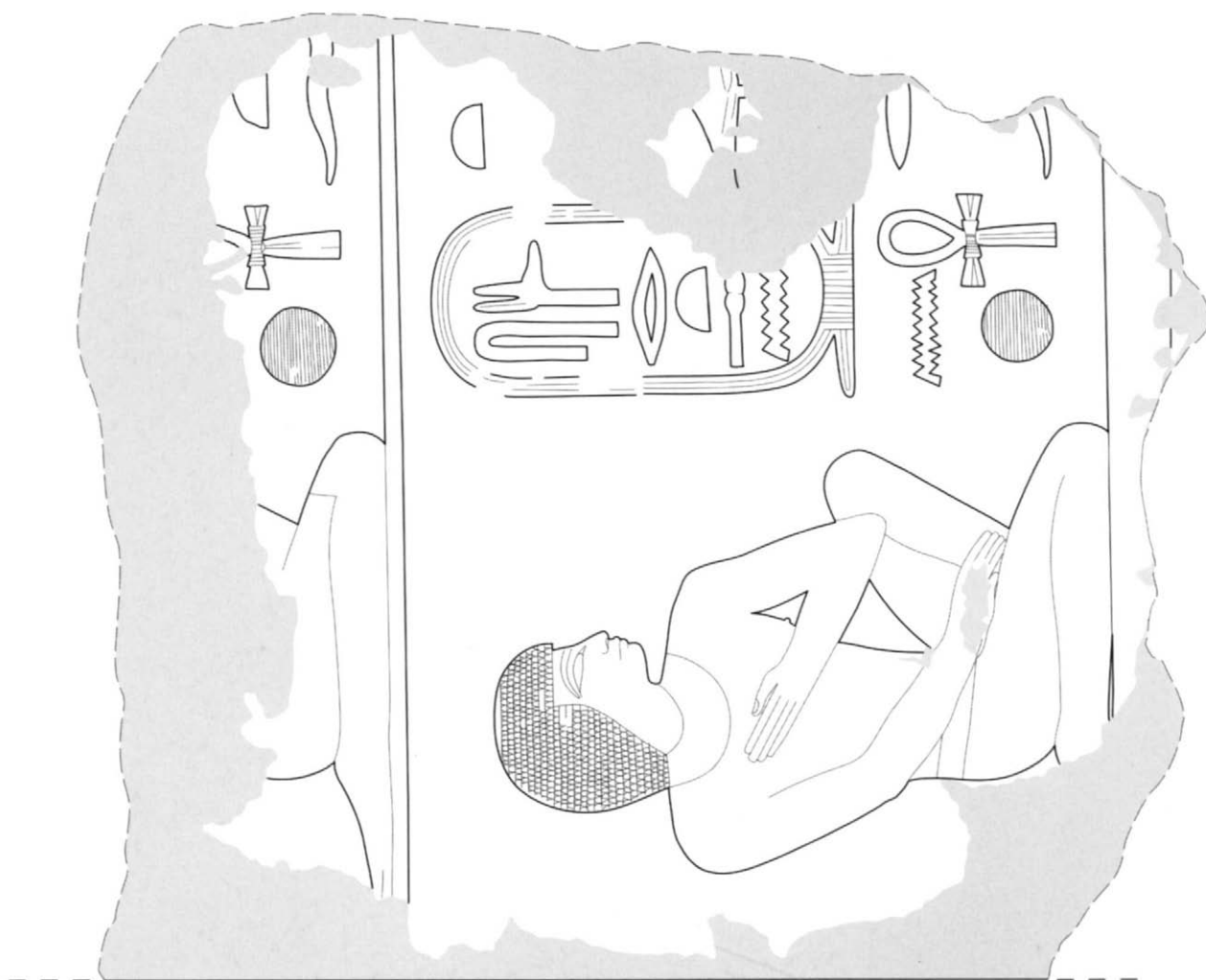
Pl. 168b. Relief block (MMA 22.1.8) from anonymous tomb (L20-21:255).



Pl. 169a. Corner block from anonymous tomb with side view
(L21-22:207).



Pl. 169b. Corner block from anonymous tomb (L21-22:206).



Pl. 170b. Relief block representing Senwosretankh. MMA 09.180.125.
Scale 1:2.5. Draw. J.J.



Pl. 170a. Relief block representing Senwosretankh. MMA 09.180.125. Photo B.J.S.



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